BULLETIN

November, 1959 Vol. 4 No. 2

FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC.

8 East 66th Street • New York 21, N. Y. • LEhigh 5-7810

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COMMITTEE VOTES CODE CHANGE TO CLOSE LOOPHOLE

The Code of Fair Campaign Practices has been amended to close a loophole. It is the first revision in the Code since establishment of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee in 1954. The amendment was approved at a special meeting of the Committee in New York on October 15.

The seventh, or "repudiation" plank of the Code has been amended to read:

> I SHALL IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY REPUDIATE support deriving from any individual or group which resorts, on behalf of my candidacy or in opposition to that of my opponent, to the methods and tactics which I condemn.

The change centers on the phrase "on behalf of my candidacy." In the original version, no reference was made to unfair tactics used against candidate A without specifically endorsing candidate B.

The loophole came to light during the 1958 campaign when a private citizen issued handbills denouncing a Congressional candidate. The leaflets did not endorse his rival. When the offended candidate charged that the handbills were libelous and demanded his opponent repudiate them, the opponent, after reading the "fine print" of the Code, decided he was not, as the Code then stood, obliged to repudiate, since the offending literature did not mention him.

The Committee, in voting unanimously for the amendment shown above, felt the revision more accurately reflected the spirit of the Code than the original wording.

SMEAR STUDY WIDELY QUOTED DESPITE LUNIK, 'K' VISIT

Nationwide press coverage and editorial comment resulted from the September 14 release of the second biennial state-by-state Smear Study of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. The public attention won by the report was noteworthy by any standard, but especially so in view of its release date: the day after the Russian Lunik hit the moon and the day before Khrushchev arrived in Washington.

Highlights of the study were:

- 1958 saw twice as much dirty campaigning as 1956.
- Smears that backfired were up, to 55 per cent vs. 33 per cent in '56.
- Most unfair campaigning continued to originate outside party organizations.
- Smears based on race or religion more than doubled the '56 level.
- Roman Catholics became the prime targets in this area.

Copies of the full report are available on request.

SMEAR LIGHT IN OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS

In election for statewide and national office, 1959 was an off-year's off-year. Only Kentucky elected a governor in November and there were no special elections to fill Congressional vacancies anywhere in the nation.

Municipal campaigns attracted little wide attention save for San Francisco and Cincinnati. In the Bay city a virulent and old-fashioned smear sheet used caricatures of Jewish merchants and offensive "Jewish dialect" to rally hate against mayoral candidate Russell L. Wolden. Anonymously printed and mailed, the piece enraged supporters of both Wolden and his successful opponent, incumbent Mayor George Christopher, and counted little in an already bitter campaign.

In Cincinnati a Negro city council candidate, Ted Berry, was the target of a classic whispering campaign ("He'll move a colored family into every block in the city.") Unlike the San Francisco situation, observers believe the whispers helped beat Berry in Cincinnati. He ran tenth in a field of 29 for the nine-man council, despite efforts of a non-partisan citizens' committee to fight the smear.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE FEATURES MUNICIPAL LEAGUE PANEL

Special conference activities in 1959 have included work with the National Conference of Christians and Jews and a repeat of the 1958 panel discussion at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League.

At this year's NML Conference on Government, at Springfield, Mass., the Committee sponsored a panel on the topic, "Community Responsibility for Clean Elections." Moderated by FCPC Chairman Charles P. Taft, a League Council member, the panel featured these participants: Ward Duffy, editor of the Hartford Times; Bernard Hennessy, professor of political science, University of Arizona, on leave with the Democratic National Committee; Rev. Dr. Forrest L. Knapp, general secretary of the Massachusetts Council of Churches; Very Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of The Pilot, official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Boston; and Dr. William Prendergast, associate director of research of the Republican National Committee. The meeting took place on November 17.

Last spring FCPC Executive Director Bruce L. Felknor addressed a meeting of the Religious Liberty Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the topic of "Bigotry in the 1960 Elections." In November he participated in a panel on Religion and Politics at the annual meeting of the NCCJ.

The conference program, inaugurated last year, will be emphasized further in 1960.

LIBRARY OF CAMPAIGN LITERATURE PROJECTED

Early in 1959 political science professors at leading universities began to ask the Committee to establish a library of campaign literature which would be available for scholarly research. With help from summer session students, the Committee explored the dimensions of the problem.

The further it was studied the more involved the picture became -- and the more apparent was the need for such a facility. Even campaign managers were unable to reconstruct the whole picture of campaign literature, advertising, and radio and television speeches, in a campaign only a few months old.

The summer's study indicated probable cost for a two-year pilot project to establish the library in the 1960 campaigns would approximate $120,000 -- more than double the projected budget for the entire Committee's basic operation in 1960. It now is likely that one foundation will pick up the tab for costs of establishing the complicated mechanism of political science students and faculty supervisors necessary to collect the materal: copies of every piece of special literature, every newspaper ad, tape of every radio spot and film of all TV time purchased for use by candidates in state-wide, Congressional and Presidential races. Cooperating universities would receive duplicate sets of the material for their own states. The projected grant is contingent on raising elsewhere $54,000 for the balance of the first year's operation. Other foundations are being approached for this aid. Without it the project cannot be undertaken.

TRADE GROUP TO BACK TEACHING AIDS

A New York trade association may break the log jam that has kept a teaching aids program, developed two years ago by the Fair Campaign Committee, out of the nation's high schools on a large scale. Teachers in every community of the 20-odd that tested the material acclaimed it but it was impossible to find foundation support for translating the material from mimeographed form to a printed and illustrated version.

Now a New York metropolitan area trade association has indicated it will meet production costs for the program's use in the entire New York area. In addition to making a properly presented set of supplementary school material available in New York, the offer probably will set the stage for similar local or regional underwriting of expenses in other metropolitan centers, thus meeting mounting requests from teachers and school boards to get the program off the ground.

The material helps young citizens to learn to identify smear tactics in an election situation, and stimulates them to develop judgments and values relating to election tactics. Other developments on the teaching aids program: Colleges have requested its adaptation for introductory political science courses. Several church groups have asked that it be modified for use by adult discussion groups.

FIRST STATE ELECTION REFLECTS HAWAII'S TOLERANCE

Hawaiian voters on July 28 chose their first state government and U.S. Congressional delegation -- and reinforced with a bang the Aloha State's reputation for racial tolerance. For their top five jobs, Hawaiian voters picked: a governor of Irish ancestry; a lieutenant-governor whose ethnic background is largely Hawaiian, partly Chinese; one U.S. Senator of pure Chinese ancestry; another (a caucasian) who was born in Kansas; and a second-generation Japanese Congressman.

At the outset of the campaign all major candidates of both parties signed the Code of Fair Campaign Practices. Sparked by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, the island press stressed the Code repeatedly. From the standpoint of fair play, the outcome was no surprise. An observer reporting to the Fair Campaign Practices Committee added this P.S.:

"The complete lack of success of several candidates who have campaigned in an unfair or bitter manner during the past few years has indicated to all concerned that such tactics are not acceptable to the voters of the new State of Hawaii."

POLITICAL SCIENCE 'INTERN' TO FCPC

The Citizenship Clearing House, which sponsors an "internship" program for qualified college graduate students in political science, has created an internship for the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. Under the arrangement, a graduate student from nearby Hunter College will be assigned to the Committee for research and staff work which otherwise would be impossible to budget.

The CCH move also constitutes important recognition of the value and impact of the Fair Campaign Committee's work. Other such internships are provided for the Democratic and Republican National Committees. Some state affiliates of CCH have comparable programs in local and state government, and a similar program will be launched next summer at the two national political conventions.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK WILL INVOLVE FAIR CAMPAIGN MATERIAL

The special emphasis of Brotherhood Week 1960 will, in many state and local regions of the National Conferences of Christians and Jews, be on fair campaign practices, NCCJ officials have told the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

An example is Wisconsin, where all local NCCJ operations save one have determined to build the year's program activities around the importance of decent campaigning. The state regional office has developed special material for adult groups, schools and civic clubs, and in addition will use background and reference material developed by the Fair Campaign Practices Committee and the national headquarters of NCCJ. The Fair Campaign Committee's teaching aids program will be made available through the state NCCJ to high schools.

Similar programs are being discussed and planned in other states. The effort is part of this Committee's campaign to get its operations under way early in 1960, particularly in states with early primaries.

DEFICIT MAY CRIPPLE START OF ELECTION YEAR PROGRAM

Each year since 1954 the Fair Campaign Practices Committee has been able to build on the foundation of the preceding year's activity. Today the roster of significant accomplishments has brought praise from politicians, scholars, civic and religious leaders, the press.

Like everyone else, however, we find it impossible to pay the printer with praise. As 1959 nears its end the Committee faces a deficit of nearly $10,000. This can be crippling, at a time when our program must be building up steam for the hottest election in years.

If you have not yet made your 1959 contribution to the Committee, please do it now. It is sorely needed. And it is tax-deductible.

Fair Campaign Practices Committee
8 East 66th Street, New York 21, New York

Gentlemen:

I want to help take the profit out of dirty campaigning. Enclosed is my (tax-deductible) contribution of $ _____.

Name (please print) _____

Address _____ City _____

Code of Fair Campaign Practices

There are basic principles of decency, honesty and fair play which every candidate for public office in the United States has a moral obligation to observe and uphold, in order that, after vigorously contested but fairly conducted campaigns, our citizens may exercise their constitutional right to a free and untrammeled choice and the will of the people may be fully and clearly expressed on the issues before the Country.

THEREFORE:

I SHALL CONDUCT my campaign in the best American tradition, discussing the issues as I see them, presenting my record and policies with sincerity and frankness, and criticizing without fear or favor the record and policies of my opponent and his party which merit such criticism.

I SHALL DEFEND AND UPHOLD the right of every qualified American voter to full and equal participation in the electoral process.

I SHALL CONDEMN the use of personal vilification, character defamation, whispering campaigns, libel, slander, or scurrilous attacks on any candidate or his personal or family life.

I SHALL CONDEMN the use of campaign material of any sort which misrepresents, distorts, or otherwise falsifies the facts regarding any candidate, as well as the use of malicious or unfounded accusations against any candidate which aim at creating or exploiting doubts, without justification, as to his loyalty and patriotism.

I SHALL CONDEMN any appeal to prejudice based on race, creed, or national origin.

I SHALL CONDEMN any dishonest or unethical practice which tends to corrupt or undermine our American system of free elections or which hampers or prevents the full and free expression of the will of the voters.

I SHALL IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY REPUDIATE the support of any individual or group which resorts, on behalf of my candidacy, to the methods and tactics which I condemn.

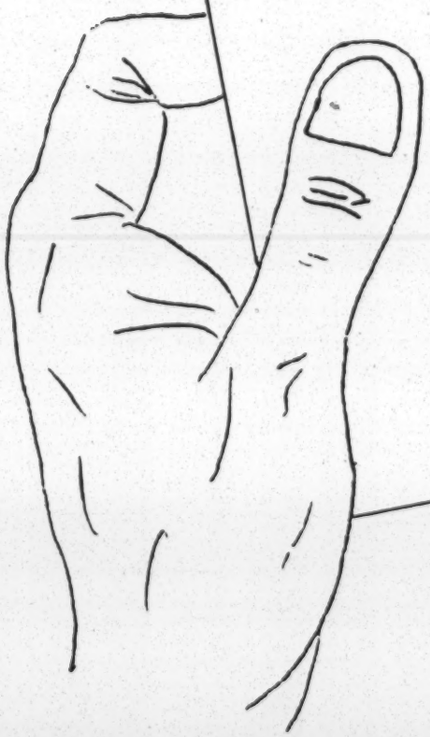
I, the undersigned, candidate for election to public office in the United States of America, hereby endorse, subscribe to, and solemnly pledge myself to conduct my campaign in accordance with the above principles and practices, so help me God.

_____ _____

Date Signature

PREPARATION OF HANDBILLS

PUBLISHED BY



COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
1925 K Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Rev. 7/57 UNION MADE OEIU 2 - LITHO U.S.A.

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
1925 K Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

FEderal 7-7711

HANDBILLS AND THEIR PREPARATION

It goes without saying that preparation of handbills and the know-how of doing it is a must for any union organizer.

On larger projects it may be possible to assign someone with experience to doing publicity and preparing the printed material for the campaign. But this is not always possible -- nor is it necessary.

Preparing a handbill can be done easily if we just follow a few simple principles, using our heads, keeping our eyes and ears alert for situations, developments that lend themselves to visual presentation. We can also do some manufacturing of situations connected with a campaign which likewise lend themselves to visual presentation in handbills.

Essentially organizers are salesmen, their primary function being to sell unionism. As salesmen, organizers must be familiar with the proper techniques, the most important of which is advertising.

Organizers must depend to a great extent upon the use of written material to put their views across. It is necessary to know how to prepare this material properly. Three essential principles must be observed if handbills are to produce desired effects. These three principles are: 1) Simplicity 2) Readability 3) Repetition.

Simplicity merely means that we don't try to say too much at one time. Pick out one or two simple ideas and make them the inclusive subject of the handbill. The essence of handbill simplicity is found in the slogan. Slogans do not have to be clever, nor do they have to rhyme, but they should put the point across in as few words as possible. Arguments supporting a position should be clearly stated. You don't have to give every available shred of evidence to prove you are right. Select at most two or three main points in your favor and hammer them home.

Readability simply means that written material is presented in a way which invites reading. It should not repel potential readers. A frequent mistake made by inexperienced pamphleteers is indiscriminate cramming of written material on a sheet of paper. The result: A black mass of type.

White space is not wasted space. To prove this for yourself, look at some newspaper advertisements. There is usually much more white space than black. This makes the message stand out clearly. In mimeographed handbills particularly, care should be given to frequent breaks in the material to provide necessary white space. Short paragraphs and short sentences should predominate. Vary body copy by underlining some important sentence or words and capitalizing others. Keep margins wide.

Repetition should be used with discretion but it should be used nevertheless. To put over the single idea it should ordinarily be stated about three times, presented from different angles if possible but sticking to the main point you seek to get across. Over-use of repetition may backfire

if care isn't used but on the whole, it has its advantages. These three cardinal rules -- simplicity, readability and repetition form a solid basis for preparation of effective handbills. Objective is to catch the reader's eye, hold it to the end of the handbill and get your point across during this period.

Handbills are of two types -- printed and mimeographed. The printed job lends itself to wider and more numerous distribution, the mimeographed project lends itself to use in the smaller campaigns or for local use in a larger drive.

Just because a handbill is printed, don't think that it is necessarily better than one which is mimeographed. Often use of a handbill that is printed on a small project may have a harmful effect. We may create an impression that we are slick, that we are careless about spending money. It may backfire and aid our opposition, creating the effect that we are trying to swamp the opposition in a tide of fancy material.

The organizer standing in the rain passing out forlorn looking mimeographed handbills creates a much more favorable impression than an organizer passing out fancy printed handbills, wearing an expensive fur coat. Whether a handbill is printed or mimeographed, the principles are the same. One stated earlier was simplicity. Don't forget the short sentence, short paragraph idea. Don't forget the importance of keeping the handbill idea simple (usually only one separate idea to a handbill). Small amount of copy on a page, and where pictures or drawings are used keep them simple.

REMEMBER YOUR AUDIENCE

Don't expect your readers to know as much about unions as you do. On the other hand, don't talk down to them. Walk slowly, but don't crawl. They may not know much about unions but they are not children.

In sizing up your audience, it is good to sit quietly thinking about how you yourself would react to what you plan to say in the handbill then tone down what you plan to say about 50%.

Remembering your audience, it is well to know as much about the group as you can possibly learn. If it is a group with long union experience, you need one approach. It is has been represented by a pretty effective independent union your approach is a little different. If it is a group which has been represented by a weak independent union, it will be still different and if it has never had a union, your approach again will need to be different.

Knowledge of territorial differences, even colloquialisms among local slang is important. Decide whether the group you are speaking to is ultra-conservative or liberal. Learn how important such things as religion, home life, participation in civic affairs, politics and other similar ideas are to the group. Trim your sails accordingly.

All situations need different and special approaches and this applies to preparation of handbills as much as it does to other aspects of organizing work.

Let's consider a situation leading up to an NLRB election.

If a group has certain pre-conceived notions about AFL-CIO or about unions in general, a frontal attack on these prejudices will just get their backs up and make your job more difficult. Remember when we write handbills for use in organizing as in other types of organizing work it sometimes is necessary to soft pedal things like our affiliation or answer such questions as to why are unions a bunch of rackets, and other equally silly objections. We are organizing. We don't have time to preach. We don't have time to get into arguments. We don't have time to do a complete educating job. That can wait until we win the election. Keep your eye on that immediate objective, winning the election.

If a handbill helps us win, it is a good one. If it doesn't help it is more than a waste of time.

IS THE SUBJECT OF THE HANDBILL IMPORTANT TO YOUR AUDIENCE?

Ask yourself this question. Don't worry about how important it is to yourself. Ask how important it is to the workers you are trying to organize.

In deciding how important it is to them remember that all people think first of themselves. "The world revolves around my head," is a good thing to remember.

So we ask ourselves: Are these workers interested in wage and other contract gains? Of course. What about seniority, job security, layoffs, automation, pensions, speed up? The answer again is yes.

But from here on we begin to get into a field where we must decide the degree of interest. We ask ourselves the question: Just how deeply interested are they in the subject?

Some arbitrary decisions have to be made at this point. People are interested in different things and some are more deeply affected by some things than are others. Older people are more concerned about pensions than the younger ones. Likewise, workers are affected to different degrees at different times. Timing is important. When layoffs are imminent, workers respond more adequately to subjects concerned with seniority and other contract matters affecting job security than they do when employment is increasing.

The type of supervision prevailing in a company has much to do with interest in such things as the speedup and excessive supervision. Reaction to such matters depends on the degree of pushing being done by the supervisors -- and who is doing the pushing.

Finally, ask yourself if the content of the handbill fits the group being organized.

IS IT ATTRACTIVE? -- AN EYE CATCHER?

Now we get into technical principles of handbill preparation. These principles are fairly simple. We'll tell you about some of them.

Heading

This can be a single line across the top of the handbill -- or at most two lines. It can be two or three lines of large type taking up about two-thirds of the left side of the top of the page. The righthand side at the top may be devoted to a picture, drawing or cartoon. Keep in mind what a newspaper headline looks like. Look at your morning or afternoon newspaper to refresh your memory. Give these opening words all the punch you can. Your objective is to get the reader to go further into your text, but if he doesn't read the entire handbill you want him to get the idea anyway from the opening words.

To do this you use larger type for the opening words or heading. If it is a printed job, that is easy. If it is a mimeographed job, a little practice with a stylus will do wonders in dressing up a stencil.

Remember - simple statements, simple ideas.

Witty or striking headings and slogans get people to read your handbill but if the witty statement doesn't help make your point it isn't as good as a simple statement of what the handbill is about. Of course, if the witticism does make your point, so much the better.

A cartoon that illustrates the point helps. But if it doesn't do this, if it doesn't attract the reader, it isn't as good as big print, which does.

General Layout

The same principle applies to the over-all layout of a handbill.

There are all kinds of fancy ways to lay out a handbill. You can use a lot of fancy lettering but you don't get prizes for being fancy.

If the technique slows down the reading or is confusing, eliminate the frills and fall back on clearly written, well laid out headlines, and factual copy, straight across the page.

Leaflets are accepted and read while a worker is entering or leaving a building. A girl may be carrying a handbag, possibly an umbrella, maybe some packages. She doesn't have time to puzzle over long words, or long sentences, or to wade through deep paragraphs.

Keep your words as near one syllable as you can. Keep your sentences as short as you can. Stick to one-sentence paragraphs if you can.

Before cutting the stencil, take another look at the dummy copy. See if there are any sentences that can be cut in two.

The simpler and more directly you say what you have to say, the better.

Final Punchline

Sometimes you can end a handbill with the same words, or words which mean the same as you used in the heading. If you can do this, so much the better. Sometimes you can end it with a slogan.

Remember - and this applies to heading, body copy and ending - slogans, catch phrases and tricky statements have a way of catching on and being repeated. Americans are slogan-minded people. They catch on to them quickly and pass them along to others. Use them as often as possible. Repeating the same ones over and over again helps deepend the impression and makes their use more widespread and more effective.

TYPES OF HANDBILLS

There are three general types of handbills which we'll discuss. These are the announcement handbill, the teaching handbill and the action handbill. Most any handbill you can think of would fall into one of these three general types.

The Announcement Handbill

This type doesn't have to carry the punch of other types. Usually you are trying to arouse interest in the activity you are advertising by use of copy and drawings that suggest what you are announcing. A drawing of a speaker at a table or microphone suggests a meeting. A drawing of people dancing suggests a dance. A drawing of people at a picnic suggests a picnic.

Words used in the heading like "Come to the Meeting" or "Let's have a Picnic" or "You are Invited" or "Shall we Dance?" fit in with the picture to describe the activity you are promoting.

Include time and place (and directions how to get there, if needed) and the names of special dignitaries, if they are coming. That is about all. Almost no copy, letting the bare facts, the illustration and the heading tell the story.

The Teaching Handbill

The teaching handbill makes its point in the headline and in the final large type. Illustrations may be used but are not always necessary. The slogan used in the headline may not even fit here. People don't learn all the facts by just reading slogans.

Your text in this type of handbill is the important part. The sentences, and the paragraphs and the words should be short, but the amount of copy can run to considerable length. If the point you are making is important, and isn't known to the people reading the handbill they will want the facts that make the case.

A teaching handbill is effective if it is honest, and if it gets the workers to thinking -- thinking almost anything about the subject you are on, except that you are a liar.

Action Handbills

Action handbills are simple and positive. They center on one single idea or thought. They are designed to get someone to go out and do something -- immediately. The urge to join CWA or the urge to vote -- and vote for us -- are examples of action handbills.

Handbills in general should be written around experiences the people you are writing to have -- incidents on the job, in the office or shop, in the community, or such things as prices and wages about which they could be expected to feel deeply.

If you cite the name of someone everybody knows, so much the better. Be careful, though, that the use of his name is all right with him.

If you can make the handbill a report or testimonial of someone everybody knows, that's good. Be careful here, too. Don't use the same person over and over. People may just think you are building that person up.

The facts in a handbill should be straight. If you are in doubt about a statement, don't make it. People are just as smart as you, and if they catch you lying about things they know about, they won't believe you on things they don't know about. Talk the special job language of the people who read the leaflet. Writers have a fancy name for this. They call it "significant detail." All this means is that you are using phrases and words that are familiar to those who read your material and which, to them, makes the copy more authentic.

Incidentally, it also shows that you know your industry and know what you are talking about. It leads to closer identification between you and the group you seek to organize and means that they will have greater confidence in you.

Finally, it is important not to try to prove too much in a handbill.

If your opposition is a weak independent union, it's all right to call them that. But don't try to prove that they are tools of the company -- unless you can really prove it. Even if you can prove it, you may have trouble convincing the people reading your handbill that you aren't just slinging mud.

It's far better to use an affirmative approach, showing your readers what CWA can do for them and what they can do for themselves through membership in CWA. Ignore your opposition as much as you can.

The chances are most people will believe you when you say the opposition union is a weak independent, because that probably checks with their own experience. But they probably won't believe that it's run by a bunch of crooks, even if it is.

If you attack the company do it in a general way, being specific only about results of company action, such as low wages, unfavorable working conditions or other such things. Don't try to convince the workers that everybody from the foreman on up is a petty thief.

The chances are that the workers will believe you if you say wages should be higher, or that the company is working them too hard or that hours should be shortened. They will believe you because that checks with their own experience and because you will be reconfirming what they want to believe. If you stick to facts you won't be getting yourself in trouble. A handbill is too powerful a weapon to louse up with exaggerations or misstatements or hooey.

If you think handbills aren't powerful just remember that most organizing drives are kicked off with a handbill distribution at company exchanges or at a plant gate.

SOME SUBJECT IDEAS

Ideas for handbill subjects generally suggest themselves from events or circumstances in a particular campaign. Many of them, though, are ideas which we use over and over again, to cover situations which are present in almost all organizing drives to a greater or less degree.

Here are a few ideas for handbill subjects which have been used from time to time in previous CWA organizing drives. Some are better than others, naturally. Some repeat the same general idea in different words.

SPECIAL MEETING

YOU'RE INVITED--ATTEND JOINT MEETING

YOU ARE INVITED--MASS MEETING

ELECTION ORDERED

HEARING HELD

HEARING COMPLETED

CAST YOUR VOTE FOR CWA

YOU DECIDE

ELECTION DATE SET

BE RIGHT--VOTE RIGHT

VOTE THE RIGHT NUMBER

IT'S IN YOUR HANDS

THE REST IS UP TO YOU

ARE YOU BACKING THE UNION--
OR RIDING ITS BACK

YOU HAVE NO CONTRACT

A REAL UNION IS A RESPECTED UNION

GOING TO VOTE?

IT'S A SECRET ELECTION

DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE

VOTE CWA

DON'T LET THEM STOP YOUR CWA VOTE

WE WANT YOU TO KNOW

BETWEEN US GIRLS

DON'T DELAY--SIGN TODAY

FACTS ABOUT US

CWA LEADS

APOLOGIES AND EXCUSES

IBEW DUCKS ISSUE

IBEW IS BLUFFING

WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN

JOIN TODAY--IT DOESN'T COST, IT PAYS

EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

PROTECT YOUR JOBS

YOUR WAGES LAG BEHIND

COULD YOU USE A PAY HIKE?

FULL REPRESENTATION IS THE ONLY REPRESENTATION

LET'S HAVE THE TRUTH

ONE NATIONAL UNION

KNOW THE FACTS

THE ISSUE IS SIMPLE

A MESSAGE

NOT A FAIRY TALE--BUT FACTS

WHICH IS BEST?

ONE INDUSTRY--ONE UNION

AN INVITATION -- TO JOIN

WHAT CWA MEANS TO YOU

YOUR JOB SECURITY

MORE JOB SECURITY

SENIORITY PROTECTED

STABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT

WAGE INCREASE NEEDED

TOWARD THE SIX-HOUR DAY

ELIMINATE AREA DIFFERENTIALS

BETTER VACATIONS

SHORTER PROGRESSION SCHEDULES

DEMOCRATIC UNION

OPPOSITION CONCEDES

CWA WINS AGAIN

This list is by no means complete. It is not intended to be. Your own knowledge and your own analysis of the organizing situation will suggest others.

Usually handbills should be made up on standard 8½ x 11 stock. That's a convenient size to handle at a building entrance. It's also a standard size for mimeograph paper.

There are a lot of other ideas which can and should be used in leaflet distribution. These include half-size four-page leaflets, small one-page handouts, four-page publications with special mastheads, and others. Each of these types lends itself to some form of idea presentation.

Experience will show you which should be used--and when. Some of them can be used with no help other than a borrowed typewriter and mimeograph machine. Others are more ambitious and need professional assistance.

But it's surprising how many of them can be put to good use by the enterprising organizer. And the effects are surprisingly good.

Here is a one-page instruction sheet in use of the stylus on stenciles and sample drawings which you can trace on a stencil to dress it up. We have also included sample type sizes which you can use for headings and sub-headings in your handout.

Let's see what you can do with this material.

- 30 -

N-5236c
August 4, 1961

HOW TO DRAW AND LETTER ON STENCILS

FIRST make a layout.

Type a dummy on ordinary paper, allowing the right amount of space for the large letters and illustrations you are going to trace. Lay this dummy out exactly as it is to appear on the finished job. Trace your illustration and large letters on it in the proper place.

USE A MIMEOSCOPE if one is available. If it isn't, you can do an acceptable job in an emergency by fastening the dummy and the stencil to an ordinary window pane with scotch tape, where sunlight is shining through.

Make sure, however, you place the flexible writing plate between the stencil and the dummy copy so that the stencil will be cut sharply. A fuzzy line will result if you trace on the stencil with the dummy copy directly against the stencil.

Use the proper stylus. If one isn't available, go to a stationery store and get one. They'll advise you what type you need.

If you make a mistake just blot out the incorrect line with correction fluid. Let dry for a minute or so, replace stencil and re-draw line.

Make sure the pattern is evenly impressed into the stencil.

Maybe you'll spoil a stencil or two when you are first learning how to trace letters and illustrations, but it's easy to do once you have mastered the fundamentals.

In this booklet you'll find illustrations which fit most situations you will come across. Make your selection from this list. Then pick the type size you want to use from the list of sizes also included. Next go to work on your dummy. The rest is up to you.

It is recommended that the better grade of stencils be used for tracing work. Because of the longer fibre, they do not tear as easily as the cheaper grades.

August 4, 1961
N-5236d

CWA

SPECIAL MEETING

TELEPHONE WORKERS

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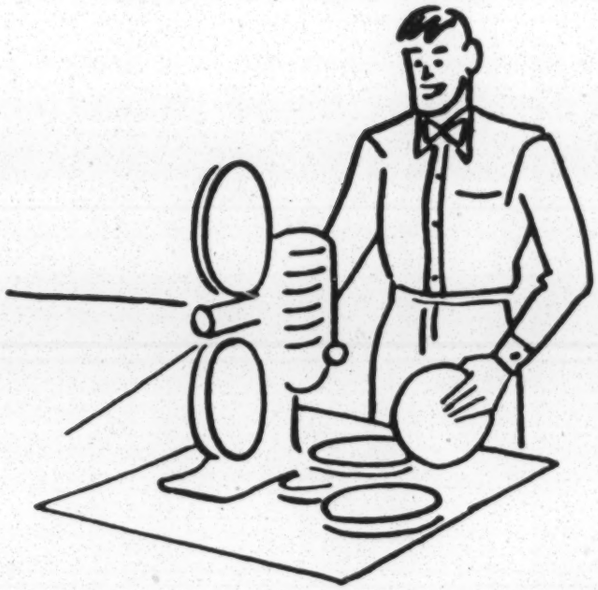

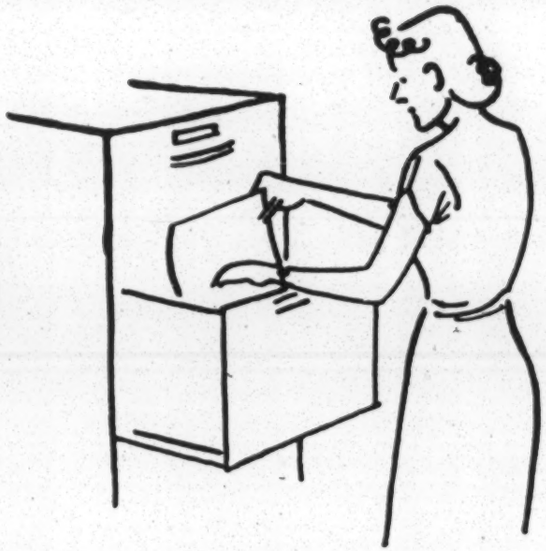

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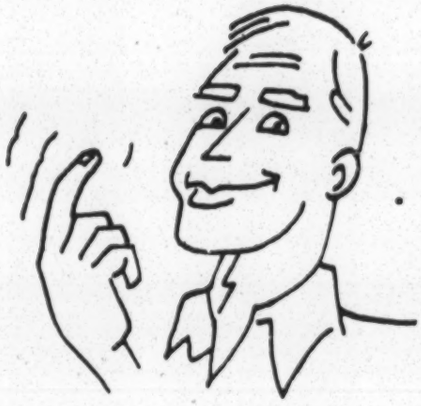

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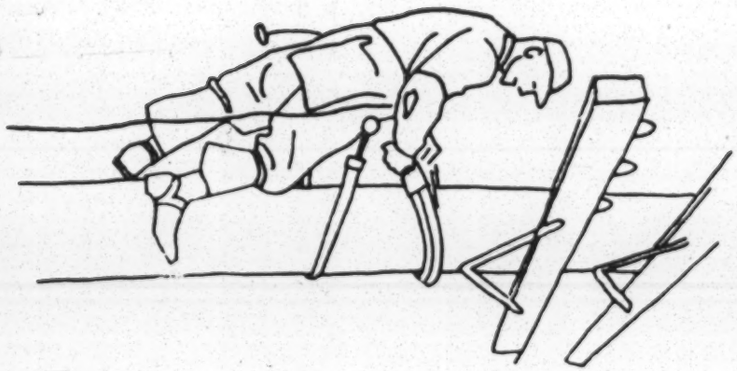

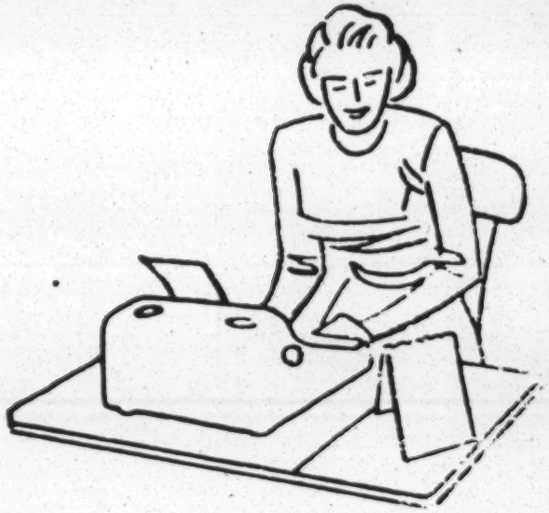

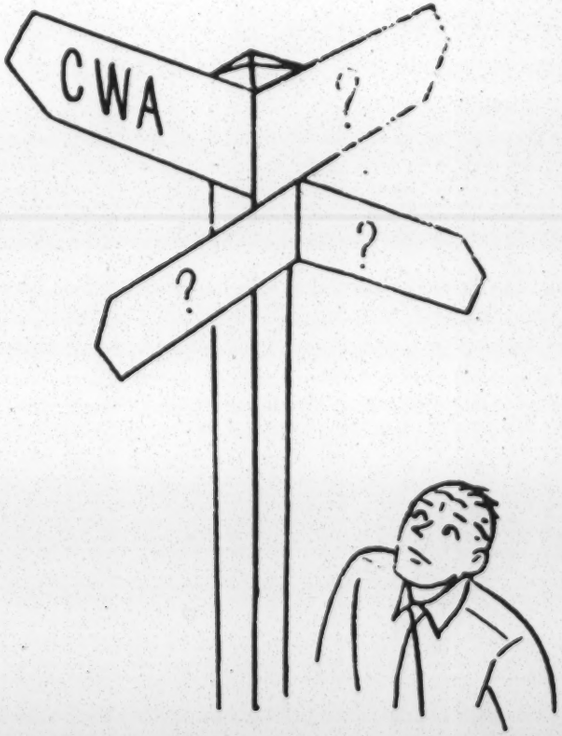
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Report No. L-16
February 26, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATLANTA and WASHINGTON

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

By
FRANK H. STALLINGS
Associate Professor of Education
University of Louisville

Racial Differences in Academic Achievement

The problem of the differences in academic achievement between white and Negro pupils is one that is too important to leave to hearsay. Fortunately, there is a growing store of factual information that bears upon this question, and it is the purpose of this report to review the findings of two prominent school systems relative to the problem.

The first analysis concerns the Atlanta public schools and the second the Washington, D.C. system. Atlanta has made a notable attempt to get at the differences between the achievement of Negro and white pupils in a segregated system by using an outside agency to set up and carry out a comprehensive survey. The Washington school system has completed five years under an integrated set-up, and is in its sixth year under such a program; it, therefore, provides a good example of what may happen to scholastic standards with integration. The fact that in the District of Columbia schools there is an exceptionally large proportion of Negro pupils makes the findings of considerable interest.

The Atlanta Study

In August of 1955 the Atlanta Board of Education adopted a resolution in response to petitions filed for desegregation of the schools. This resolution charged the Superintendent with the responsibility of finding out differences between white and Negro pupils in achievement.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board it was decided that the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, should be employed to conduct a survey of the schools. The resolution emphasized that the survey should be entirely one of fact finding, and was not to be one recommending procedure for desegregation.

The testing of pupils, and the scoring and processing of the test results were to be entirely in the hands of the Educational Testing Service. This testing was accomplished during the first three weeks of January, 1956. All pupils in the 4th and 6th grades of all regular elementary schools (66 white and 31 Negro schools) were given the Stanford Achievement Test in reading and arithmetic. All pupils in the 8th grade of the regular high schools (13 white and 4 Negro schools) were given the Iowa Every-Pupil Test in arithmetic. All pupils in the 12th grades of these same schools were given the Essential High School Content Battery.

The large numbers of pupils tested gives added significance to the test results from the Atlanta survey. There were, in round numbers, 6,500 4th graders, 6,000 pupils in grades 6 and 8 and 3,000 in grade 12.

Before summarizing the results, it is necessary to say a word about testing methods.

In measuring pupil achievement, "grade scores" are used. A grade score of 4.0 is the middle score made by a national sample of pupils at the time they enter the 4th grade and, similarly, a score of 5.0 or 6.0 represents the middle score of the national sample of pupils at the time of entering grades 5 and 6 respectively. A score of 4.5 represents the middle score of the national sample at the mid-point of the 4th grade and a change of one decimal unit in the score indicates approximately a month's change in achievement.

A word of caution, however, needs to be added whenever reference is made to a grade norm. Such a norm by definition is the point below which 50% fell and above which 50% of the scores rose. Another way of saying the same thing is that on any properly standardized test, half of all the pupils in the country would fall below the grade norm and half would be above it; half of the students tested will always score, in other words, "below average." It is therefore essential that any serious analysis of differences in academic accomplishment show not only comparisons in terms of grade score, but also show the spread of these scores and the degree of overlapping of the two groups being compared. This was done with admirable precision in the Atlanta survey. The spread of scores is expressed in terms of the percentage of pupils making scores above or below a particular point in the scale. Overlapping is also expressed in a percent. This percentage describes the portion of white pupils whose scores were equaled by Negro pupils or vice versa.

Now, what did the Atlanta survey show?

First, as the report states, the most significant fact revealed is that the achievement differences *within* the white and Negro groups were greater than the differences *between* the two racial groups. This was true at all levels; it showed up most sharply in 6th grade reading where white pupils were per-

forming anywhere from four grades *below* to five grades *above* their own grade; this meant a range of *nine grades*. Similarly, substantial numbers of Negro pupils were reading anywhere from five years below to two years above their grade level, a range of seven grades. This may appear startling to anyone not familiar with the results of testing, but actually it is typical.

As Walter W. Cook reported in his article, "Individual Differences and Curriculum Practice," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1948) 39:141:

> "When the educational achievement of a typical 6th grade class is measured, we find a range of approximately 8 years in reading comprehension, vocabulary, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic computation, the mechanics of English and other forms of achievement."

In a school by school comparison, similar differences are shown. Looking only at the white schools, the school with the highest average achievement in reading at the 6th grade level showed a median of 8.5, while the white school with the lowest average achievement had a median score of 3.8. Among Negro schools, the highest 6th grade median was 4.4 and the lowest 2.6.

These scores will have for professional educators implications for the future development and potential of a desegregated system. Interpreting them strictly on the surface, we see four apparent facts:

—if Atlanta is more or less typical, an integrated school system would have, at the start, a wider range of student achievement than is the case in either of the segregated systems;

—the achievement levels of an integrated system would, at the start, be weighted downward as compared with the present white system;

—the spread of achievement levels in an integrated system would, at the start, be greater than in the present white system, but not much greater: in 6th grade reading, for example, a range of ten grades instead of nine as at present;

—substantial numbers of Negro students would be *above* average.

Second, there were students of superior achievement of both races; although proportionately more were found among white pupils than among Negroes. At the various grade levels, from 40% to 60% of white pupils met the standard set by the top half of the national sample, while from 2% to 10% of Negro pupils did so. But it should not be overlooked that the figures show that on most tests less than half of Atlanta's white students in 1956 were up to the national medians.

Third, the overlap between white and Negro students was considerable. On the tests at all levels, the scores of approximately 35% to 65% of the white students were matched by those of 35% to 65% of the Negro students. This would indicate that roughly half of the white and Negro students are about equal in achievement.

Fourth, a few Negro elementary schools showed higher averages than did some white schools.

Fifth, the survey re-enforced earlier studies which showed that the farther one moves up the educational ladder in a segregated system, the greater are the achievement differences of white and Negro pupils. This progressively widening difference has probably a two-fold meaning. In the first place, it has been repeatedly shown that irrespective of race the range of individual differences in achievement gets broader as one ascends through the grade levels. Second, differences in academic achievement are related to socio-economic background regardless of race, and these differences would seem to have a progressively retarding effect on achievement. Since more Negro pupils are so handicapped in terms of background, they show up less favorably than the total white group.

These findings revealed in the Atlanta survey contribute concrete evidence as to the kinds of academic problems which need to be dealt with by any school system contemplating the possibility of school desegregation.

The Washington Experience

Now let us turn our attention to a system which effected integration when faced with such problems.

Immediately after the May 17, 1954, ruling by the Supreme Court, the Washington schools entered the spotlight of national concern. With specific reference to the District of Columbia that decision flatly stated that, "Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective and thus it imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty in violation of the due process clause."

Had this ruling come at any time prior to the date of its issuance it would have posed a serious problem. But coming when it did, it found the Washington schools already engulfed in serious difficulties.

First, our nation's capital city had experienced a shift in racial population patterns which began many years prior to the segregation ruling. At the end of World War II the ratio of white pupils to Negroes in the Washington schools was 50,000 to 39,000. By 1950 the Negro pupils were in the majority and by 1958, 74% of the pupils enrolled in the schools were Negro.

Much of the enrollment increase was caused by migration of new families to the District. It might be of interest in passing to mention the origin of this influx. In a recent survey it was found that the 6,000 Negro pupils who had transferred to Washington schools in a given year came from 47 states; 45% were from the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

Second, the District of Columbia school system was attempting to meet the problem of an increased total pupil load and a mounting Negro majority with out-moded administrative machinery, a serious shortage of classrooms and teachers, and a glaringly unrealistic program for maintaining overall scholastic standards.

As far back as 1946 about 7,000 Washington pupils were on half-sessions in double-shift schools. Of this number more than 6,000 were Negroes. In 1948 a survey ordered by the Senate and House District Appropriations Subcommittees revealed that 18% of the classes in white grade schools and 40% of those in Negro schools had in excess of 40 pupils.

That there was unequal financing is attested by the survey made in 1954 by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This survey revealed that the expenditure for each white pupil was $240.27, and that for each Negro pupil was $186.71.

Perhaps the greatest handicap of all to a system facing a rapidly changing racial population pattern was the dual system of administration and supervision. Under that system there were first-assistant superintendents, one Negro and one white.

In the case of the Negro schools, the first-assistant superintendent was by law in sole charge of their administration. This line of demarcation in administration and supervision was carried all the way down. For example, there were two city-wide heads of the Department of English, one for white and one for Negro schools.

Separate testing programs were maintained for Negro and white schools, and in general each organization operated as though there were no common obligations to be discharged.

It is not surprising that as a consequence separate academic standards obtained for Negro and white pupils. For example, in 1953, prior to integration, the median grade equivalent in reading for the 6th grade in the white schools was 7.2. In 1954 when test results for all 6th graders, Negro and white, were reported together, *for the first time,* the average was substantially lower at 4.9. This did not represent a loss by the whites but merely reflected the fact that the Negro pupils, who constituted over 60% of those tested, were considerably below the whites and thus brought the median score down.

How long such a cumbersome and unrealistic plan of organization would have continued in the face of the mounting needs is a matter of conjecture. The Supreme Court's ruling was taken as the occasion for making changes that were already past due.

The Superintendent's plan to implement the Board's policy was approved by that body on June 2, 1954. It provided for extensive desegregation by the following September. A subsequent plan provided for staff reorganization to unify the school system. One assistant superintendent assumed charge of all senior high schools, another of all junior high schools, still another of all elementary schools and a fourth was placed over all vocational high schools and adult education.

The Negro and white supervisory staffs were unified under the direction of a deputy superintendent. A uniform testing program was adopted, and in 1956 there was introduced into the 10th grade the track system of ability grouping. Each year thereafter another grade was added to the track plan until the three years of senior high school had been included.*

Further changes in the instructional program designed to raise academic standards included special summer remedial reading classes, a reading clinic, and increased pupil services to the physically, emotionally, and mentally handicapped. The teaching load at the elementary level was reduced, and there was a reemphasis on thorough teaching.

This extensive revamping of the Washington schools, long advocated by the administrators of the system, came about through an aroused citizenry cooperating with the School Board and the staff in a determined effort to make sure that under integration not only would academic standards be main-

*The track system has now been extended to the junior high and elementary grades.

tained but actually raised. It was the added hope of all these people that juvenile delinquency and other social ills might be favorably affected through this extended cooperative community effort.

What are the facts as to the academic standards in the schools of the District of Columbia, now that this program has been in effect over five full years?

The year 1955-56 was the first time that white and Negro pupils were included in the same testing program. With a school population composed of more than 60% Negro pupils, the median scores were below national norms. The gauge that is significant in measuring the effectiveness of the program undertaken is the amount of improvement that has taken place since 1955-56.

From the time the first city-wide testing program became operative in 1955-56 to the time for the 1958-59 tests a gain was made in the median achievement of every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.

The 1958-59 tests showed the 6th grade medians to be at or above national norms in five out of six sections of the test battery.

By this same year the 3rd graders were within either three or four months of the national norm in all subjects tested, and the average rise in these subjects over the 1955-56 figures was seven months.

During this period of improvement the percentage of Negro pupils increased sharply. In grade three, for example, it rose from 66.3% in 1955-56 to 79.1% in 1958-59, and at the 6th grade level the percentage rose from 63.9 to 75.6.

Thus, academic achievement rose at the same time as the proportion of Negro students rapidly increased.

Reading is usually considered the subject where the handicap of a meager background might show up most disadvantageously and particularly is this true in reading comprehension, often referred to as "paragraph meaning."

On this phase of the test there was at the 8th grade an improvement between 1955-56 and 1958-59 of eleven months, with the median rising to only two months below the national norm. For grades 3 and 6, the improvement was eight months. Fifth graders showed a six-month gain, and 9th graders scored a gain of five months.

Word-meaning, another phase of the reading test, showed gains ranging from three months for 5th graders to six months at grade levels 3 and 6.

In arithmetic reasoning, which is mostly problem solving and calls for considerable reading competence, a gain of eleven months was made at the 9th grade level with gains of nine, eight, five, and three months in grades 6, 3, 8, and 5 respectively.

Language, another background-related subject, showed a six-month gain at the 6th grade level, and a three-month gain at the 5th grade level. These were the only levels where comparable language tests were given.

One change made in the high schools was the adoption of a multiple-track system of ability grouping. Among other objectives it was believed that this would be a means of ensuring that the more capable pupils would not be neglected. A comparison was made of scores on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development by 275 top graduates in 1958 who were not in the Four-Track Program, and 275 top honors students in 1959 who were.

Results of these tests show that the median score in Natural Sciences rose from the 80th percentile to the 86th; in Correctness of Expression, from the 91st to the 96th percentile; and in Quantitative Thinking, from the 85th to the 90th percentile. Comparable improvement was shown in the verbal section of the College Entrance Board Examinations.

These figures furnish substantial evidence that these top students have profited by the opportunities provided them. They demonstrate further that integration has not reduced the capacity of Washington schools to produce students of the highest quality.

The most encouraging trend in social improvement has been reduction in the delinquency rate of non-white children between the ages of five and seventeen. This dropped from 37.1 per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 in 1958. While it cannot be claimed that school integration brought this about, it can certainly be said that integration did not result in an increased delinquency rate among non-whites. Nor did it adversely affect the rate of white delinquency, which fell slightly from 15.3 to 15.2.

Another more direct indication of a school system's effectiveness is the drop-out rate among students after they pass the compulsory school attendance age. The greatest loss usually occurs between grades 9 and 10, the point where youngsters enter senior high school. In 1956, 18% of the white and 35% of the Negro pupils left school at this point. In 1957, the percentages had dropped to 14 for whites and 27 for Negroes.

In summarizing the evidence as to what has taken place scholastically in the Washington schools, it is safe to state that during the five years completed under an integrated program, accompanied by an extensive reorganization and a reemphasis on adequate provision for instruction, steady progress in academic standards has been made.

Conclusions

The following observations summarize the findings from the studies of the Atlanta and Washington school systems.

1. The Atlanta survey reasserted two well-known facts which are basic to all educational plans seeking to preserve and improve educational standards: that differences in individual achievement are very marked; and that differences *within* any racial group are greater than differences *between* groups.
2. Both the Atlanta study and that of the Washington schools revealed that under a segregated plan, proportionately more of the white pupils than Negro pupils met standards set by the top 50% of the national test group.
3. The Atlanta study showed that the overlap in the achievement of the white and Negro groups was very considerable; that between 35%-65% of the scores made by white pupils were matched by a corresponding percentage of the scores of Negro pupils. Overlap occurred not only with individual scores but there were some Negro schools whose median scores exceeded those of some white schools.
4. The Atlanta study showed that in a segregated system the racial differences in achievement were more pronounced in the higher grades than in the beginning grades. However, it should be remembered that in *any* kind of school set-up, it is typical that the *range* of scores increases as pupils advance from grade to grade.
5. The Washington study showed that during the five years following integration, marked progress has been made in academic achievement. From the time the first city-wide tests were given in 1955-56 to the time when the 1958-59 tests took place, a gain was made in the median score for every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given. The tests results show pronounced gains in reading and such reading-related areas as arithmetic reasoning and language.
6. The Washington study shows that with the introduction of the Four-Track system, 275 top students under this program achieved percentile scores well ahead of a comparable group of students from the last class that was not under the Track program. This program was introduced as one means of raising standards for the top students.
7. Data collected by community agencies and by the school system itself show that integration was accompanied by a definite decrease in incidences of juvenile delinquency among the non-whites, and a reduction in drop-outs between the 9th and 10th grades for both racial groups.

Report No. L-25
April 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(Reprinted from *The Washington Post*, March 26, 1961, with permission)

Sunday, March 26, 1961 THE WASHINGTON POST

New Census Look at Cities and Race

By Jack Eisen
Staff Reporter

A SEVERE CASE of "hardening of the boundaries" during a period of massive population growth has moved large American cities, Washington among them, into a sort of statistical limbo.

This was emphasized last night by the release of new Census Bureau data showing that the Nation's metropolitan communities are not as racially unbalanced as earlier figures indicated.

In contrast with the earlier statistics, which covered only areas within cities' political boundaries, the new figures are based on entire metropolitan areas—or, as the Government calls them, "standard metropolitan statistical areas."

FOR METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON, the new census figures show that Negroes make up 487,183 of the 2,001,897 total population, or 24.3 per cent—a figure that has remained fairly stable for half a century. Before that, it was higher.

This new tabulation recognizes that virtually all cities have spilled large numbers of urban-oriented families—city-dwellers in every modern sense of the word—across their invisible boundaries into the adjacent suburbs. These families maintain strong social, economic and cultural ties with the central city.

In fact, Richard M. Scammon, director-designate of the Census Bureau, regards today's city as little more than an enlarged downtown for the metropolitan community.

"In fact, we must develop a new concept of a city to replace one that has ceased to have real statistical meaning," he says.

THE MAPS on this page provide a graphic demonstration. They depict, in identical scale, the Nation's 10 most populous metropolitan communities. Solid areas are the central cities — the enlarged downtowns Scammon referred to. The outer lines are the boundaries of the cities' standard metropolitan statistical areas. Shaded areas show the relative size of Washington and its suburbs.

Within the metropolitan boundaries, of course, land remains for development—just as there was space for Washington to grow

within its political boundaries in 1910, when the census described the District as "essentially urban or suburban in character," with rural pockets.

In the Nation's earliest days, when most Negroes were slaves working as field hands or body servants, the nonwhite population of this area approached half of the total. It reached a peak of 48.6 per cent in 1810.

During the Civil War, many freed men fled to the protection of Washington, tilting the proportion of Negroes upward for two decades. It dwindled slowly until the World War II and postwar population surge ballooned the size and shape of the metropolitan community.

IN THE PAST 10 years, Metropolitan Washington gained 545,293 population, of which 145,440 were Negroes. Of the latter, 127,706 moved into the central city. The District's population now is 763,956, with Negroes accounting for 411,737, or 53.9 per cent.

But Scammon holds that there is "no essential difference" between such developments in American cities today and what occurred a century ago in urban centers along the Eastern Seaboard. Low-income Negroes have tended to cluster in the center of the metropolitan area, he observes, just as the poor immigrant found a place to live in the much smaller downtown of yesteryear.

Then as now, new development in most cities lapped outward. When a municipal boundary was reached, annexation was easy—something not true today.

Washington of a century ago provides an example. The District had been shrunk one-third in 1846 by returning its original Virginia portion, yet the northern city limits reached only to Florida ave. nw. Beyond lay the farms, villages and estates of Washington County, D. C., extending to the Maryland line drawn in 1801.

Philadelphia attained its present size in 1854, San Francisco in 1856, St. Louis in 1876, New York in 1898. Scammon notes that all 10 cities depicted by the maps on this page are similarly straitjacketed.

In all these cities, as in all other large metropolitan communities on the Census Bureau list, the proportion of Negroes in the central city thus is much higher than that for the total metropolitan area. Frequently it is double.

SCAMMON ALSO NOTES that there is little apparent relationship between the Nation-wide "flight to the suburbs" and a community's racial patterns. He cites Minneapolis, which has 2.4 per cent Negroes—the smallest proportion among the top 25 cities—which lost 38,846 population between 1950 and 1960. Its metropolitan area gained 323,096.

During the same period, Washington lost an almost identical 38,222 persons while the area-wide gain was 537,808.

The Census Bureau's new figures show that two cities among the top 25 have metropolitan populations with higher proportions of Negroes than Washington. Metropolitan Memphis has 36.3 per cent and metropolitan New Orleans has 30.8.

Closely following Greater Washington's 24.3 per cent are metropolitan Atlanta with 22.8 and metropolitan Baltimore with 21.9.

Population Division In 25 Metropolises

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from 1960 Census Bureau data, shows the total population and Negro population of the metropolitan areas centering on the Nation's 25 largest cities. Heavy type indicates data for the entire metropolitan area; italic type for the central city or cities and the outside communities (suburbs).

	Pop. Rank	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro
New York	**1**	**10,694,633**	**1,227,625**	**11.5**
New York	1	7,781,984	1,087,931	14.0
Outside		2,912,649	139,694	4.8
Chicago	**3**	**6,220,913**	**890,154**	**14.3**
Chicago	2	3,550,404	812,637	22.9
Outside		2,670,509	77,517	2.9
Los Angeles	**2**	**6,742,696**	**464,717**	**6.9**
Los Angeles	3	2,479,015	334,916	13.5
Long Beach	35	344,168	9,531	2.8
Outside		3,919,514	120,270	3.1
Philadelphia	**4**	**4,342,897**	**671,304**	**15.5**
Philadelphia	4	2,002,512	529,240	26.4
Outside		2,340,385	142,064	6.1
Detroit	**5**	**3,762,360**	**558,870**	**14.9**
Detroit	5	1,670,144	482,223	28.9
Outside		2,092,216	76,647	3.7
Baltimore	**12**	**1,727,023**	**378,575**	**21.9**
Baltimore	6	939,024	326,589	34.8
Outside		788,099	51,986	6.6
Houston	**16**	**1,243,158**	**246,351**	**19.8**
Houston	7	938,219	215,037	22.9
Outside		304,939	31,314	10.3
Cleveland	**11**	**1,796,595**	**257,273**	**14.3**
Cleveland	8	876,050	250,818	28.6
Outside		920,545	6,455	0.7
Washington	**10**	**2,001,897**	**487,183**	**24.3**
D. C.	9	763,956	411,737	53.9
Outside		1,237,941	75,446	6.1
St. Louis	**9**	**2,060,103**	**294,873**	**14.3**
St. Louis	10	750,026	214,377	28.6
Outside		1,310,077	80,496	6.1
Milwaukee	**17**	**1,194,290**	**63,170**	**5.3**
Milwaukee	11	741,324	62,458	8.4
Outside		452,966	712	0.2
San Francisco	**6**	**2,783,359**	**238,754**	**8.6**
San Francisco	12	740,316	74,383	10.0
Oakland	33	367,548	83,618	22.8
Outside		1,675,495	80,753	4.8
Boston	**7**	**2,589,301**	**77,781**	**3.0**
Boston	13	697,197	63,165	9.1
Outside		1,892,104	14,616	0.8
Dallas	**19**	**1,083,601**	**155,488**	**14.3**
Dallas	14	679,684	129,242	19.0
Outside		403,917	26,246	6.5
New Orleans	**27**	**868,480**	**267,478**	**30.8**
New Orleans	15	627,525	233,514	37.2
Outside		240,955	33,964	14.1
Pittsburgh	**8**	**2,405,435**	**161,499**	**6.7**
Pittsburgh	16	604,332	100,692	16.7
Outside		1,801,103	60,807	3.4
San Antonio	**35**	**687,151**	**45,314**	**6.6**
San Antonio	17	587,718	41,605	7.1
Outside		99,433	3,709	3.7
San Diego	**24**	**1,033,011**	**39,397**	**3.8**
San Diego	18	573,224	34,435	6.0
Outside		459,787	4,962	1.1
Seattle	**23**	**1,107,213**	**28,261**	**2.6**
Seattle	19	557,087	26,901	4.8
Outside		550,126	1,360	0.2
Buffalo	**15**	**1,306,957**	**82,910**	**6.3**
Buffalo	20	532,759	70,904	13.3
Outside		774,198	12,006	1.6
Cincinnati	**20**	**1,071,624**	**128,121**	**12.0**
Cincinnati	21	502,550	108,754	21.6
Outside		569,074	19,367	3.4
Memphis	**41**	**627,019**	**227,445**	**36.3**
Memphis	22	497,524	184,320	37.0
Outside		129,495	43,125	33.3
Denver	**25**	**929,383**	**31,548**	**3.4**
Denver	23	493,887	31,066	6.3
Outside		435,496	482	0.1
Atlanta	**22**	**1,017,188**	**231,474**	**22.8**
Atlanta	24	487,455	186,464	38.3
Outside		529,733	45,010	8.5
Minneapolis	**14**	**1,482,030**	**20,702**	**1.4**
Minneapolis	25	482,872	11,785	2.4
St. Paul	40	313,411	8,240	2.6
Outside		685,747	677	0.1

D. C. Population Changes

THE FOLLOWING table, prepared from original Census Bureau figures, shows the total population and Negro population of the communities that now make up Metropolitan Washington. Comparable figures are given for the area of the present District of Columbia.

	METROPOLITAN AREA			DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA		
Year	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Per Cent Negro
1790	51,667	22,343	43.2	No figures available.		
1800	63,653	29,698	46.7	8,144	2,116	26.0
1810	75,703	36,796	48.6	15,471	5,126	33.1
1820	81,059	34,358	42.4	23,336	7,599	32.6
1830	89,328	37,083	41.5	30,261	9,109	30.1
1840	88,077	35,329	40.1	33,745	9,819	29.1
1850	109,786	39,457	35.9	51,687	13,746	26.6
1860	141,215	41,545	29.4	75,080	14,316	19.1
1870	203,108	72,210	35.6	131,700	43,404	33.0
1880	262,405	94,070	35.8	177,624	59,596	33.6
1890	318,909	108,772	34.1	230,392	75,572	32.8
1900	378,615	120,744	31.9	278,718	86,702	31.1
1910	445,399	126,871	28.5	331,069	94,446	28.5
1920	571,882	141,545	24.8	437,571	109,966	25.1
1930	672,198	167,409	24.9	486,869	132,068	27.1
1940	967,985	229,225	23.7	663,091	187,266	28.2
1950	1,456,604	341,743	23.5	802,178	284,031	35.4
1960	2,001,897	487,183	24.3	763,956	411,737	53.9

REPRINTED FROM

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A NATIONAL JOURNAL OF LITERATURE & DISCUSSION

VOLUME 37 AUTUMN 1961 NUMBER 4

The Annealing of the South

By

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society

loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War,

and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Ne-

groes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines com-

mittee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Report L-29
December 4, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

(In Report L-8 of this series, issued August 10, 1959, there was reproduced a statement on the subject of race and intelligence, prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists. The Southern Regional Council believes that the statement now reproduced below ought to be made available to a wide audience. The statement includes a resolution passed at the recent annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during the week of November 13, 1961.)

Association re-affirms its position on race.

At the meeting of the Council of the Association, which included nearly all of the professional Fellows of the Association in attendance at the meeting, the following resolution was adopted unanimously by a vote of 192 to 0:

> "The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

The statement was interpreted by those present as a strong reaffirmation of positions which have been taken on the subject of race differences by qualified scientific societies for many years. In introducing the resolution to the Council, President Gordon R. Willey of Harvard University (Boston papers) stated that "the concern which I wish to lay before you is I think a grave one--one worthy of careful thought and strategic action. It arises from recent press statements

and certain publications on race and racial differences as a basis for social and political action. Many of you have seen such statements. Some of you have called these to our attention. The Board deliberated on this matter which concerns use of the name 'anthropology' and 'anthropological science' in a way we believe to be false and misrepresentative of our profession by persons who are not recognized by the American Anthropological Association as professional anthropologists." The statement on the racial issue concluded with this warning by Dr. Willey: "Clearly we do not consider this statement as the only thing we as anthropologists can and should do in this matter, but we look upon it as a basic statement of position and a resource which our officers and all of us may draw upon in the future. For be assured that the several items in the press and elsewhere which have come to your attention...are but the beginning. We must be prepared to persevere in what we believe to be the truth."

Report L-32
March 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Carleton Putnam's book, Race and Reason: A Yankee View, has been widely circulated in the South. The following commentary by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Assistant Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana, is reproduced without change from the Southwest Louisiana Register, published in Lafayette, Louisiana.*

Dear Editor:

Carleton Putnam's Race and Reason: A Yankee View (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961) deserves some comment because the State Board of Education has purchased 5000 copies for distribution to Louisiana schools. The wisdom of this action is questionable, for the book is fundamentally evasive.

Putnam's overt purpose is to embolden the anthropologists of the South to combat the "pseudo-scientific hoax" of "modern equalitarian anthropology." His vision of timid southern anthropologists, fearful of revealing the truth, cowering in their studies, are too much for Putnam. He knows that the Negro is inferior to the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) and to anyone else, too. He knows because the "character-intelligence index" - a wobbly term he may have invented - "forms the only possible index of the capacity for civilization as Western Europeans know it," and the Negro has never had a decent civilization.

Putnam's qualifications for revising a science to conform to a political platform (better known as Lysenkoism) appear to be a degree in "science" from Princeton, the ability to round up four men with science degrees more formidable than his own who disapprove of the trend of modern social science, and an unusual confidence in the authority of his own opinion. He is, for example, able to write, with the trump of finality, "I say it with sadness, for every argument he advanced I was obliged to refute." To give either the argument or the attempted refutation does not seem to him necessary.

*Other reports on this subject are: Report L-8 (August, 1959); a reproduction of a statement on the subject of race and intelligence by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists; and Report L-29 (December, 1961); a reproduction of a resolution passed by the American Anthropological Association reaffirming its position on race.

Putnam attacks prominent anthropologists because they have, he feels, conspired to conceal the inferiority of the Negro. Not being WASPs, men from central and southern European races like Boas and Herskovits are bent on proving their equality with the majority group, thus elevating themselves and the Negro in theory. Putnam proves how irrational, emotional, or arrogant these anthropologists and other conspirators are by saying they are and he has letters from them (not quoted) which show this. He gives the impression of a wide-ranging, daring scholarship:

"Either from their silences or their comments, I had or sensed the thinking of Kluckhohn and Handlin of Harvard, Murdock of Yale, Herskovits of Northwestern, and Fosdick of Union Theological Seminary. There were dozens of others, from Richard Nixon to Eleanor Roosevelt, from Nelson Rockefeller to Billy Graham, from Allan Nevins to Ralph McGill."

He attacks northern newspapers for not printing his letters and some (he names eight on one occasion) for not accepting a full-page ad; this he deems a conspiracy against the truth. He writes to the Attorney-General, the President, the Supreme Court, and so forth (during the Eisenhower administration). Failure to reply is taken as proof of their silence before his rational superiority. Everywhere he looks, like a peacock in a room full of mirrors, Putnam finds confirmation of his superior posture.

He answers any question, his tone and the make-up of the book suggest; he takes on all comers. Here is how he handles one question:

"But would Christ have discriminated according to race? Was it not always with him a matter of individual worth? Of course, I have never maintained anything to the contrary. In all matters involving dealings between individuals, where the question of intermarrying is not involved, I think individual worth alone should be the criterion. But there is nothing un-Christian in facing the fact that, as individuals differ in merit, so averages differ among races in those attributes involving specific cultures. Judgments as to the average have to be made accordingly. I must repeat that there are few perfect systems in this world, we have to deal with practical realities, and when we are confronted with a situation where a race must be considered as a race, there is no alternative to building the system around the average. The minor handicap to the exceptional individual, if such there be, is negligible compared to the damage that would result to a society as a whole."

His answer to this question goes on and on, to the treating of Negroes as a group. From this excerpt, however, anyone can see the contradiction between, "Of course, I have never maintained anything to the contrary," and his contrary willingness to sacrifice the individual. He answers another question by obviously ignoring the commandment to love your neighbor; perhaps the story of the Good Samaritan (of that despised race of men) has been revised in his Bible. First thing you know, those Samaritans will be wanting to marry our daughters.

Apart from the queasiness of his response to the Christian questions, the essential contradiction within this book lies in the pretended openness and thoroughness of debate and the actual suppression of opposing facts and opinions, even when immediately relevant. A striking instance of this suppression turned up during a check of Putnam's references to articles by Frank McGurk, a Villanova University psychologist who has a Ph.D. from Catholic University. In "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences" (U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 21, 1956), Dr. McGurk explained how his tests showed the Negro to be inferior to the white. This professional article was answered in kind in the Harvard Educational Review (Spring, 1958) by William McCord and Nicholas J. Demerath, III, who concluded:

"In our sample of 612 northern urban boys, we found no significant differences in intelligence between Negroes and Whites. Not surprisingly, however, we found that intelligence is significantly related to socio-economic status, parental education and general home atmosphere... Even if most Negroes were not as intelligent as most Whites, this fact would not deprive them of the rights granted by the American Constitution."

Putnam omitted any mention of McCord's and Demerath's article, even though he printed the second McGurk reference, "Negro vs. White Intelligence - An Answer," (Harvard Educational Review for Winter, 1959), which cannot be understood without reading the attack which it purports to answer. In this method of reasoning Putnam omits the opponent's answer and asserts that the opponent is demolished. Like a champion of old returning alive from combat with a dragon, the existing Putnam is to be taken as proof that the enemy is defeated.

William P. Sullivan
McNeese State College
Lake Charles, La.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

...what it is
...how to use it

Looking Forward

No. 1 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS

From Protest to Politics:

The Future of the Civil Rights Movement

By Bayard Rustin

Reprinted from Commentary February, 1965 by the

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 E. 19 Street New York, N. Y. 10003

FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE FUTURE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

BAYARD RUSTIN

I

THE DECADE spanned by the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will undoubtedly be recorded as the period in which the legal foundations of racism in America were destroyed. To be sure, pockets of resistance remain; but it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable—in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. For in these forms, Jim Crow does impede the flow of commerce in the broadest sense: it is a nuisance in a society on the move (and on the make). Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the most mobility-conscious and relatively liberated groups in the Negro community—lower-middle-class college students—who launched the attack that brought down this imposing but hollow structure.

The term "classical" appears especially apt for this phase of the civil rights movement. But in the few years that have passed since the first flush of sit-ins, several developments have taken place that have complicated matters enormously. One is the shifting focus of the movement in the South, symbolized by Birmingham; another is the spread of the revolution to the North; and the third, common to the other two, is the expansion of the movement's base in the Negro community.

BAYARD RUSTIN, who organized the March on Washington and has been a close associate of Martin Luther King, is widely recognized as the leading tactician of the civil rights movement. This is his first appearance in COMMENTARY.

To attempt to disentangle these three strands is to do violence to reality. David Danzig's perceptive article, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy,"* correctly saw in the Birmingham events the victory of the concept of collective struggle over individual achievement as the road to Negro freedom. And Birmingham remains the unmatched symbol of grass-roots protest involving all strata of the black community. It was also in this most industrialized of Southern cities that the single-issue demands of the movement's classical stage gave way to the "package deal." No longer were Negroes satisfied with integrating lunch counters. They now sought advances in employment, housing, school integration, police protection, and so forth.

Thus, the movement in the South began to attack areas of discrimination which were not so remote from the Northern experience as were Jim Crow lunch counters. At the same time, the interrelationship of these apparently distinct areas became increasingly evident. What is the value of winning access to public accommodations for those who lack money to use them? The minute the movement faced this question, it was compelled to expand its vision beyond race relations to economic relations, including the role of education in modern society. And what also became clear is that all these interrelated problems, by their very nature, are not soluble by private, voluntary efforts but require government action—or politics. Already Southern demonstrators had recognized that the most effective way to strike at the police brutality they suffered from was by getting rid of the local sheriff—and that meant political action, which in turn meant, and still means, political action within the Democratic party where the only meaningful primary contests in the South are fought.

And so, in Mississippi, thanks largely to the leadership of Bob Moses, a turn toward political action has been taken. More than voter registration is involved here. A conscious bid for *political power* is being made, and in the course of that effort a tactical shift is being effected: direct-action techniques are being subordinated to a strategy calling for the building of community

*COMMENTARY, February 1964.

institutions or power bases. Clearly, the implications of this shift reach far beyond Mississippi. What began as a protest movement is being challenged to translate itself into a political movement. Is this the right course? And if it is, can the transformation be accomplished?

II

THE VERY decade which has witnessed the decline of legal Jim Crow has also seen the rise of *de facto* segregation in our most fundamental socio-economic institutions. More Negroes are unemployed today than in 1954, and the unemployment gap between the races is wider. The median income of Negroes has dropped from 57 per cent to 54 per cent of that of whites. A higher percentage of Negro workers is now concentrated in jobs vulnerable to automation than was the case ten years ago. More Negroes attend *de facto* segregated schools today than when the Supreme Court handed down its famous decision; while school integration proceeds at a snail's pace in the South, the number of Northern schools with an excessive proportion of minority youth proliferates. And behind this is the continuing growth of racial slums, spreading over our central cities and trapping Negro youth in a milieu which, whatever its legal definition, sows an unimaginable demoralization. Again, legal niceties aside, a resident of a racial ghetto lives in segregated housing, and more Negroes fall into this category than ever before.

These are the facts of life which generate frustration in the Negro community and challenge the civil rights movement. At issue, after all, is not *civil rights,* strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions. Last summer's riots were not race riots; they were outbursts of class aggression in a society where class and color definitions are converging disastrously. How can the (perhaps misnamed) civil rights movement deal with this problem?

Before trying to answer, let me first insist that the task of the movement is vastly complicated by the failure of many whites of good will to understand the nature of our problem. There is a widespread assumption that the removal of artificial racial barriers should result in the automatic integration of the Negro into all aspects of American life. This myth is fostered by facile analogies with the experience of various ethnic immigrant groups, particularly the Jews. But the analogies with the Jews do not hold for three simple but profound reasons. First, Jews have a long history as a literate people, a resource which has afforded them opportunities to advance in the academic and professional worlds, to achieve intellectual status even in the midst of economic hardship, and to evolve sustaining value systems in the context of ghetto life. Negroes, for the greater part of their presence in this country, were forbidden by law to read or write. Second, Jews have a long history of family stability, the importance of which in terms of aspiration and self-image is obvious. The Negro family structure was totally destroyed by slavery and with it the possibility of cultural transmission (the right of Negroes to marry and rear children is barely a century old). Third, Jews are white and have the *option* of relinquishing their cultural-religious identity, intermarrying, passing, etc. Negroes, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, do not have this option. There is also a fourth, vulgar reason. If the Jewish and Negro communities are not comparable in terms of education, family structure, and color, it is also true that their respective economic roles bear little resemblance.

This matter of economic role brings us to the greater problem—the fact that we are moving into an era in which the natural functioning of the market does not by itself ensure every man with will and ambition a place in the productive process. The immigrant who came to this country during the late 19th and early 20th centuries entered a society which was expanding territorially and/or economically. It was then possible to start at the bottom, as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker, and move up the ladder, acquiring new skills along the way. Especially was this true when industrial unionism was burgeoning, giving new dignity and higher wages to organized workers. Today the situation has changed. We are not expanding territorially, the western frontier is settled, labor organizing has leveled off, our rate of economic growth has been stagnant for a decade. And we are in the midst of a technological revolution which is altering the fundamental structure of the labor force, destroying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—jobs in which Negroes are disproportionately concentrated.

Whatever the pace of this technological revolution may be, the *direction* is clear: the lower rungs of the economic ladder are being lopped off. This means that an individual will no longer be able to start at the bottom and work his way up; he will have to start in the middle or on top, and hold on tight. It will not even be enough to have certain specific skills, for many skilled jobs are also vulnerable to automation. A broad educational background, permitting vocational adaptability and flexibility, seems more imperative than ever. We live in a society where, as Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz puts it, machines have the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of American Negroes is 8.2 years.

Negroes, of course, are not the only people being affected by these developments. It is reported that there are now 50 per cent fewer unskilled and semi-skilled jobs than there are

high school dropouts. Almost one-third of the 26 million young people entering the labor market in the 1960's will be dropouts. But the percentage of Negro dropouts nationally is 57 per cent, and in New York City, among Negroes 25 years of age or over, it is 68 per cent. They are without a future.

To what extent can the kind of self-help campaign recently prescribed by Eric Hoffer in the *New York Times Magazine* cope with such a situation? I would advise those who think that self-help is the answer to familiarize themselves with the long history of such efforts in the Negro community, and to consider why so many foundered on the shoals of ghetto life. It goes without saying that any effort to combat demoralization and apathy is desirable, but we must understand that demoralization in the Negro community is largely a common-sense response to an objective reality. Negro youths have no need of statistics to perceive, fairly accurately, what their odds are in American society. Indeed, from the point of view of motivation, some of the healthiest Negro youngsters I know are juvenile delinquents: vigorously pursuing the American Dream of material acquisition and status, yet finding the conventional means of attaining it blocked off, they do not yield to defeatism but resort to illegal (and often ingenious) methods. They are not alien to American culture. They are, in Gunnar Myrdal's phrase, "exaggerated Americans." To want a Cadillac is not un-American; to push a cart in the garment center is. If Negroes are to be persuaded that the conventional path (school, work, etc.) is superior, we had better provide evidence which is now sorely lacking. It is a double cruelty to harangue Negro youth about education and training when we do not know what jobs will be available for them. When a Negro youth can reasonably foresee a future free of slums, when the prospect of gainful employment is realistic, we will see motivation and self-help in abundant enough quantities.

Meanwhile, there is an ironic similarity between the self-help advocated by many liberals and the doctrines of the Black Muslims. Professional sociologists, psychiatrists, and social workers have expressed amazement at the Muslims' success in transforming prostitutes and dope addicts into respectable citizens. But every prostitute the Muslims convert to a model of Calvinist virtue is replaced by the ghetto with two more. Dedicated as they are to maintenance of the ghetto, the Muslims are powerless to affect substantial moral reform. So too with every other group or program which is not aimed at the destruction of slums, their causes and effects. Self-help efforts, directly or indirectly, must be geared to mobilizing people into power units capable of effecting social change. That is, their goal must be genuine self-help, not merely self-improvement. Obviously, where self-improvement activities succeed in imparting to their participants a feeling of some control over their environment, those involved may find their appetites for change whetted; they may move into the political arena.

III

Let me sum up what I have thus far been trying to say: the civil rights movement is evolving from a protest movement into a full-fledged *social movement*—an evolution calling its very name into question. It is now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*. From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before: automation, urban decay, *de facto* school segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally.

These propositions have won increasing recognition and acceptance, but with a curious twist. They have formed the common premise of two apparently contradictory lines of thought which simultaneously nourish and antagonize each other. On the one hand, there is the reasoning of the New York *Times* moderate who says that the problems are so enormous and complicated that Negro militancy is a futile irritation, and that the need is for "intelligent moderation." Thus, during the first New York school boycott, the *Times* editorialized that Negro demands, while abstractly just, would necessitate massive reforms, the funds for which could not realistically be anticipated; therefore the just demands were also foolish demands and would only antagonize white people. Moderates of this stripe are often correct in perceiving the difficulty or impossibility of racial progress in the context of present social and economic policies. But they accept the context as fixed. They ignore (or perhaps see all too well) the potentialities inherent in linking Negro demands to broader pressures for radical revision of existing policies. They apparently see nothing strange in the fact that in the last twenty-five years we have spent nearly a trillion dollars fighting or preparing for wars, yet throw up our hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty. My quarrel with these moderates is that they do not even envision radical changes; their admonitions of moderation are, for all practical purposes, admonitions to the

Negro to adjust to the status quo, and are therefore immoral.

The more effectively the moderates argue their case, the more they convince Negroes that American society will not or cannot be reorganized for full racial equality. Michael Harrington has said that a successful war on poverty might well require the expenditure of a $100 billion. Where, the Negro wonders, are the forces now in motion to compel such a commitment? If the voices of the moderates were raised in an insistence upon a reallocation of national resources at levels that could not be confused with tokenism (that is, if the moderates stopped being moderates), Negroes would have greater grounds for hope. Meanwhile, the Negro movement cannot escape a sense of isolation.

It is precisely this sense of isolation that gives rise to the second line of thought I want to examine—the tendency within the civil rights movement which, despite its militancy, pursues what I call a "no-win" policy. Sharing with many moderates a recognition of the magnitude of the obstacles to freedom, spokesmen for this tendency survey the American scene and find no forces prepared to move toward radical solutions. From this they conclude that the only viable strategy is shock; above all, the hypocrisy of white liberals must be exposed. These spokesmen are often described as the radicals of the movement, but they are really its moralists. They seek to change white hearts—by traumatizing them. Frequently abetted by white self-flagellants, they may gleefully applaud (though not really agreeing with) Malcolm X because, while they admit he has no program, they think he can frighten white people into doing the right thing. To believe this, of course, you must be convinced, even if unconsciously, that at the core of the white man's heart lies a buried affection for Negroes—a proposition one may be permitted to doubt. But in any case, hearts are not relevant to the issue; neither racial affinities nor racial hostilities are rooted there. It is institutions—social, political, and economic institutions—which are the ultimate molders of collective sentiments. Let these institutions be reconstructed *today*, and let the ineluctable gradualism of history govern the formation of a new psychology.

My quarrel with the "no-win" tendency in the civil rights movement (and the reason I have so designated it) parallels my quarrel with the moderates outside the movement. As the latter lack the vision or will for fundamental change, the former lack a realistic strategy for achieving it. For such a strategy they substitute militancy. But militancy is a matter of posture and volume and not of effect.

I BELIEVE that the Negro's struggle for equality in America is essentially revolutionary. While most Negroes—in their hearts—unquestionably seek only to enjoy the fruits of American society as it now exists, their quest cannot *objectively* be satisfied within the framework of existing political and economic relations. The young Negro who would demonstrate his way into the labor market may be motivated by a thoroughly bourgeois ambition and thoroughly "capitalist" considerations, but he will end up having to favor a great expansion of the public sector of the economy. At any rate, that is the position the movement will be forced to take as it looks at the number of jobs being generated by the private economy, and if it is to remain true to the masses of Negroes.

The revolutionary character of the Negro's struggle is manifest in the fact that this struggle may have done more to democratize life for whites than for Negroes. Clearly, it was the sit-in movement of young Southern Negroes which, as it galvanized white students, banished the ugliest features of McCarthyism from the American campus and resurrected political debate. It was not until Negroes assaulted *de facto* school segregation in the urban centers that the issue of quality education for *all* children stirred into motion. Finally, it seems reasonably clear that the civil rights movement, directly and through the resurgence of social conscience it kindled, did more to initiate the war on poverty than any other single force.

It will be—it has been—argued that these by-products of the Negro struggle are not revolutionary. But the term revolutionary, as I am using it, does not connote violence; it refers to the qualitative transformation of fundamental institutions, more or less rapidly, to the point where the social and economic structure which they comprised can no longer be said to be the same. The Negro struggle has hardly run its course; and it will not stop moving until it has been utterly defeated or won substantial equality. But I fail to see how the movement can be victorious in the absence of radical programs for full employment, abolition of slums, the reconstruction of our educational system, new definitions of work and leisure. Adding up the cost of such programs, we can only conclude that we are talking about a refashioning of our political economy. It has been estimated, for example, that the price of replacing New York City's slums with public housing would be $17 billion. Again, a multi-billion dollar federal public-works program, dwarfing the currently proposed $2 billion program, is required to reabsorb unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the labor market—and this must be done if Negro workers in these categories are to be employed. "Preferential treatment" cannot help them.

I am not trying here to delineate a total program, only to suggest the scope of economic reforms which are most immediately related to the plight of the Negro community. One could

speculate on their political implications—whether, for example, they do not indicate the obsolescence of state government and the superiority of regional structures as viable units of planning. Such speculations aside, it is clear that Negro needs cannot be satisfied unless we go beyond what has so far been placed on the agenda. How are these radical objectives to be achieved? The answer is simple, deceptively so: *through political power.*

There is a strong moralistic strain in the civil rights movement which would remind us that power corrupts, forgetting that the absence of power also corrupts. But this is not the view I want to debate here, for it is waning. Our problem is posed by those who accept the need for political power but do not understand the nature of the object and therefore lack sound strategies for achieving it; they tend to confuse political institutions with lunch counters.

A handful of Negroes, acting alone, could integrate a lunch counter by strategically locating their bodies so as *directly* to interrupt the operation of the proprietor's will; their numbers were relatively unimportant. In politics, however, such a confrontation is difficult because the interests involved are merely *represented.* In the execution of a political decision a direct confrontation may ensue (as when federal marshals escorted James Meredith into the University of Mississippi—to turn from an example of non-violent coercion to one of force backed up with the threat of violence). But in arriving at a political decision, numbers and organizations are crucial, especially for the economically disenfranchised. (Needless to say, I am assuming that the forms of political democracy exist in America, however imperfectly, that they are valued, and that elitist or putschist conceptions of exercising power are beyond the pale of discussion for the civil rights movement.)

Neither that movement nor the country's twenty million black people can win political power alone. We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the *effective* political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition which staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide—Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups.

THERE ARE those who argue that a coalition strategy would force the Negro to surrender his political independence to white liberals, that he would be neutralized, deprived of his cutting edge, absorbed into the Establishment. Some who take this position urged last year that votes be withheld from the Johnson-Humphrey ticket as a demonstration of the Negro's political power. Curiously enough, these people who sought to demonstrate power through the non-exercise of it, also point to the Negro "swing vote" in crucial urban areas as the source of the Negro's independent political power. But here they are closer to being right: the urban Negro vote will grow in importance in the coming years. If there is anything positive in the spread of the ghetto, it is the potential political power base thus created, and to realize this potential is one of the most challenging and urgent tasks before the civil rights movement. If the movement can wrest leadership of the ghetto vote from the machines, it will have acquired an organized constituency such as other major groups in our society now have.

But we must also remember that the effectiveness of a swing vote depends solely on "other" votes. It derives its power from them. In that sense, it can never be "independent," but must opt for one candidate or the other, even if by default. Thus coalitions are inescapable, however tentative they may be. And this is the case in all but those few situations in which Negroes running on an independent ticket might conceivably win. "Independence," in other words, is not a value in itself. The issue is which coalition to join and how to make it responsive to your program. Necessarily there will be compromise. But the difference between expediency and morality in politics is the difference between selling out a principle and making smaller concessions to win larger ones. The leader who shrinks from this task reveals not his purity but his lack of political sense.

The task of molding a political movement out of the March on Washington coalition is not simple, but no alternatives have been advanced. We need to choose our allies on the basis of common political objectives. It has become fashionable in some no-win Negro circles to decry the white liberal as the main enemy (his hypocrisy is what sustains racism); by virtue of this reverse recitation of the reactionary's litany (liberalism leads to socialism, which leads to Communism) the Negro is left in majestic isolation, except for a tiny band of fervent white initiates. But the objective fact is that *Eastland and Goldwater* are the main enemies—they and the opponents of civil rights, of the war on poverty, of medicare, of social security, of federal aid to education, of unions, and so forth. The labor movement, despite its obvious faults, has been the largest single organized force in this country pushing for progressive social legislation. And where the Negro-labor-liberal axis is weak, as in the farm belt, it was the religious groups that were most influential in rallying support for the Civil Rights Bill.

The durability of the coalition was interestingly tested during the election. I do not believe that the Johnson landslide proved the "white backlash" to be a myth. It proved, rather, that

economic interests are more fundamental than prejudice: the backlashers decided that loss of social security was, after all, too high a price to pay for a slap at the Negro. This lesson was a valuable first step in re-educating such people, and it must be kept alive, for the civil rights movement will be advanced only to the degree that social and economic welfare gets to be inextricably entangled with civil rights.

The 1964 elections marked a turning point in American politics. The Democratic landslide was not merely the result of a negative reaction to Goldwaterism; it was also the expression of a majority liberal consensus. The near unanimity with which Negro voters joined in that expression was, I am convinced, a vindication of the July 25th statement by Negro leaders calling for a strategic turn toward political action and a temporary curtailment of mass demonstrations. Despite the controversy surrounding the statement, the instinctive response it met with in the community is suggested by the fact that demonstrations were down 75 per cent as compared with the same period in 1963. But should so high a percentage of Negro voters have gone to Johnson, or should they have held back to narrow his margin of victory and thus give greater visibility to our swing vote? How has our loyalty changed things? Certainly the Negro vote had higher visibility in 1960, when a switch of only 7 per cent from the Republican column of 1956 elected President Kennedy. But the slimness of Kennedy's victory—of his "mandate"—dictated a go-slow approach on civil rights, at least until the Birmingham upheaval.

Although Johnson's popular majority was so large that he could have won without such overwhelming Negro support, that support was important from several angles. Beyond adding to Johnson's total national margin, it was specifically responsible for his victories in Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Goldwater took only those states where fewer than 45 per cent of eligible Negroes were registered. That Johnson would have won those states had Negro voting rights been enforced is a lesson not likely to be lost on a man who would have been happy with a unanimous electoral college. In any case, the 1.6 million Southern Negroes who voted have had a shattering impact on the Southern political party structure, as illustrated in the changed composition of the Southern congressional delegation. The "backlash" gave the Republicans five House seats in Alabama, one in Georgia, and one in Mississippi. But on the Democratic side, seven segregationists were defeated while all nine Southerners who voted for the Civil Rights Act were re-elected. It may be premature to predict a Southern Democratic party of Negroes and white moderates and a Republican Party of refugee racists and economic conservatives, but there certainly is a strong tendency toward such a realignment; and an additional 3.6 million Negroes of voting age in the eleven Southern states are still to be heard from. Even the *tendency* toward disintegration of the Democratic party's racist wing defines a new context for Presidential and liberal strategy in the congressional battles ahead. Thus the Negro vote (North as well as South), while not *decisive* in the Presidential race, was enormously effective. It was a dramatic element of a historic mandate which contains vast possibilities and dangers that will fundamentally affect the future course of the civil rights movement.

The liberal congressional sweep raises hope for an assault on the seniority system, Rule Twenty-two, and other citadels of Dixiecrat-Republican power. The overwhelming of this conservative coalition should also mean progress on much bottlenecked legislation of profound interest to the movement (e.g., bills by Senators Clark and Nelson on planning, manpower, and employment). Moreover, the irrelevance of the South to Johnson's victory gives the President more freedom to act than his predecessor had and more leverage to the movement to pressure for executive action in Mississippi and other racist strongholds.

None of this *guarantees* vigorous executive or legislative action, for the other side of the Johnson landslide is that it has a Gaullist quality. Goldwater's capture of the Republican party forced into the Democratic camp many disparate elements which do not belong there, Big Business being the major example. Johnson, who wants to be President "of all people," may try to keep his new coalition together by sticking close to the political center. But if he decides to do this, it is unlikely that even his political genius will be able to hold together a coalition so inherently unstable and rife with contradictions. It must come apart. Should it do so while Johnson is pursuing a centrist course, then the mandate will have been wastefully dissipated. However, if the mandate is seized upon to set fundamental changes in motion, then the basis can be laid for a new mandate, a new coalition including hitherto inert and dispossessed strata of the population.

Here is where the cutting edge of the civil rights movement can be applied. We must see to it that the reorganization of the "consensus party" proceeds along lines which will make it an effective vehicle for social reconstruction, a role it cannot play so long as it furnishes Southern racism with its national political power. (One of Barry Goldwater's few attractive ideas was that the Dixiecrats belong with him in the same party.) And nowhere has the civil rights movement's political cutting edge been more magnificently demonstrated than at Atlantic City, where the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party not

only secured recognition as a bona fide component of the national party, but in the process routed the representatives of the most rabid racists—the white Mississippi and Alabama delegations. While I still believe that the FDP made a tactical error in spurning the compromise, there is no question that they launched a political revolution whose logic is the displacement of Dixiecrat power. They launched that revolution within a major political institution and as part of a coalitional effort.

The role of the civil rights movement in the reorganization of American political life is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing—all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference. We need to protest the notion that our integration into American life, so long delayed, must now proceed in an atmosphere of competitive scarcity instead of in the security of abundance which technology makes possible. We cannot claim to have answers to all the complex problems of modern society. That is too much to ask of a movement still battling barbarism in Mississippi. But we can agitate the right questions by probing at the contradictions which still stand in the way of the "Great Society." The questions having been asked, motion must begin in the larger society, for there is a limit to what Negroes can do alone.

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NATHANIAL M. MINKOFF
President

TOM KAHN
Executive Secretary

Reprinted from

Commentary

The independent journal of significant thought
sponsored as a public service by
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022
Annual Subscription – $7.00

Employer.....

with

Local.....of the ILGWU

CONTENTS

ARTICLE NO.	SUBJECT	PAGE
I	Mutual Obligations	1
II	Union Recognition	1
III	Union Membership	2
IV	Trial Period — Notification	2
V	Check-off	2
VI	Hours — Overtime	3
VII	Wages and Standards	3
VIII	Discharges and Discipline	4
IX	Distribution of Work	4
X	Chairlady — Price Committee	5
XI	Fair Employment Practices	5
XII	Assignment to Other Work	5
XIII	Holidays	6
XIV	Right to Leave Shop — Call-in Time	6
XV	Benefit Funds	6
XVI	Individual Contracts — Sub-Contracting	8
XVII	Job Rights, Illness, Leave of Absence	8
XVIII	Contractors — Additional Shops — Moving — Integrated Production	9
XIX	Crossing Picket Line	9
XX	Struck Work	10
XXI	Lay-Off and Recall	10
XXII	Access to Shop — Examination of Books	10
XXIII	Agency	11
XXIV	Non-Payments — Responsibility	11
XXV	Rise in Cost of Living	11
XXVI	Change in Legal Minimums	12
XXVII	Limitation on Vacations	12
XXVIII	No-Strike, No-Lockout Pledges	12
XXIX	Adjustment Machinery — Court Actions Barred	13
XXX	New Products	14
XXXI	Improvement in Major Market	14
XXXII	Subsidiary, Auxiliary or Affiliated Firms	14
XXXIII	Union Label	15
XXXIV	Liquidated Damages for Violations	15
XXXV	Additional Provisions	15
XXXVI	Conformity to Law — Saving Clause	15
XXXVII	Term	16
SCHEDULE "A"		17

THIS AGREEMENT MADE AND ENTERED INTO THIS.....

day of .....196....., by and between.....

.....

located at .....,
hereinafter designated as the "Employer", and Local ..... of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, said Local being an unincorporated association and hereinafter designated as the "Union", for and in behalf of itself and the employees now employed or hereafter to be employed by the Employer.

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the Employer represents that it is engaged in the apparel and clothing industry in the making of .....; and

WHEREAS, the workers employed by the Employer have duly designated the Union as their exclusive bargaining representative for the purpose of collective bargaining with the Employer with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours and other conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, the parties desire to cooperate in establishing conditions which will tend to secure a living wage, improved working conditions and fair competition insofar as labor cost is concerned, and to provide methods for a fair and peaceful adjustment of all disputes that may arise between the parties;

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the mutual promises and obligations herein assumed and contained, and other good and valuable considerations, the parties agree as follows:

ARTICLE I: MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS

The parties agree that this agreement shall be binding upon them and their respective transferees, successors and assigns, and that they will faithfully comply with its provisions. In the event the Employer sells or transfers the business or the shop, the Employer shall nevertheless continue to be liable for the complete performance of this agreement until and unless the purchaser or transferee expressly acknowledges in writing that it is fully bound by the terms of this agreement.

ARTICLE II: UNION RECOGNITION

The bargaining unit covered by this agreement consists of all non-supervisory production, maintenance, packing and shipping workers employed by the Employer. It is agreed that the Union represents a majority of such workers and that it shall be the sole and exclusive bargaining representative for all workers in the bargaining unit during the entire period of this agreement. Neither the Employer nor any of its agents shall directly or indirectly discourage membership in the Union.

ARTICLE III: UNION MEMBERSHIP

1. Unless at the time prohibited by law, membership in the Union shall be a condition of employment for all employees on and after the thirtieth day following the beginning of such employment or the execution or effective date of this agreement, whichever is the later, but not before completion of the worker's trial period. If the foregoing is prohibited by law, then at the corresponding time all employees shall be required as a condition of employment (unless prohibited by law) to pay to the Union a service charge to reimburse it for the cost of negotiating and administering this agreement.

2. In the event that paragraph 1 may not be lawfully applied, all employees shall be informed by the Employer of the existence of this agreement and the terms thereof and shall be advised by the Employer that, in its opinion, good labor management relations are and will be best served and promoted if the employees become and remain members of the Union. The Employer agrees to implement and promote this provision by posting copies of the following notice near all time clocks and on bulletin boards and other prominent places:

"NOTICE TO ALL EMPLOYEES

"This shop is being operated under the terms of an agreement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL-CIO. All wages, hours and other conditions of employment are regulated by the terms of this agreement. Good labor-management relations will be best served and promoted, in our opinion, if all our employees covered by this agreement become and remain members of this Union.

Signed .....

.....

Name of Employer"

ARTICLE IV: TRIAL PERIOD — NOTIFICATION

1. Newly hired experienced workers shall be deemed during their first two (2) weeks of employment and newly hired inexperienced workers shall be deemed during their first .....( ) weeks of employment to be engaged for a trial period, during which they may be discharged without regard to cause.

2. The Employer shall notify the Union monthly in writing of all new employees hired and of all employees terminated.

ARTICLE V: CHECK-OFF

The Employer agrees to deduct membership dues (which shall be deemed to include periodic fixed dues, initiation fees, and assessments) from the earnings of its employees monthly and transmit the same to the Union or its designee within forty-eight (48) hours thereafter, subject to the requirements of law concerning authorization and assignment by the workers individually. Sums so deducted by the Employer shall be kept separate and apart from the general funds of the Employer and shall be held in trust by the Employer for the benefit of the Union.

ARTICLE VI: HOURS — OVERTIME

The standard hours of employment shall be thirty-five (35) hours per week divided equally into the first five (5) working days. All work outside the daily regular hours shall be considered overtime and shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half. Saturday work as such shall be considered overtime and shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half. Such work may be performed upon Union approval.

ARTICLE VII: WAGES AND STANDARDS

1. All employees who are employed for ..... ( ) months or more shall receive a minimum wage of no less than the following rates computed on a daily basis:

Cutters	..... per	.....
Spreaders	..... per	.....
Operators	..... per	1.50
Pressers	..... per	.....
Finishers	..... per	.....
Floor help	..... per	.....
Inspectors	..... per	.....
Packers	..... per	.....
Shippers	..... per	.....

2. Piece rates for each operation shall be set to yield 20% ad ..... ($ 1.00 dollars per hour. Where workers have demonstrated their ability to earn more than this, piece rates on new work shall be set to yield no less than their previously demonstrated hourly earnings during a representative period.

3. Wages shall be paid in cash weekly on a fixed day.

4. No homework shall be permitted.

5. The Employer shall comply with all the standards of sanitation and safety required by law.

6. The Employer shall not charge workers for damage to material unless caused wilfully.

7. If the settlement of piece rates has been unduly delayed by the Employer, workers shall not be required to work on garments for which the piece rates have not been finally settled unless the Union directs otherwise. When piece rates are settled, such rates shall be retroactive to the inception of the work.

8. The Employer shall send to the Union office monthly a copy of its payroll for the last work week of the preceding month, which shall show the hours and pay of each employee in the bargaining unit. The Employer shall also make available to the Union upon its request the data employed in setting wages or piece rates.

9. A worker shall be compensated for time lost through excessive machine breakdown, and shall also be compensated for excessive waiting time from other causes for which such worker is not responsible.

10. Wages, prices, standards and other working conditions now existing or hereafter established in the Employer's shop shall not be lowered.

11. The prevailing system of work, namely, time or piece work, shall not be changed during the term of this agreement, except by mutual agreement between the Union and the Employer.

12. If provision is made in this agreement for the payment of vacation pay by the Employer to the workers, any worker who leaves his employ for good reason or whose employment is terminated involuntarily prior to the distribution of such payment shall then be entitled to receive his pro rata vacation pay from the Employer corresponding to the fractional portion of the twelve (12) month period preceding such distribution in which he worked for the Employer.

13. The Employer may grant merit, length-of-service, or other individual increases or adjustments only upon approval by the Union.

ARTICLE VIII: DISCHARGES AND DISCIPLINE

No worker shall be discharged or otherwise disciplined without good and sufficient cause, except during his trial period. If the discharge or disciplinary act is found to be unjustified, the worker may be compensated for his loss of earnings during the period of such discharge or disciplinary act.

ARTICLE IX: DISTRIBUTION OF WORK

1. At all times work shall be distributed among the workers on an equal and equitable basis.

2. No member of the Employer or supervisory employee or designer or any person outside the bargaining unit shall perform any work in any job covered by this agreement.

3. If a worker has been laid off and any member of the Employer or supervisory employee or designer or any person outside the bargaining unit does his work, the Employer shall reimburse the worker so laid off for his loss of earnings and shall immediately reemploy him.

ARTICLE X: CHAIRLADY — PRICE COMMITTEE

There shall be a Shop Chairlady and Price Committee selected by or under the auspices of the Union. The Shop Chairlady shall be compensated by the Employer for time unavoidably lost during working hours in the process of adjusting grievances.

ARTICLE XI: FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

The Employer shall not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, sex or age.

ARTICLE XII: ASSIGNMENT TO OTHER WORK

1. A worker who is requested to perform work other than his regular work while his regular work is available shall receive for such other work his average hourly earnings in his regular work during his last four (4) weeks of full employment prior to the change, or his earnings in the new work, whichever is greater.

2. A worker who is requested to perform work other than his regular work while his regular work is unavailable shall receive for such other work the established piece or time rate therefor or a mutually agreed on guaranteed rate, but in no event less than the minimum provided in this agreement.

ARTICLE XIII: HOLIDAYS

1. The following holidays shall be observed and all employees, whether time or piece workers, shall be paid a full day's pay for them in any event and regardless of whether such holidays fall on a working day or non-working day of the week or in any non-working week:

New Year's Day
Good Friday
Memorial Day
July 4th
Labor Day
One-half day of Primary Election Day
One-half of Election Day
Thanksgiving Day
Day after Thanksgiving Day
Day before Christmas Day
Christmas Day

An employee shall be eligible for holiday pay provided that, while work is available, he works both the day before and the day after the holiday, unless his absence is for justifiable cause.

2. Holiday pay for each time and piece worker shall be based upon his average earnings during his last four (4) weeks of full employment prior to the holiday.

3. In the event work is performed on any such holiday, it shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half in addition to the holiday pay.

ARTICLE XIV: RIGHT TO LEAVE SHOP — CALL-IN TIME

Workers shall not be required unreasonably to remain in the shop during the day when there is no work for them. All workers who are requested or permitted to report for work shall be supplied with at least one-half (½) day's continuous work or be paid therefor at their average hourly earnings in their regular work during their last four (4) weeks of full employment.

ARTICLE XV: BENEFIT FUNDS

1. The Employer shall pay weekly to the Union a sum equivalent to .....(%) per cent of its total gross weekly payroll (before deduction for federal or state taxes) of all the non-supervisory production, maintenance, packing and shipping workers (whether Union or non-union workers and whether regular or trial period workers) employed in any of its own shops. Such payments shall be allocated as follows:

(a) .....(%) per cent towards the Southeastern Regional ILGWU Health and Welfare Fund, a trust fund established by collective agreement and maintained in trust for the purpose of providing workers with health, welfare, and recreation benefits and services.

(b) .....(%) per cent towards the ILGWU National Retirement Fund, a trust fund established by collective agreement for the purpose of providing pensions or annuities on retirement or death of workers.

(c) .....(%) per cent towards the Supplementary Unemployment-Severance Benefits Fund, ILGWU, a trust fund established by collective agreement for the purpose of providing workers with supplementary unemployment-severance benefits.

If the Employer employs contractors of whatever kind to perform any work for it, it shall, in addition, pay weekly to the Union towards said Funds ..... (%) per cent of the total amount paid to or due to such contractors each week for such work.

None of the payments made hereunder by the Employer shall constitute or be deemed wages due to the workers.

2. The said Health and Welfare Fund, the said Retirement Fund and the said Supplementary Unemployment-Severance Benefits Fund each shall be administered in accordance with its by-laws or rules and regulations by a Board of Trustees. Each Board of Trustees shall be composed of union representatives and an equal number of representatives of employer contributors to that Fund. In the event that the Board of Trustees shall be deadlocked on any issue or matter arising in connection with its Fund, the same shall be decided by a neutral person as set forth in the by-laws or rules and regulations of said Fund, and his decision shall be final and binding. The parties hereto hereby ratify, confirm and approve the composition and membership of each Board of Trustees as now or hereafter constituted.

Each Board of Trustees shall adopt and promulgate such by-laws or rules and regulations to effectuate the purpose of its Fund as it may deem necessary and desirable, including the detailed basis upon which payments from the Fund will be made, and shall have the power to modify the same from time to time. The parties hereto agree to be bound thereby and they are hereby incorporated in and made part of this agreement.

An annual audit of each Fund shall be made by accountants designated by its Board of Trustees. A statement of the results of such audit shall be made available for inspection by interested persons at the principal office of the Fund and at such other places as may be designated by its Board of Trustees.

The Employer shall have no legal or equitable right, title, claim or interest in or to said Funds. No individual worker shall have any legal or equitable right, title or interest in, or claim against, his or any other employer's payments toward said Funds or against said Funds, except as may be provided by the by-laws or rules and regulations of said Funds.

None of the monies paid into each of said Funds shall be used for purposes other than those permitted by law, and to pay the operating and administrative expense of such Fund. The monies of each of said Funds shall be kept separate and apart from all other monies.

3. The Board of Trustees of each said Fund is hereby authorized and empowered, in its sole discretion and upon such basis as it deems desirable, to transfer or mingle the assets of said Fund or to merge said Fund with another health and welfare fund or funds, with another retirement fund or funds, or with another supplementary unemployment-sever-

ance benefits fund or funds, as the case may be, now or hereafter existing and established by collective agreement with any unit of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or with the said International itself. In the event of such transfer, mingling or merger, the amounts hereinabove provided to be allocated toward the particular Fund shall thereafter be paid over to the fund or funds with which there has been such transfer, mingling or merger.

4. The Union or the Board of Trustees of the Fund, or either of them, shall be proper parties in interest to enforce collection of payments due from the Employer toward said Fund. In the event any amount due from the Employer under this ARTICLE XV remains unpaid for thirty (30) days after becoming due, such amount shall automatically bear interest thereafter at the rate of six (6%) per cent per annum and the Employer shall pay the same.

ARTICLE XVI: INDIVIDUAL CONTRACTS — SUB-CONTRACTING

1. The Employer shall not enter into any individual contracts with any of its workers without prior Union approval.

2. No contractor shall sub-contract its work to any other shop.

ARTICLE XVII: JOB RIGHTS, ILLNESS, LEAVE OF ABSENCE

1. An employee who has been absent by reason of his own bona fide illness, subject to verification, and returns to work within one hundred and twenty (120) days of the commencement of such absence, shall be entitled to the job last performed prior to such absence, if available, otherwise to any job, with entitlement to his original job if same becomes available during the succeeding four (4) months. Such employee's continuity of service shall be preserved.

If such employee returns after one hundred and twenty (120) days of such absence but not later than one hundred and eighty (180) days of such absence, then such employee shall be entitled to any available job and the employee's continuity of service shall be preserved.

2. An employee may obtain a leave of absence up to one hundred and eighty (180) days upon written application to the Employer. Any leave of absence may be extended up to an additional one hundred and eighty (180) days for good cause shown. The Employer shall not unreasonably withhold his consent to the original application or the extension.

ARTICLE XVIII: CONTRACTORS — ADDITIONAL SHOPS — MOVING — INTEGRATED PRODUCTION

1. The Employer shall have no work performed outside of its own shop unless the workers of its inside shop are fully supplied with work, and unless such outside shop is under contract with a unit of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and has complied with the terms thereof, is registered by the Employer with the Union herein, and maintains at least the standard of wages and hours established under the agreement herein. With respect to any work done by such outside shop on garments for the Employer, the Employer herein shall also be responsible to the employees of such outside shop for their unpaid wages and to the appropriate unit of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for dues and other monies due it.

2. Should the Employer desire to expand or open an additional shop, notice thereof shall be given by said Employer to the Union prior to the expansion or opening of such shop and such shop shall be operated under all the terms and conditions of this agreement. In no case, however, shall the operation of such shop result in reducing the work or the number of workers at present employed in the shop to which this agreement is now applicable.

3. The Employer agrees that during the term of this agreement it shall not move its shop from its present location.

4. In order to safeguard working standards and employment opportunities of the workers covered by this and other agreements in the garment industry, it is agreed that all garments or parts thereof handled by the Employer during the term of this agreement, whether finished or partly finished, shall be manufactured exclusively either in its own shop or, as parts of an integrated process of production under the jobber-contractor system of production, in a shop under contract with a unit of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and accordingly the Employer shall not handle, purchase, import, or otherwise obtain, directly or indirectly, any other wholly or partly finished garments whatsoever during the term of this agreement.

ARTICLE XIX: CROSSING PICKET LINE

To the extent permitted by law, it shall not be considered a breach of this agreement on the part of the Union or on the part of any individual employee if any employee or

employees refuse to cross any picket line recognized by the Union or to enter upon the picketed premises of the Employer, either of their own volition or by direction of the Union, nor shall such refusal be cause for discharge or discipline.

ARTICLE XX: STRUCK WORK

The Employer shall not perform any work for or give any work to any jobber, manufacturer, contractor, or sub-contractor engaged in the apparel and clothing industry against which a strike has been declared, and in no event shall it request any of its employees to perform work destined directly or indirectly for such concern. Such work shall not be deemed in the workers' regular course of employment, and the workers need not perform such work.

ARTICLE XXI: LAY-OFF AND RECALL

In the event of a reduction of force in any department for any reason, the workers shall be laid off in inverse order of seniority, provided, however, that the worker retained can perform the work satisfactorily. Upon resumption of work, the workers shall be recalled in reverse sequence, i.e., the last laid off shall be the first recalled. Seniority status shall not be affected by a lay-off.

ARTICLE XXII: ACCESS TO SHOP — EXAMINATION OF BOOKS

1. Representatives of the Union shall have access to the shop of the Employer for the purpose of taking up complaints and for the purpose of ascertaining whether the terms of this agreement are being complied with.

2. The Employer shall, upon request, submit to representatives of the Union the payroll books and all other pertinent records for examination for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Employer has complied with the terms of this agreement.

3. The failure of the Employer to permit access to the shop or to submit such books and records shall be presumptive evidence of the violation complained of and shall justify sustaining the Union's complaint. Moreover, in the event of such failure by the Employer, the Union at its option may consider that the Employer has forfeited its rights under the agreement.

ARTICLE XXIII: AGENCY

The Employer agrees that the sole persons authorized or having the power to act as agents of the Union, or to bind the Union legally with respect to matters arising out of this agreement or arising out of the relations between the Employer and the Union, or to subject the Union to any liability whatever by reason of any act or omission are the Regional Director of the Union and the designated Business Agent servicing the shop (or such substitute or additional persons as the Union may hereafter formally designate by written notice to the Employer). The Union shall not be responsible for the acts or omissions of any other person, including members and employees of the Union. The Employer further agrees that the Union, in entering into or administering this agreement, is not an agent of or acting on behalf of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and that in no event shall the latter be bound by or liable under this agreement or be otherwise liable.

ARTICLE XXIV: NON-PAYMENTS — RESPONSIBILITY

1. Notwithstanding ARTICLES XXVIII and XXIX or any other provision of this agreement, if the Employer fails for five (5) days to pay in full any wages due to the workers covered by this agreement, any dues or other monies due to the Union, any payments due under ARTICLE XVIII, or any payments due towards the Funds as provided in ARTICLE XV, the Union may immediately direct the workers to discontinue work until all sums due have been paid in full and/or may immediately institute action at law or equity or before an administrative tribunal to obtain payment of such sums. These rights shall be in addition to all other remedies available to the Union.

2. The officers, directors and stockholders of the Employer shall, as individuals as well as in their corporate capacities, be personally liable, jointly and severally, for full compliance with this agreement including the payments above set forth.

3. In the event of any breach of this agreement by the Employer (including any non-payment by the Employer of sums due to any employees for wages, holiday pay, or otherwise) the Union in its own name shall be a proper party in interest to enforce compliance by the Employer with this agreement on the Union's own behalf and on behalf of any affected employees without further assignments or authorizations from them.

ARTICLE XXV: RISE IN COST OF LIVING

Should there be a rise in the cost of living, the parties will meet for the purpose of considering an increase in wages commensurate therewith. In the event of any disagreement, the matter shall be treated as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX.

ARTICLE XXVI: CHANGE IN LEGAL MINIMUMS

Should federal or state legislation be enacted increasing minimum wages under the law, the minimum wages under this agreement shall in no event be less than twenty-five (25¢) cents above said legal minimum wage. It is further agreed that, upon any such increase in minimum wages, the Union shall have the right to renegotiate upward the piece rate and wage structure of the shop. In the event of any disagreement, the matter shall be treated as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX.

ARTICLE XXVII: LIMITATION ON VACATIONS

The Employer shall not designate or provide a vacation period or shut down its shop (or a part thereof) for the purpose of providing a vacation unless the particular action is effected pursuant to a written agreement signed by the Employer and the Union (through its representative designated in ARTICLE XXIII) particularly specifying a vacation as the purpose thereof. Any action contrary to the foregoing, whether taken by the Employer unilaterally or with the consent of any individual employee or group of employees, shall be wholly ineffective and shall not be deemed to constitute or provide a vacation.

ARTICLE XXVIII: NO-STRIKE, NO-LOCKOUT PLEDGES

The Union agrees that it will not call, authorize or ratify a strike or stoppage during the life of this agreement, except for the Employer's failure to submit to arbitration or to comply with the decision of an arbitrator. Should any strike or stoppage occur, the Union's sole obligation shall be to endeavor in good faith, within twenty-four (24) hours after receipt of written notice thereof from the Employer, to bring about the return to their work of its members who have stopped work. Upon the failure of any employees to return to work within said twenty-four (24) hour period, the Employer may at its option consider that such employees have abandoned their employment; but should the Employer reemploy such employees, it shall treat all such employees alike and shall not discriminate against or among them. Compliance by the Union in good faith with this provision shall be deemed full compliance with the Union's obligation hereunder.

The foregoing no-strike, no-stoppage obligations shall be wholly suspended and of no force and effect, and the Union may call, authorize or ratify a strike or stoppage, during the continuance of any strike or stoppage (not in violation of contract) declared by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union or any unit thereof at any plant of any firm which is directly or indirectly affiliated with or related to the Employer herein.

The Employer agrees that it will not order, authorize or ratify a lockout during the life of this agreement. Should any lockout occur, the Employer's sole obligation shall be to endeavor in good faith, within twenty-four (24) hours after receipt of written notice thereof from the Union, to terminate the lockout and to reemploy the employees. Upon the failure of the Employer to do so within said twenty-four (24) hour period, the Union at its option may treat the matter as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX, or may consider that the Employer has forfeited its rights under the agreement.

ARTICLE XXIX: ADJUSTMENT MACHINERY — COURT ACTIONS BARRED

1. Any and all disputes, complaints, controversies, claims or grievances whatsoever between the Union or any employees and the Employer or any person responsible under ARTICLE XXIV, which directly or indirectly arise under, out of, or in connection with or in any manner relate to this agreement or the breach thereof, or the acts, conduct or relations between the parties shall be adjusted as follows:

(a) The Shop Chairlady or in the case of piece rate disputes the Price Committee, together with a representative of the Union, shall attempt to settle the matter with a representative of the Employer. No adjustment shall be deemed binding on the Union unless approved by an authorized representative thereof.

(b) If they shall fail satisfactorily to dispose of any such dispute, complaint, controversy, claim or grievance, or if for any reason it has not been taken up by them, or if the matter does not lend itself to the foregoing procedure, the matter shall be submitted to arbitration before an arbitrator agreed on by the parties. If the parties cannot agree on an arbitrator within three (3) days, then upon request of either party the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service shall designate the arbitrator and the arbitration shall be conducted in accordance with its rules. The award or decision of the arbitrator, in addition to granting such other relief as the arbitrator may deem proper, may contain provisions commanding or restraining acts and conduct of the parties. If either party shall default in appearing before the arbitrator, he is empowered nevertheless to take the proof of the party appearing and render an award thereon. Any award or decision of the arbitrator shall be final and binding and shall be enforceable by appropriate proceedings at law or in equity. The taking of the oath by the arbitrator is hereby expressly waived. His fee shall be borne equally by the parties hereto.

(c) The parties agree that any papers, notices or processes to initiate or continue an arbitration hereunder, and all papers, notices or processes in any application to a court to confirm or enforce an arbitration award hereunder, including service of the papers conferring jurisdiction of the parties upon the court, may be served by registered mail directed to the last known address of the Employer or the Union.

2. It is intended and agreed that the procedure herein established for the adjustment of disputes shall be the exclusive means for the determination of all disputes, complaints, controversies, claims or grievances whatsoever, including the arbitrability of any dispute, and including claims based upon any breach of the no-strike, no-stoppage pledges of this

agreement or upon any other breach of this agreement. It is intended that this provision shall be interpreted as broadly and inclusively as possible. Neither party shall institute any action or proceeding in a court of law or equity, state or federal, or before an administrative tribunal, other than to compel arbitration, as provided in this agreement, or with respect to the award of an arbitrator. This provision shall be a complete defense to and also ground for a stay of any action or proceeding instituted contrary to this agreement.

3. Any dispute, complaint, controversy, claim or grievance which any employee may have against the Employer may be instituted and processed only by the Union in the manner herein provided. No employee shall have the right individually to institute or process any action or proceeding with reference to any dispute, complaint, controversy, claim or grievance; or to initiate or compel arbitration in the event the Union fails or refuses to proceed with arbitration.

ARTICLE XXX: NEW PRODUCTS

If the Employer at any time makes garments in any branch of the garment industry other than or in addition to the branch in which the Employer is presently engaged, the Union at its option may forthwith renegotiate the terms of this agreement. In the event of any disagreement concerning the new terms, the matter shall be treated as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX.

ARTICLE XXXI: IMPROVEMENT IN MAJOR MARKET

If during the term of this agreement the major market, in the same branch of the garment industry in which the Employer is engaged, in any manner improves its standards of wages or minimums or hours or overtime or any Fund contributions or other economic standards or working conditions, the Union shall be entitled to a corresponding improvement in the standards under this agreement. In the event of any disagreement, the matter shall be treated as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX.

ARTICLE XXXII: SUBSIDIARY, AUXILIARY OR AFFILIATED FIRMS

1. Subsidiary, auxiliary or affiliated firms or corporations shall, for the purpose of this agreement, be deemed bound by all the terms of this agreement. The arbitrator selected as provided in ARTICLE XXIX shall have the right and power to determine whether an alleged subsidiary, auxiliary or affiliate of the Employer is such subsidiary, auxiliary or affiliate, and shall be guided by the proof of facts tending to establish any connection or interest, direct or indirect, between them or tending to establish a plan, scheme or device on the part of the Employer to avoid or evade the provisions of this agreement by or through such subsidiary, auxiliary or affiliate.

2. The Employer shall not enter into any partnership or consolidate or merge with another person, firm or corporation in the industry, unless the new firm assumes all accrued obligations to the workers covered by this agreement, the Union, and the Funds towards which payments are required under ARTICLE XV. Upon the formation of such

partnership or upon such consolidation or merger, such new firm shall give preference in employment to the workers of the absorbed concern covered by this agreement over all other workers except those then employed by the firm which continues in business.

ARTICLE XXXIII: UNION LABEL

The Employer shall affix an ILGWU Union Label to all garments manufactured in its shops and in the shops of its contractors, if any, in accordance with the rules, regulations, and procedures promulgated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The Employer shall purchase the labels from the Union at the same price and use them under the same terms and conditions as are applicable in the major market in the same branch of the garment industry in which the Employer is engaged.

ARTICLE XXXIV: LIQUIDATED DAMAGES FOR VIOLATIONS

Should the Employer violate any provision of this agreement where it is difficult or impossible to ascertain the specific amount of damages suffered by its workers or the Union, then the Employer shall be liable to the Union for liquidated damages. In fixing these damages, there shall be taken into account any advantages gained by the Employer through its violation, any deprivation of earnings suffered by workers, and such other factors as are fair under the circumstances. If the Union and the Employer are unable to agree upon the amount of liquidated damages for such violation, then the matter shall be treated as a dispute under ARTICLE XXIX. The proceeds of any such liquidated damages shall be paid to the Union.

ARTICLE XXXV: ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS

The provisions (if any) contained in SCHEDULE "A" hereto annexed shall constitute part of this agreement.

ARTICLE XXXVI: CONFORMITY TO LAW — SAVING CLAUSE

1. If any provision or the enforcement or performance of any provision of this agreement is or shall at any time be contrary to law, then such provision shall not be applicable or enforced or performed, except to the extent permitted by law. If at any time

thereafter such provision or its enforcement or performance shall no longer conflict with the law, then it shall be deemed restored in full force and effect as if it had never been in conflict with the law.

2. If any provision of this agreement or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of this agreement, or the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

ARTICLE XXXVII: TERM

This agreement shall go into effect as of the..... day of....., 196...., and shall continue in effect until the ..... day of ....., 196...., and shall thereafter automatically be renewed from year to year unless either party shall notify the other party in writing at least sixty (60) days prior to any such expiration date that it desires to change or modify the terms thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have caused this agreement to be signed the day and year first above written.

.....
Employer

By .....
as ..... of said Employer and also individually.

Local.....of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

By .....
(Name and Title of Officer)

SCHEDULE "A"
MADE PART OF THE FOREGOING AGREEMENT

SCHEDULE "A"

(Continued)

JULY
1965

SURVEY NO.
77

THE NEGRO & TITLE VII

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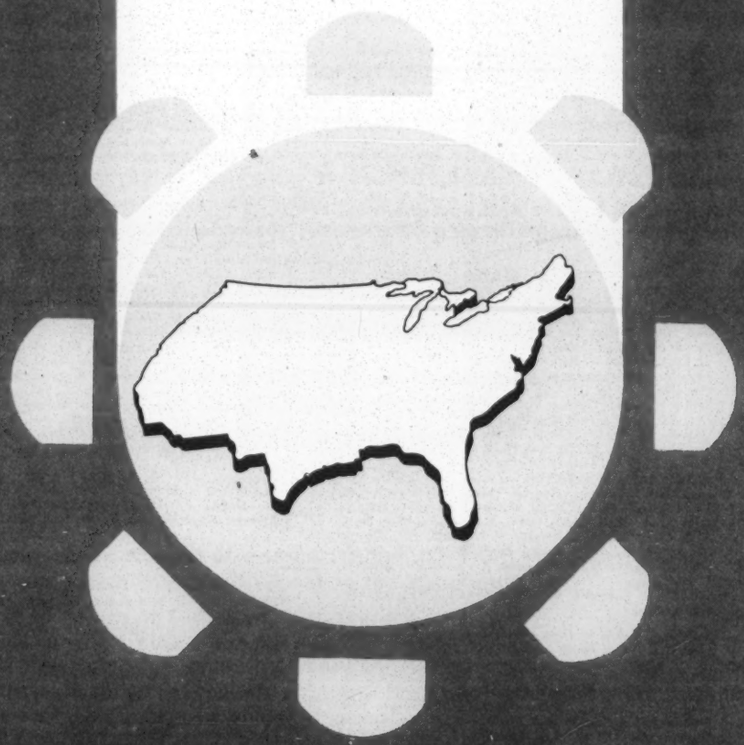

BNA

THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

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What Is The Personnel Policies Forum?

The Editors of The Bureau of National Affairs have invited representative personnel and industrial relations executives to become members of the 1965-66 Panel of the PERSONNEL POLICIES FORUM. These Panel members are top personnel officials in all types of companies, large and small, in all branches of industry and all sections of the country.

At regular intervals throughout the year BNA editors ask the members of the Panel to outline their policies and procedures on some important aspect of employment, industrial relations, and personnel problems. From these replies, the editors complete a survey report on the problem, showing prevailing practices, new wrinkles and ideas, and cross-section opinion from these top-ranking executives.

In many cases, the comments, suggestions, and discussions are reproduced in the words of the Panel members themselves. In effect, survey users are sitting around a table with these executives and getting their advice and experience on the major problems in this field facing all companies this year.

Results of each PERSONNEL POLICIES FORUM survey made during 1965-66 are printed in a special survey report which is sent, as part of the service, to users of these BNA labor reports:

Labor Relations Reporter; Labor Policy and Practice; Daily Labor Report; White Collar Report; Retail Labor Report; and Government Employee Relations Report.

The 1965-66 Panel

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NEVADA — *J. K. Van Buskirk*, Edgerton, Germeshausen & Grier, Inc., Las Vegas.

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THE NEGRO & TITLE VII

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Composition of the Work Force	2
Recruitment of Negroes	5
Selection & Placement of Negroes	10
Training & Development of Negroes	13

INTRODUCTION

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now in effect. It's designed to insure equal employment opportunity to all persons regardless of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Its principal provisions for employers are those which make it unlawful to fail or refuse to hire, or to discharge or otherwise discriminate against, any individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Shortly before the effective date of the Civil Rights Act (July 2, 1965), the editors of BNA decided to send a questionnaire to personnel and industrial relations executives who make up BNA's Personnel Policies Forum to find out the practices in their companies regarding the recruitment, selection, placement, training, and development of but one of the minority groups, specifically, Negroes. The information that follows is based on replies received from 140 executives on the Forum. In the survey, first in the 1965 series, "larger" company refers to one with over 1,000 employees; "smaller" company, to one with 1,000 or fewer employees.

Negroes are employed on a full-time basis in practically all Forum companies. A much higher percentage of them, however, employ male Negroes than female Negroes; this is especially true in smaller companies, where over nine in 10 of them employ Negro males, and less than half employ female Negroes.

What types of jobs are being held by Negroes in Forum companies? They hold down blue-collar jobs in 94 percent of the companies, white-collar jobs in just over seven in 10 companies. A third of the companies have Negroes employed as foremen or first line supervisors and nearly the same percentage have them working in middle management or executive positions. Negroes are employed in scientific, professional, or technical positions in exactly two in five Forum companies.

The percentage of Negroes in the work force is less than many would expect. When asked what percentage of their companies' total work force is Negro, a sizable majority (58 percent) reported that it was 3.9 percent or less. Nearly three in 10 executives, however, reported the figure at 9 percent or more.

Has there been any increase in the number of Negroes in Forum companies since the passage of the Civil Rights Act? According to over three in five executives there hasn't been, but many who reported otherwise were quick to point out that the increase had nothing to do with the passage of the law.

Positive steps to recruit Negroes reportedly are being taken in nearly three fourths of Forum companies. The principal method used by these firms is contacting federal and state employment services for Negro help. The only other methods used by a majority of Forum companies are to seek referrals from Negro employees currently on the payroll and to advertise in newspapers or magazines with a high Negro circulation.

Less than a fourth of Forum companies have been approached by a civil-rights group to hire Negroes, and those that have report very "courteous" or "pleasant" meetings.

Other highlights of the survey include these:

(1) Nearly nine tenths of Panel members whose companies administer mental-ability tests don't agree that such tests are unfair to many Negroes--as has been claimed--because they are based on

cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered and thus underestimate the Negro's learning ability.

(2) The vast majority of Panel members stated that no special steps were being taken to demonstrate to a Negro job applicant--any more than any other job applicant--that he was refused employment simply because he wasn't capable of doing the job or because he lacked the necessary qualifications for doing the job.

(3) Very few companies have experienced problems in integrating Negroes into certain occupations.

(4) Just a handful of companies are making a special effort to encourage Negro employees to enroll in training and development programs.

> NOTE: The first questionnaire sent to Panel members in 1965 concerned the training of first-line supervisors and will be published shortly. Because of the importance of the Civil Rights Act to many executives, it was decided to publish this survey first.

COMPOSITION OF WORK FORCE

What percentage of Forum companies employ Negro workers? Male Negro workers? Female Negro workers? What types of jobs are held by Negroes in these companies? What percentage of the total work force is Negro? Has the number of Negro employees increased since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act? These and other questions were put to members of the Panel to find out the status of Negroes in these companies today. The data that follow summarize the responses.

Negroes Employed: Male & Female

Almost all Forum companies--98 percent of the larger and 92 percent of the smaller ones--employ Negroes on a full-time basis. From a sex standpoint, however, a much greater percentage of Forum companies employ male Negroes. Males of this minority group are full-time employees in 95 percent of the companies, females in 70 percent. However, while 83 percent of the larger companies have female Negroes on their payrolls, just 46 percent of the smaller ones do.

The following table gives a percentage breakdown, by sex, of the Forum companies that employ Negroes on a full-time basis:

Employment of Negroes by Sex

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Employ Negroes	96%	98%	92%
Employ male & female Negroes	69	81	46
Employ male Negroes only	26	15	46
Employ female Negroes only	1	2	--
Do not employ Negroes	4	2	8

Most Panel members in those Forum companies that do not employ Negroes, either male or female, submitted reasons for their companies' practices. Here's what they had to say:

> We are located in Bryan, the county seat of Williams County, Ohio. No Negroes live in the county. The nonwhite minority group averages less than 1 percent of the population.--L. E. Bigler, Personnel Manager, The Aro Corporation, Bryan, Ohio.
>
> * * *
>
> Our work force is composed presently of all white employees. Over the past 20 years we have had only one colored male employee. This man retired six years ago because of age. Our community is all white with the exception of this one retired Negro employee. Over the past years we have had three job applications from Negroes, and they were not qualified to do the work we had to offer. --R.H. Tenley, Personnel Manager, Penberthy Manufacturing Co., Prophetstown, Ill.

One executive whose company doesn't employ Negroes replied that there were no Negro residents or workers in the community. He added, however, that the company recently published a statement of policy with reference to no discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and that he believed that a "qualified Negro applicant, who met the company's hiring standards, including tests when applicable, would be accepted by the employees on the same basis as any other newly assigned employee."

Another executive whose company doesn't have a Negro on the payroll at the present time makes this comment:

> Our experience in hiring Negroes, though limited, has been good. For instance, F.A. was hired as an assembler learner, became a welding utility man, and then a drill press operator. He was with the company for two-and-a-half years, but was laid off because of lack of work. We tried to rehire him, but he was working elsewhere.
>
> T.M. came to work as a drill press operator and was promoted to a turret lathe operator. After four years with us, he entered the Navy. A good man in electronics. After his Navy discharge he applied for re-hire. I counseled him at great length, encouraging him to enter the electronics field. This he did and is doing well.
>
> J.P. was hired as a finish cleaner and rose to the top drill press classification in two years. He quit to accept a job in Washington, D.C. His problem--no social life in Bradford (Pa.) for him.
>
> These men were all good employees, but J.P. was tops. We have few Negroes in the community. The latest census shows 75 in McKean County.--Thom Williams, Manager of Personnel, Bovaird & Seyfang Manufacturing Co., Bradford, Pa.

Types of Jobs Held by Negroes

It's one thing to know what percentage of Forum companies employ Negroes, but we also wanted to find out what types of jobs are being held by Negroes in these companies. To this end, executives on the Panel whose companies employ Negroes were asked if members of this minority group were working (1) in blue-collar jobs; (2) in white-collar jobs; (3) as foremen or first-line supervisors; (4) in middle-management positions; (5) in executive positions; (6) in scientific, technical, or professional positions; (7) as salesmen; (8) as clerks in the employment office; and (9) as recruiters.

Replies from respondents whose companies employ Negroes showed that well over nine in 10 Forum companies (91 percent of the larger and all of the smaller ones) have Negroes in blue-collar jobs on their payrolls. In the white-collar field, however, the situation is quite different, especially in the smaller companies. To illustrate, just about the same percentage of larger companies that employ Negroes in blue-collar jobs have Negroes in white-collar jobs. In contrast, just 37 percent of the smaller Forum companies have Negroes working in white-collar positions.

Following is a table which gives a percentage breakdown of Forum companies that employ Negroes in blue-collar and white-collar jobs. It also shows the percentage of companies that employ Negroes as foremen or first-line supervisors, in middle-management positions, in executive positions, as salesmen, as clerks in the employment office, as recruiters, and in scientific, technical, or professional positions.

Types of Jobs Held by Negroes

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Blue-collar	94%	91%	100%
White-collar	72	89	37
Foremen or first-line supervisors	33	44	13
Middle-management	22	28	9
Executive	8	11	3
Scientific, technical, or professional	40	47	25
Salesmen	18	25	3
Clerks in employment office	14	20	--
Recruiters	8	13	--

Percentage of Negroes in Work Force

A sizable majority of executives (58 percent), when asked what percentage of their company's total work force is Negro, replied that it was less than 4 percent. However, 27 percent (a fifth of those with larger companies and 39 percent of those with smaller ones) responded by saying that at least one in 10 of their company's employees is a Negro. Following is a breakdown of the percentage of Negroes in the work force as reported by Panel members:

Percentage of Negroes in Work Force

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Less than 1 percent	7%	8%	6%
1.0 to 1.9 percent	16	18	13
2.0 to 2.9 percent	20	20	20
3.0 to 3.9 percent	15	16	13
4.0 to 4.9 percent	6	9	--
5.0 to 5.9 percent	7	9	3
6.0 to 6.9 percent	1	--	3
7.0 to 7.9 percent	--	--	--
8.0 to 8.9 percent	--	--	--
9.0 to 9.9 percent	1	--	3
10 percent	11	4	23
Over 10 percent	16	16	16

Of those executives who replied that the percentage of Negroes in their company is over 10 percent, two reported that it was 12 percent and two said 15 percent. Other percentages mentioned by executives were the following: 10 to 12, 11, 13, 14, 12-15, 16, 17, 18, 25, and 33 1/3.

Highest Job Held by a Negro

As a corollary to the last inquiry, executives on the Panel were asked to name the highest job held by a Negro in their company. For convenience, we have grouped the many job titles listed in the responses under a few broad categories. These, and the percentage of companies that report the employment of at least one Negro in each category, appear below. Job titles typical of each category also are shown.

Unskilled (13 percent--5 percent of the larger companies and 29 percent of the smaller ones)--Enamel sprayer; lead janitor; truck driver; comb tender; pre-press worker; mill operator; chemical operator.

Semi-Skilled (3 percent)--Rolling mill operator; machine operator.

Skilled (9 percent)--Machinist; tool and die maker; electrician; press operator; welder; color maker.

Clerical (11 percent)--General clerk; senior cashier; production control clerk; secretary; production control expediter; staff assistant; messenger-driver; shipper and receiver in charge; department clerk.

Sales (2 percent--3 percent of the larger companies, none of the smaller ones)--Sales clerk, salesman.

Professional (18 percent--21 percent of the larger companies, 13 percent of the smaller ones)--Engineer; design engineer; process engineer; chemist; senior editor; auditor; pilot; supervisory engineer; attorney; accountant; registered nurse; head nurse; scientist.

Technical (10 percent)--Engineering draftsman; drafting technician; inventory analyst; systems analyst; marketing coordinator; market researcher; lab technician; electronics technician.

Foreman and Assistant Foremen (13 percent--18 percent of the larger companies, 3 percent of the smaller ones).

Managerial (18 percent--21 percent of the larger companies, 13 percent of the smaller ones)--Assistant divisional manager; manager-research; industrial relations assistant; store manager;

laboratory director; executive; unit personnel administrator; research section head; assistant data servicing manager; plant supervisor; director of industrial relations; buyer; sales supervisor.

Management Trainees (2 percent--3 percent of the larger companies, no smaller ones).

Unclassified (5 percent) (Job duties not specified with sufficient clarity to permit classification)--group leader; "skilled machine operator."

Negro Employment Since the CRA

In order to find out what effect, if any, the Civil Rights Act had on Negro employment, Panel members were asked this question: "Since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, has the number of Negro employees increased in your company?"

According to slightly more than three fifths of the executives, there hasn't been any increase in the employment of Negroes since the passage of the law. This reply was given by 54 percent of the executives with larger companies and 76 percent of those with smaller ones. All of the remaining executives reported that there are more Negroes on their payrolls, but a few of them were quick to point out that the increase had nothing to do with the new law. As one executive phrased it: "The increase is due to participation in Plans for Progress, and not legislation."

Those Panel members in Forum companies in which the number of Negroes had increased since the Civil Rights Act was passed further were asked to give the percentage increase. Here's a summary of their replies: Just under three in 10 of these executives answered that the increase was small, insignificant, minimal, or the like; a fifth reported the increase as 1 percent or less; 12 percent set the increase somewhere between 1.1 and 2.0 percent; 16 percent reported increases between 2.1 and 5.0 percent; while virtually all of the remaining executives reported the increase as over 5 percent. The executives in the last category gave these percentages: 8 to 10 percent, 10 percent, 20 percent, and 25 percent. One executive, it should be noted, replied that his company had no Negro employee prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

RECRUITMENT OF NEGROES

There's been a lot of talk recently concerning the difficulty in recruiting Negroes. Some companies have said that they haven't encountered any problem in finding qualified Negro employees. Others explain that their company hires on the basis of merit alone and without regard to an individual's race, creed, color, or national origin, but that the company has been faced with a problem of finding qualified Negroes. Many of these companies are members of the Plans for Progress program, others are not.

A few executives--whose companies have based employment strictly on merit--strongly object to the idea of going out and finding qualified Negroes, because this approach, they feel, is giving "preferential treatment" to the Negro population. One of these executives--whose company is a member of Plans for Progress but which did not agree to seek out qualified Negroes as did other such companies--leveled a strong jab at BNA's questionnaire, while expressing other viewpoints on the Negro question. Here's what he had to say:

> With all due respect to the Bureau of National Affairs, I believe that this is the most poorly conceived questionnaire that I have ever seen emanate from your great institution.
>
> Initially, the purpose of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was to create employment opportunities on the basis of merit, yet many of your questions are ill-conceived and imply preferential treatment for Negroes and I, personally, resent this approach on your part very much.
>
> The American public has been badly misled; employers have been duped; and our obligations under the Plans for Progress program is to employ . . . as we have for many years . . . on the basis of merit only. Currently, many of the people responsible for administering the progress under Title VII and Plans for Progress are interested in statistical improvement in the percentages of Negroes on their payrolls. I must say that, in my opinion, the percentage of Negroes on our payroll will probably be reduced and not increased as a result of the necessity of upgrading our employment standards to keep abreast of technological changes occurring within our industry. If we were hiring Negroes for the first time, obviously our statistics would improve, but I resent the following and predict that there will be substantial opposition to these points:

(1) Paying a premium salary to Negro college graduates just for the sake of getting a Negro on the payroll.

(2) Seeking out Negroes by recruiting at all-Negro colleges.

(3) Seeking out, exclusively, Negro employment sources just for the purpose of getting Negroes on the payroll.

(4) The emphasis on culturally deprived being applicable only to Negroes, because it is equally applicable to culturally deprived whites.

(5) The lack of intestinal fortitude on the part of businessmen to make the merit employment concept a reality and not use it for the purpose of preference to Negroes.

You will note in the document signed by President Johnson and our President and Chairman of the Board that we did not agree to seek out qualified Negro applicants as did many companies, since we feel that this is contrary to the American way of life and to the merit employment concept.

Again, I must repeat that your questionnaire is "lousy" and only misguides an already naive group of employers who yield to government pressure as a price of doing business.--John R. Hundley, Vice President, Industrial Relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.

A few other Panel members voiced their concern in this manner:

I believe most people in the Northeast respect the Negroes' rights and view this as a moral issue. However, government interference and pressure to get more Negroes employed at all levels regardless of qualifications--the so-called "affirmative action" required by Executive Order 10925--has caused some apprehension of Title VII. The idea that employers will be pressured into discriminating for Negroes is a fear that I sense among groups of employees and applicants.

We have set high, but not unreasonable, employment standards and uniformly require all applicants to measure up to these standards. This helps offset the fear that Negroes will be hired because of pressure rather than qualification and it makes good business sense to hire the best qualified people regardless of color. I believe this is basically what the Negro community wants and expects.--Gerald C. Burdick, Director of Industrial Relations, Mesta Machine Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

* * *

We have not made any special efforts to seek out Negro applicants any more than we make extra efforts to seek out Mexicans, Jews, Catholics, Chinese, or what have you. Nor do we discriminate against anyone solely because of race, religion, etc. We have actively cooperated with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and have revised written policies and union contracts to specify company policy.

We do not believe special considerations, specific quotas, or reverse discrimination is the answer. If the qualifications of Negro applicants are comparable to whites, they will be hired. We know that increasing pressure will be placed on us to hire Negroes because they are Negroes and not because they are qualified. The answer lies with the Negroes themselves to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, without reliance on special government pressures.--Herman Harrow, Director of Industrial Relations, The Welch Grape Juice Co., Inc., Westfield, N.Y.

The vast majority of executives didn't condemn the questions asked by BNA on its questionnaire and didn't score government "pressure" or "interference," although conceivably many of them could have had thoughts along these lines but didn't go out of their way to express their feelings. Many of the respondents, however, did say that they have in the past, and will continue, to hire without regard to a person's race, creed, color, or national origin, thus implying that the Civil Rights Act and the Executive Orders concerning the employment of Negroes weren't necessary in the first place.

To find out what Forum companies actually are doing to recruit qualified Negroes, if anything, these questions were asked: "Has your company taken any positive steps to recruit qualified Negroes, and if so, what steps are being taken?" "Has your company taken any steps to insure that private employment agencies aren't being discriminatory in their referrals?" And "Has your company been

why just private?

approached by any civil-rights group to hire Negroes?" The answers to these and other questions appearing on the questionnaire, as given by members of the Panel, appear below.

Action Taken to Recruit Negroes

Close to three in four executives on the Panel--77 percent of those with larger companies and two thirds of those with smaller ones--reported that their company takes positive steps to recruit qualified Negroes. How do they go about it? The principal method, according to over four in five of these Panel members, is by contacting federal and state employment services for Negro help. The next most widely used method is to seek referrals from Negro workers currently employed by the company. The only other method used by a majority of Forum companies is to seek referrals from such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, and the Urban League, which is the practice in just over three fifths of Forum companies. However, slightly more than one in eight of these executives reported that his company sought referrals only from the Urban League. Other methods used by at least one in five Forum companies in which positive steps are taken to recruit qualified Negroes are to place advertisements in newspapers or magazines having a high Negro circulation to send recruiters to high schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies, and to seek referrals from Negro clergymen.

The following table gives a percentage breakdown of the methods used by Forum companies to recruit qualified Negro help:

Methods Used to Recruit Qualified Negroes

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Making contact with federal and state employment services	83%	86%	75%
Seeking referrals from Negro workers currently employed by the company	78	76	85
Seeking referrals from such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, and Urban League	62	78	25
Advertising in newspapers or magazines with a high Negro circulation	45	51	30
Sending recruiters to high schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies	33	43	10
Seeking referrals from Negro clergymen	22	29	5
Other	22	24	15

Among the "Other" methods used by Forum companies to recruit qualified Negroes are the following: contacting local mayor's panel on equal employment opportunity; contacting other companies for Negro help; contacting influential Negro business and community leaders; seeking referrals from the Youth Opportunity Board; participating in and using the National Urban League Skills Bank; interviewing Negro applicants at times when the company is not hiring, so as to have applications on file when positions open; placing "Equal Employment Opportunity" on all advertisements; and by participating in the Cleveland Occupational Planning Programs and the Seattle Job Fair.

To illustrate, in detail, what certain Forum companies have done to seek out qualified Negro employees, here are a few comments from Panel members in these companies:

> We originally had no Negroes. With the advent of the Civil Rights Act, we hired some Negroes. We have an over-all total of five, four of whom are in production and one in the accounting office.

> We started out by writing letters to all agencies that we contact or use in securing employees, outlining our policies in such matters, and calling on the local state employment office, local business school, chairman of the Mayor's panel, on equal employment opportunities, principal of the local Negro high school (the schools are integrated) . . . the president of the local state vocational school (a Negro institution which has some white students). Letters also were written to the NAACP, and Urban League groups outlining our policies. Notwithstanding any of the above, there has been no appreciable number of Negro applicants.--James Jennings, Personnel Manager, Modine Manufacturing Co., Paducah, Ky.

* * *

We have invited representatives of various Negro groups such as HARYU (Harlem Youth Action project) and discussed the problem of attracting skilled Negroes. For example, of the hundreds of industrial engineers, skilled trades--screw machine operators, toolmakers, boring mill hands, draftsmen--we can count on one hand the number of Negro applicants. Negro leaders acknowledge that their people simply do not take advantage of the opportunity to learn such skills and trades--even though the schools are open to all and in most instances are free of charge. We encouraged the leaders to send likely trainee prospects to be interviewed for the few training programs we have. They sent one candidate who we placed in a clerical position, which offers a good opportunity for advancement.--Robert O. Wechtler, Manager of Industrial Relations, Neptune Meter Co., Long Island City, N.Y.

* * *

All plant personnel managers and plant department heads with personnel responsibilities were informed orally in November 1963 of our policy on equal employment opportunity. (The policy is to provide equal employment opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.) This same policy also was sent at that time to all other managers and department heads in the company.

The plant managers and department heads at all plants were informed in special meetings personally by the Vice President, Organization & Personnel Division, or one of his representatives (in April 1964) that it was not only their responsibility to see that no discrimination against minority members occurred in their plants, but that they were specifically to seek out qualified colored people and employ them until a significant percentage was working successfully in their plants.

The company's policy regarding equal employment opportunity was presented to all employees in the employee publication in June 1964. Almost all of the plants with significant Negro populations in the community have now been integrated with no unfortunate incidents.--Larger-company executive.

* * *

Prior to 1964, there were no Negroes in our employ. We have never found it necessary to recruit employees, as there was always an abundant supply of applicants coming in unsolicited. Contrary to the policy of many companies, we have been quite successful in employing many people from the same family. Hence, many of our new employees have come to us recommended by present employees. With the introduction of the Civil Rights Act, however, we were somewhat at a loss as to how to find qualified Negro help. We decided to stay with our present policy of hiring only from applications, but took care to interview all Negro applicants who could possibly qualify. There were very few Negro applicants and it was several months before we were able to hire our first Negro. We were extremely selective in hiring him, as this employee would have to prepare the ground for other Negroes. We were fortunate in our first selection, and have been able to integrate with no racial problems developing. After the first Negro was hired, she was able to refer other qualified Negroes to us, and we now have seven in our employ.--Smaller-company executive.

* * *

Prior to 1964, the company had paid "lip service" to integration and in a period of five years had only hired three Negro applicants. During the summer of 1964, the Personnel Director brought this to the President's attention. He in turn brought it up before the Board of Directors. The Board formally issued an employment policy that there shall be no discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment by reason of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. Meetings were then held with both the office and shop supervisors and with the union explaining the new policy. From that point on qualified Negro applicants were referred to supervision and, as a result, approximately 40 Negroes have been hired in the last eight months. Except for a few minor cases, the integration has been successful.--Harold F. Young, Preformed Line Products Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Use of Private Employment Agencies

Seventy-seven percent of Forum companies (85 percent of larger companies and 62 percent of smaller ones) use private employment agencies to recruit employees. And three in four of these companies, according to replies from Panel members, take some type of action to insure that the agencies they use aren't being discriminatory in their referrals.

What definite steps are taken? Virtually all Forum company executives stated that the agencies are informed--mostly in writing, but in some cases orally--that applicants are to be considered on ability alone, that their company is "An Equal Opportunity Employer," that applicants are to be referred without

regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, or some such remark. A few of these companies also inform their agencies that they are not to discriminate on the basis of sex, either.

One executive stated that in addition to sending a letter to the agencies informing them that applicants are to be considered on the basis of ability alone, his company also makes telephone calls to the agencies to motivate special effort to find qualified Negroes. Another executive replied that his company requires a compliance statement of those agencies which are used.

One smaller-company executive, who said that his company didn't take steps to insure that employment agencies weren't being discriminatory, stated that a local ordinance prohibits discrimination by employment agencies, and added that he knows "by experience that the agencies used do not discriminate."

Contact by Civil Rights Groups

This question was put to Panel members: "Has your company been approached by any civil-rights group to hire Negroes?" According to the replies, many of their companies have been approached, but not as many as might have been expected. Just under a fourth of the Panel members (35 percent of those with larger companies and 3 percent of those with smaller companies) said that their company had been contacted by at least one civil-rights group. All of the remaining companies hadn't.

Executives in those Forum companies that had been approached by certain civil rights organizations then were asked to describe their experiences. Many of them reported "courteous" or "pleasant" meetings. Here's what they had to say:

> Local human relations council met with us urging additional hirings. Very pleasant meeting. This took place over a year ago--no contact since. They were told that we would continue to hire only qualified applicants.--K.C. Brown, Director of Personnel, Channing-Wolverine Cos., Battle Creek, Mich.
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> * * *
>
> Local representatives of the NAACP discussed our situation in detail and requested us to hire more Negroes whenever possible. Approach was very courteous. We explained our policy and practice.--Daniel J. Hobbs, Director of Industrial Relations, The Mosler Safe Co., Hamilton, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> Contacted by CORE, NAACP, and special local groups. We gave them information they requested, outlined our policy and job requirements, and asked them to refer applicants.--L.C. Alten, Staff Supervisor, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Cleveland, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> Approached by NAACP. They have been very understanding and have not flooded us with applicants. We told them our standards are high for all jobs, consequently they do their own screening.--W.F. Carman, Manager of Industrial Relations, Titanium Metals Corporation of America, Toronto, Ohio.

A few other executives on the Panel reported that they had had problems in dealing with certain civil rights groups and that these problems, for the most part, have been resolved. Here are their comments:

> A civil rights group demanded that we hire a large number of Negroes in a short period of time with the threat of pickets. We did not yield and they did not picket.--Larger-company executive.
>
> * * *
>
> The Steubenville, Ohio, NAACP alleged we were delinquent in employing Negroes. This was resolved to the satisfaction of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission.--Wayne T. Brooks, Wheeling Steel Corp., Wheeling, W. Va.
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> * * *
>
> We were approached by NAACP and CORE. NAACP boycotted company products despite labor contract provisions which spelled out seniority rights of employees then on layoff.--E.S. Bohlin, Director of Industrial Relations, Carling Brewing Co., Cleveland, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> In the summer of 1964, discrimination charge was filed by several Negro school teachers alleging failure to interview for temporary vacation work. The charge was denied and it was shown that we had done no hiring or interviewing at the time of alleged applications. Settled by agreement to give these individual teachers preference in 1965.--Smaller-company executive.

Effective Sources for Recruiting Negroes

Referrals by employees and contacts with federal and state employment services are the two most effective sources for recruiting qualified Negroes, according to nearly two in five Panel members. Of those who mentioned employee referrals, the total was divided this way: 14 percent explained that the referrals were from Negro employees, the rest did not specify the race of the employees who made the referrals, although it may be assumed that in some instances the referrals were made by Negro employees.

Other sources specified as being effective by Panel members, mentioned by at least one in 10 of these executives, were contacts with the Urban League (no respondent mentioned the NAACP or CORE), Negro job applicants walking in off the streets, and recruiting at colleges, high schools, and vocational schools.

Below is a tabular presentation of the most effective sources for recruiting qualified Negroes as listed by Panel members:

Most Effective Source for Recruiting Qualified Negroes

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Employee referrals	38%	27%	61%
By Negro employees	14	10	22
Not specified	24	17	39
Federal and/or state employment services	38	39	35
Urban League	16	22	4
Classified newspaper advertisements	15	16	13
Recruiting at high schools, vocational schools, and colleges	13	18	4
"Walk-in" job applicants	9	8	13
Private employment agencies	5	8	--
Recommendations from influential community and business leaders	5	8	--
Other	11	14	4

Included in the "Other" category are the following: retraining centers, job clinics, community-sponsored workshops, Youth Opportunity Board, Plans for Action in Changing Times, and the clergy. Two respondents listed in this category explained that they haven't found an effective source, while one made this comment:

> We are opposed to recruiting Negroes and object to this question. It implies preferential employment. We engage in merit employment and do not seek out any particular group of people.--John R. Hundley, Vice-President Industrial Relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.

SELECTION & PLACEMENT OF NEGROES

The material that follows covers a few key questions in the selection and placement of Negroes. In brief, this section shows that (1) nearly nine in 10 Panel members whose companies administer mental-ability tests do not buy the idea that such tests are unfair to many Negroes (as has been claimed) as based on cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered and as thus underestimating the Negro's learning ability; (2) Panel members can see no particular reason for treating Negroes any differently from other job applicants when informing them that they lack the necessary qualifications to perform the job; and (3) there are very few problems encountered in integrating Negroes into certain occupations.

Administration of Mental-Ability Tests

At least some job applicants are given mental-ability tests in 74 percent of Forum companies--77 percent of the larger companies and 68 percent of the smaller ones.

Executives in those companies that give such tests to prospective employees were asked this question: "Do you believe--as has been claimed--that such tests are unfair to many Negroes because they are

based on cultural and educational levels that some Negroes have not encountered, and thus underestimate the Negro's learning ability?" Just one in eight of the Panel members answered affirmatively, and virtually all of the rest gave a negative reply. A few of the executives didn't answer either "yes" or "no," but gave answers such as the following: "If such tests are validated against performance, their use is justified;" "This is a distinct possibility;" and "This may be true, however, you must have some sort of yardstick to measure ability if you are to consider the best applicant."

One executive who answered neither way, gave this reply: "Since we require a high-school diploma, the use of a verbal-type test for mental capacity presented us particular problems; occasional 'double-checks' with a non-verbal test usually correlated well. However, we observed a remarkable tendency of Negro applicants to score low on a mechanical aptitude test which was non-verbal."

Respondents who answered that mental-ability tests are unfair to Negroes for the reasons cited were asked to explain why. Here's what these executives said:

> The validity of these tests undoubtedly is established on the basis of the society group over which they are spread.--Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
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> On the Wunderlich many Negroes fail spelling because of lack of exposure to word meaning, but the same applies to culturally deprived whites.--John R. Hundley, Vice President-Industrial Relations, Granite City Steel Co., Granite City, Ill.
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> * * *
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> "Many" Negroes come from culturally deprived environments. We relax our standards somewhat. Also some Negroes have heard they have trouble with tests so they get tense and have trouble.--Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
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> In some parts of the country, such tests are unfair.--Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
>
> I believe that this is true of some tests, but not all.--Smaller-company executive.

Panel members who replied that such tests are not unfair to the Negro population gave a wide variety of replies, including the following:

> This might be a problem with other than local Negroes. Educational facilities here, however, seem to be about on a par as those for whites.--N.P. Goodrich, Industrial Relations Manager, American Hoist & Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.
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> * * *
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> Each person, regardless of color, must rely on his own individual abilities. To change the standards for some would result in confusion for all.--Daniel J. Hobbs, Director of Industrial Relations, The Mosler Safe Co., Hamilton, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> We fashion our tests to deal equitably with the individual's qualifications regardless of race. --Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
>
> We believe that a greater percentage of Negroes fail these tests than do whites and that the reasons are primarily because of differences in culture and motivation. We believe, however, that these differences are important in job success.--Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
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> Negroes tested by us have done well, and were hired to fill skilled jobs.--Thom Williams, Manager of Personnel, Bovaird & Seyfang Manufacturing Co., Bradford, Pa.
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> * * *
>
> Negroes have scored as well as any other race.--Fred Lewis, Personnel Director, Union Mills Paper Manufacturing Co., New Hope, Pa.
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> * * *
>
> We use aptitude tests made up primarily of questions designed, through simplification, to determine how rapidly and accurately the applicant thinks, rather than how much knowledge he has.--Larger-company executive.

Turning Down Negro Applicants

In devising the questionnaire, it was assumed that some Negro applicants who failed to meet the qualifications for a particular job would charge that the company was being discriminatory in its hiring

procedures. What we wanted to know was if any special steps were being taken, or under consideration, to demonstrate to a Negro job applicant that he was refused employment simply because he wasn't capable of doing the job or because he lacked the necessary qualifications for doing the job.

According to the vast majority of Panel members, no special procedure is taken or under consideration. Virtually all the executives explained the company's position as did the following Panel member who stated: "A Negro job applicant will be given the same explanation as all other applicants who fail to meet the requirements, and that is that they have not met the minimum requirements established by the company or they do not have the required qualifications for the job."

A few executives, however, explained that certain steps were being taken to demonstrate to Negroes that they were turned down only because they weren't qualified. According to one executive, his company is showing them the results of the tests that are given to both whites and Negroes; another stated that the company frankly discusses with Negroes their aptitude and experience as compared with job requirements and available applicants; still another replied that the company conducts "skillful" interviews.

Integration Problems Encountered

Very few Forum companies have experienced problems in integrating Negroes into certain occupations, replies from Panel members indicate. When asked if problems were encountered along these lines, just eight percent of the executives answered "yes"--a tenth of those with larger companies and six percent of those with smaller ones--and all of the rest said "no."

Those executives who were faced with problems of this nature were requested to illustrate the various problems they had and then to explain how the company handled the situation. Their replies follow:

> In departments where no Negroes were employed there has been apprehension but no incident of any significance. Most employees believe it better to hire qualified Negroes than to be pressured into hiring unqualified Negroes because of government or group pressure.--Gerald C. Burdick, Director of Industrial Relations, Mesta Machine Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
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> * * *
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> At the clerical level, too many Negroes in one area often causes white v. black cliques.--Larger-company executive.
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> * * *
>
> Only in very early efforts years ago. Some group resistance was encountered, which faded after Negroes actually came on the job. Firm management stand is essential to success.--L.C. Alten, Staff Supervisor, Ohio Bell Telephone Co., Cleveland, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> In office: Although efforts were made to insure acceptance, the Negro girls were not willing to go the needed half-way but, instead, after introductions and invitations to coffee breaks, they grouped by themselves. Further efforts by responsible girls were of no avail.--Smaller-company executive.

A couple of executives whose companies have encountered problems in integrating Negro employees into certain occupations offer advice on how to avoid the occurrence of future incidents. They explain their companies' practices this way:

> We sit down with the group involved and explain that a new Negro employee has been hired. We ask for the group's cooperation and any suggestions they may have that will help make this employee feel accepted.--J.H. Peak, Industrial Relations Manager, Pflauder Permutit, Inc., Elyria, Ohio.
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> * * *
>
> We had to overcome traditional Southern thinking. Before placing the first Negro in a position other than custodial, we discussed the situation with supervision to anticipate particular questions and problems. Then we held a meeting with employees of that department, explaining that we--from a practical and job security viewpoint--had no choice if we were to continue to enjoy government contracts. After placing the first Negro in a production job, the obvious resentment diminished to the extent that we now place male Negroes in all areas without any fanfare and in exactly the same manner as white employees.--Russell J. Sims, Director of Personnel, Fouke Fur Company, Greenville, S.C.

One executive explains that integration of Negroes into certain occupations isn't a problem because of a "general lack of community antipathy to integration, because of the strong policy in regard to equal opportunity, and because Negroes hired have been competent to perform the jobs on which they have been placed."

TRAINING & DEVELOPMENT OF NEGROES

What percentage of Forum companies have Negroes enrolled in work-study programs? Apprenticeship training programs? Supervisory and management or executive programs? Tuition-aid programs? Scholarship programs? To find out the answer to these questions, Panel members were asked a series of questions. A summary of their responses appears below.

Negro Employees: Training & Development

Executives on the Panel were asked two questions. First, they were requested to indicate if their company conducted work-study, apprenticeship-training, supervisory-training, management or executive training, tuition-aid, or scholarship programs. Those executives whose company conducted such programs then were asked to indicate if Negro employees are enrolled in these programs, or to indicate if their company did not employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates for the various programs are selected.

Following is a table which shows the percentage of Forum companies which conduct the six training and development programs listed above. Under each program listed also are the letters A, B, and C in parentheses. The (A) shows the percentage of companies that have Negroes enrolled in the program; the (B) indicates the percentage of companies that do not employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates for the program are selected; and the (C) shows the percentage of companies that failed to specify whether Negroes are enrolled in the program or whether they employ Negroes in jobs from which candidates are selected.

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Negro Participation in Training & Development Programs

	All Cos.	Larger	Smaller
Work-study program	38%	48%	16%
(A) Negroes in Program	20	27	4
(B) No Negroes in jobs from which candidates come	16	18	12
(C) No Specification as to Negroes or not	2	3	--
Apprenticeship-training program	56	66	32
(A)	36	41	24
(B)	16	21	4
(C)	4	4	4
Supervisory-training program	62	70	44
(A)	25	30	12
(B)	32	32	32
(C)	5	8	--
Management or executive training program	52	61	32
(A)	15	14	16
(B)	33	41	16
(C)	4	6	--
Tuition-aid program	79	79	80
(A)	56	57	52
(B)	17	16	20
(C)	6	6	8
Scholarship program	35	36	32
(A)	19	18	20
(B)	14	14	12
(C)	2	4	--

Motivating Negro Employees

Seven in eight executives on the Panel (85 percent of those with larger companies and 92 percent of those with smaller ones) reported that their company isn't making any special effort to encourage

Negro employees to enroll in various training and development programs. The majority of these executives said they encourage all employees equally.

All of the remaining Panel members said that their company does make special efforts to get Negroes to enroll in these programs. How do they go about it? Among the methods mentioned are the following: house organ and bulletin board publicity, stressing that such programs are open to all regardless of race, publishing training opportunities in employee handbooks, etc.

Of those executives who stated that their company does not make any special effort to encourage Negro employees to enroll in these programs, one made the following remark:

> All employees are encouraged to participate in any self-improvement program that would benefit them. No special effort is made to single out the Negro for these programs since this might be considered an overt action indicating he is below par. It is my opinion Negroes and other minority groups must be made to feel they are equal. If this is done properly, these people will want to better themselves on their own by taking advantage of available programs.--J.H. Peak, Pflauder Permutit, Inc., Elyria, Ohio.

Plans for Progress Orientation

To insure that all employees, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, get a fair shake, the Training & Development Branch of American Airlines' Maintenance & Engineering facility, Tulsa, Okla., conducts a Plan for Progress Orientation program. Following in full text is the facility's teaching guide, which may be of interest to those who plan similar programs:

PLAN FOR PROGRESS ORIENTATION

A. General Introduction

I am sure it is not necessary in this kind of meeting to spell out all of the reasons why the matter before us deserves our attention; yet it is worth reviewing some of the principles involved, because each of us is going to be called upon from time to time to answer questions and explain the company's position. To do this, we must have a clear understanding of the "why" of American's policy with regard to nondiscrimination . . . and the Plan for Progress.

Basically, it is a matter of human rights--a moral problem, if you will, which each of us must face at some point in time. We all accept the principle that no man has the right to interfere with the rights of another. To do so is unjust and, therefore, morally wrong. Perhaps the whole idea was never better expressed than in that single sentence in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights . . ." This is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges ever raised by man at bigotry, discrimination, and intolerance.

It follows then that to the extent that American Airlines denies to any man the opportunity for a job merely because of the color of his skin, we are doing that man an injustice. We are violating one of the fundamental moral principles upon which our whole free society has been built. In this room there are undoubtedly members of many different religions; yet not one of us would advocate discrimination on that basis. In the same way it is our job as members of management to see to it that there is no discrimination against any man because of the color of his hair, or differences in his manner of speech--or for any other similar reason.

We enjoy an excellent reputation for our record of good relationships among our people. You, as members of management, are certainly chiefly responsible for building and maintaining that reputation. Yet I think we'll have to agree that in some cases in the past, we may have fallen short in our responsibilities in this respect. There is no room whatever in the American Airlines organization for discrimination, intolerance, or bigotry--whether it is based on race, religion, or color. This is the fundamental principle confronting us. It is, if you will, the moral side of the issue. And on that basis alone, our course is clear.

And yet, this isn't the whole story. There are other, additional arguments which must be considered, growing from the fact that the people of this country do not like discrimination, particularly when they are the object of discrimination. By and large, people will approve an institution that is doing the

right thing, and disapprove any company that is falling short in some important respect. Call it a matter of public image, if you will, or the image which American presents to its many customers and to the public at large. We have always been known as America's Leading Airline from the standpoint of service, dependability, and technological progress. There is no earthly reason why we should not form the pattern for others to follow in the equal treatment of our employees, and those who seek employment with us.

In following a policy and a program of equal opportunity, based on qualifications alone, we not only help to win the growing economic good will of the Negro business man and vacationer, but of the public as a whole. Thus, as we contribute to the social welfare of our community, we can expect to continue to build the kind of reputation that ultimately pays off in a higher volume of business.

There is yet another aspect of the problem which may affect our business. Let me read to you the government contract clause of an order issued by President Eisenhower: "In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: Employment, Upgrading, Demotion, or Transfer; Recruitment or Recruitment advertising, Layoff or Termination, Rates of Pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees or applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause." This means, in effect, that as a government contractor, we are subject to the provisions of this clause, just as are the large manufacturing and aerospace corporations who deal largely with government.

There's another, broader problem that affects us just as surely, though a little less directly. Present estimates are that the nation's 16 million Negroes have an annual income of about $15 billion dollars. One out of every ten people in this country is a Negro. If they all had equal opportunities to earn a better living, there would undoubtedly be many billions of dollars of additional purchasing power available. That would increase business activity, expand the demand for all kinds of products, including air transportation. It would help to create a healthier economy and therefore add to the prosperity of American Airlines and everyone associated with us.

Another reason arises from the results of discrimination. In many cases, crime, juvenile delinquency, and other social evils are traceable to the conditions that have been created by prejudice and discrimination. The cost of dealing with these problems, apart entirely from their effect on the society in which we all live, is tremendous. And each of us individually has to pay a share of that cost.

Then, too, American Airlines, like every other major corporation, is competing for the best available talent and experience to strengthen every phase of our operation. There are many highly qualified Negro people who could make a real contribution to this organization if they were selected on the basis of their qualifications regardless of the color of their skin.

There is another even broader reason for offering job opportunities to Negroes, and it has to do with the greatest threat of our times--the slow spread of communism throughout the world. There can be no question but that one of the strongest supports of communist activity in this country has been the fact that certain types of American citizens have been denied the full opportunities of our society. More than that, one of the strongest arguments of the communists in other parts of the world has been that there is discrimination in the United States.

This has helped to win for Soviet Russia the allegiance of people who might otherwise prefer our kind of democracy--and I would remind you that two-thirds of the world's population is colored. We all have a responsibility in this connection, to help eliminate the kind of discrimination that gives the communists ammunition to play up racial bigotry and create anti-American sentiment.

As we meet here today and discuss a problem like this, we may wonder just how difficult such an adjustment in many of our minds might be. The experience of all kinds of organizations--manufacturing, merchandising, and service, and other institutions such as colleges and universities--has generally been this: Once a program of nondiscrimination and equal opportunity is adopted, if it is properly handled, there are virtually no problems whatever. And, I think we have some evidence of this with our own experience to date. Negroes are in our employ as Sales Representatives, Personnel Representatives, Ticket Agents, Ramp Agents, Reservations Agents, Mechanics, Technical Foremen, Office and Clerical workers, and various Management/Specialist positions--and, of course, as Stewardesses. These employees are doing an excellent job of selling American, and are visual evidence of the company's non-discriminatory policies. They have received numerous letters of commendation for excellent job performance from the public and from supervisors. Each, in his own way, has set an example of the ideal toward which we are working.

To sum up, we have a moral obligation here, and what we do about this obligation, how we face it, how we present it to our people, will either help our business, or damage our business, help our community, or hurt our community, help our nation, or help our enemies. The choice is ours--yours and mine--and the course is clear.

Now, in terms of an actual creative effort, and positive action toward the solution of the problem, we must understand that under no circumstances will Negroes be employed just because they are Negroes. All applicants must meet employment standards and be well qualified for their job assignments when hired. Negroes will be placed thoughout the company according to their qualifications and abilities.

As our hiring continues, the Personnel Division will talk with each supervisor requisitioning new personnel, to determine the advisability of placement of a Negro applicant, should one be thoroughly qualified to fill the vacancy. At the same time, we should make it absolutely clear to all of our people that we will not depart from purpose or policy, nor yield to outside pressures of any kind which may develop; that we simply plan to offer greater employment transfer, and promotional opportunity to the Negro employee, according to his qualifications and ability.

We must solicit the cooperation and the understanding of all employees, and from the very few who might oppose this program, we must demand it.

This, broadly, is the company's position. It is of the utmost importance that each of you understand it fully and that you prepare yourself to do your part when the time comes; to transcend whatever personal emotion of resentment or resistance you may feel as a result of attitudes which you may have developed long ago; to work in a positive and cooperative spirit to the good of your company, your community, and your country; to view what we have said here today not as a command directive which forces you to change values and traditions in which you may most sincerely believe--but as policy developed by your company to provide equality and justice to human beings, who, like yourself, wish only to better themselves in a fruitful, productive, and meaningful way.

B. The Plan for Progress -- Background

Now, to discuss in detail the PLAN FOR PROGRESS, we will first distribute additional copies of the plan to you. You will recall that the PLAN was initially issued by mail to all Management and Specialist employees on March 15, 1963. We'll take a few minutes now, to present additional details and clarification concerning the PLAN FOR PROGRESS, and American's commitment to the ideals which the PLAN represents.

American Airlines became the first domestic airline to participate in the PLAN FOR PROGRESS program, which was sponsored by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Mr. C. R. Smith, and Mr. G. Marion Sadler signed a PLAN FOR PROGRESS statement along with corporate officers of other leading companies of the United States, at White House ceremonies on January 17, 1963.

Since then, we have re-emphasized--and pledge to continue--our policies for providing equal employment, transfer, and promotion opportunity for all persons, without regard to color, race, national origin, or creed. In addition these policies relate to equality in training, compensation, conditions and privileges of employment, layoff, recall, discipline, and discharge.

There can be no question of the intent of the company to implement and enforce this policy; it applies to every unit and section, to every station and city, to every function, and there can be no evasion, no lip service, no minimizing its intent or application. The policy applies to all employees, hourly, salaried, Management/Specialist, and Management, and must be activated with no mental reservation on the part of any supervisor in the performance of his duties of managing. You, as a member of management, have the responsiblity for the implementation of this policy. The meaning is clear and understandable. you should make certain that your employees know of this policy, and if they do not know of it, then you should make them aware of it, in a positive and constructive manner, leaving no room for interpretation or misunderstanding.

C. The Plan for Progress -- Specifics

a. General. -- The President of the United States has stated a national policy that all persons are entitled to equal employment opportunity, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

American Airlines intends to follow the President's policy, and has voluntarily embarked on this company-wide program to expand and strengthen its efforts to promote equal opportunity.

This is a long range and a continuing program, and many problems lie ahead--not one of which is unsurmountable if approached openly, and with clear heads, clear thinking, and logic.

b. Policy. -- It should be thoroughly understood by your people that American Airlines continually seeks the best qualified applicants and employees in all categories of employment and work assignment, and that all such employment and assignment shall be made without regard, under any circumstances, to race, creed, color, or national origin. Further, that promotion, training, compensation, and conditions and privileges of employment, discharge, layoff, and recall, shall similarly be made without consideration to race, creed, color, or national origin.

How long has it been since you recommended any of your employees for promotion to a better job? Are there employees working for you now who have done superior work, who hold potential for moves to positions of greater responsibility?

Look around, when you return to your job, and make your recommendations, get them to the Personnel Division--but make certain, as you do this, that you have carefully considered everyone who may be qualified, and that you are not overlooking someone who has the potential we need, but who may have a darker skin, or a name unlike yours.

c. Dissemination of Policy. -- Each member of management has been provided with a copy of our PLAN FOR PROGRESS. In the event yours has been misplaced, we are distributing additional copies in connection with this talk. How many of you have discussed the PLAN with your people? Do your people know and understand the plan? What is their attitude toward the plan? If you haven't discussed the plan with your people as yet, when do you plan to do so?

d. Recruiting. -- In addition to being an "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER" thru the issuance of the PLAN FOR PROGRESS and this re-statement of our policy of non-discrimination, American will continue to cooperate with educational organizations and school systems with emphasis toward programs designed to raise the level of aspiration of all youths.

e. Transfer, Promotion, Termination, and Recall. -- It has always been American's policy to promote from within the employees who have demonstrated by past performance that they are well qualified for promotion. When opportunities for transfer or promotion occur, careful measures must be taken to make certain that minority group employees receive equal consideration.

Every effort will be made to insure that equal consideration is given to all qualified candidates without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

f. Training, Compensation, Facilities. -- Minority group employees will have equal training and demonstrate equal capacity in job performance with regard to compensation. Facilities will continue to be maintained on a non-segregated basis.

g. Implementation of Policy. -- As was stated earlier in this presentation, the responsibility for compliance with this policy of non-discrimination rests with all members of management. It has been delegated from the office of Mr. C.R. Smith. We cannot avoid our individual responsibility in this area.

In addition to the implementation of this policy, all supervisors should examine facilities, bulletin boards, and the work environment to make certain that no documents or printed matter not specifically authorized by the Company or the Union are posted.

It should be generally known that the Company will under no circumstances tolerate displays which tend to discredit or degrade minority groups, and that disciplinary action, when required, will be prompt, direct, and severe, in every case. As a member of management, you are requested to police this very carefully, and to take firm and deliberate action when circumstances such as this occur.

D. Conclusion

The responsibility for the general supervision and coordination in implementing this policy has been assigned to the Vice President - Personnel. You should feel free to call upon the Personnel Division regarding any problems or questions which you may have in regard to minority group relations. Remember, the Personnel Division exists to aid you in the discharge of your duties, and to assist you in meeting your obligations as a supervisor. The Division can also be expected to maintain surveillance of the implementation of the PLAN FOR PROGRESS, and will from time to time, offer constructive recommendations concerning means of applying the PLAN. Above all, in order to succeed as it should, the PLAN requires constant team effort of all managers and supervisors. The success of the plan, lies in your hands as management representatives of American Airlines. We have every confidence in your ability to see it through.

Announcing a new and timely addition to BNA's labor information services . . .

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

If you are responsible for the conduct of employer-employee relations and/or have employment recruitment duties, BNA's new labor information service, FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES, is a "must" for you.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 makes it an avowed objective of the Federal Government to eliminate all employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in all industries affecting interstate commerce. The law imposes a new set of obligations upon employers, labor unions, and employment agencies. It gives employees, job applicants, and members of minority groups new rights, and it sets up machinery for enforcing those rights. It creates complex federal-state relationships in the enforcement of its provisions.

The purpose of BNA's FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES service is to keep you fully informed of the actual requirements of the federal and state laws dealing with "equal employment opportunity" and to acquaint you with the administrative and enforcement procedures already established or newly being developed under these laws.

• FULL TEXTS, CLEAR EXPLANATIONS

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES combines textual material with editorial treatment. It provides full text of the applicable laws and regulations, summaries of court rulings, and clear explanations of what management can and can't do in this complex area of employment practices.

The service is divided into six sections. The first contains the text of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act; the executive orders forbidding discrimination by federal government contractors; and the regulations, forms, and administrative interpretations of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The next four sections contain explanations of the coverage, prohibitions, administration and enforcement, and the reporting and record-keeping requirements of the Federal Act and orders. The final section contains the text of state laws, regulations and interpretations. The service is fully indexed.

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FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES has been developed as an addition to BNA's LABOR POLICY AND PRACTICE service and is coordinated and identified with that service. It is available, however, as a self-contained service in addition to being a unit of the complete LABOR POLICY AND PRACTICE service.

• INQUIRIES INVITED

For additional information, please write or telephone:

BNA **THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC.**

1231 24th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037 (Area Code 202) 333-6800

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE GOALS FOR 1965

Statement Adopted Unanimously by
The AFL-CIO Executive Council
Washington, D. C. Nov. 24, 1964

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16 Street NW • Washington, D. C.

George Meany, *President*
Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE has never been more clearly evident. Last Nov. 3, American voters overwhelmingly voiced their confidence in the social and economic structure that has been built, step by step, over the last 32 years.

They forthrightly rejected a radical assault on that structure.

They decisively proclaimed their desire to move on from a good present to a great future.

They gave their mandate to the program of progress Pres. Johnson has called the "Great Society."

Now it is incumbent upon all who joined in that mandate to translate it into practical reality.

Basically, this means adapting the ideals and aspirations of the Founding Fathers of the Republic to the America in which we live—America in the second half of the 20th Century.

The ideals and aspirations have not changed. Liberty, equality, opportunity are still the American dream. But the nation itself has changed to a degree that the wisest men of 200 years ago did not and could not have conceived.

The United States has burgeoned from a sparse scattering of farms and villages along the Atlantic coast into a vast urban and industrial complex, spanning the continent, extending half way across the Pacific and reaching north beyond the Arctic Circle.

The 2.5 million Americans of 1776 have become over 190 million today. Today's Americans—most of them—live in the city, not the country. They work in business and industry, not on farms. With the same unquenchable spirit, the same energy and the same ingenuity that characterized their forefathers, they have made the United States the richest and most productive land the world has ever known.

But for too many Americans this wealth and this production is a remote ideal. They do not share in it; they live in misery and want.

More than one in five of America's families suffer the indignities of unemployment, poverty and slums. America's major problem, unemployment, remains unsolved, despite the record 46 months of continuing rise of economic activities.

These ugly aspects of our social order will not simply disappear by the wave of a magic wand. Indeed, there is a danger that they can fester and poison our entire society.

The rising demands of our youth, of Negroes and of disadvantaged Americans of all races and creeds for jobs and economic opportunity cry out for positive responses. This is our challenge.

Today we have the opportunity to meet that challenge, to take, in 1965, a giant step forward on the road to a society that will enable all our citizens to realize their full potential. And this giant step for-

ward can be taken through enactment of the measures the AFL-CIO has long urged.

These are not novel measures. They are not visionary measures. They are practical, down-to-earth measures.

They are far less revolutionary than the idea upon which this nation was built—the idea that "all men are created equal." Yet they are essential if the goals of 1776 are to be realized today.

The only requirements are the courage, determination and imagination to support what needs to be done; to make a massive investment in America, one that this nation's immense productive potential can take in stride, one that truly brings within reach an end to poverty and deprivation in our time.

Let us first summarize our goals.

We believe in the total elimination of poverty in America.

We believe that this requires, first, jobs at good wages for all who are able and willing to work; and second, a social insurance program that protects young and old alike from the economic hazards which are no fault of their own.

We believe in full and equal opportunity, full and equal rights, for every American in every phase of life, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

We believe this equality can be brought about only if there is full employment.

We believe that free collective bargaining is an indispensable element in the search for economic justice and personal liberty for workers.

We believe in the wise use of America's riches to create a richer life for all Americans.

We believe that government, the instrument of the people, should use its powers to attack and to solve the people's problems.

We believe that progress toward these goals can be made in the 1965 session of Congress by the measures set forth below.

Restoring Free Collective Bargaining

The importance of free collective bargaining to the living standards of workers and to the economic stability of the nation has been recognized for three decades; the encouragement of collective bargaining, through all this time and through all the changes in labor-management legislation, remains the stated policy of the United States.

Thus it is evident that free labor and free management should be able freely to agree upon mutually acceptable terms of employment. They should, therefore,

be free to negotiate a contract making union membership a condition of employment.

Experience has proven the adverse effects of the unique provision of the Taft-Hartley Act making it possible for the states to forbid such voluntary labor-management agreements. Sec. 14(b) allows the states to outlaw the union shop as such, regardless of the wishes of the workers and their employers. It cedes a negative jurisdiction to the states in an area which the federal government has otherwise properly pre-empted.

This is an unwarranted intrusion upon the rights of organized workers and their employers to negotiate mutually acceptable agreements. It offends the basic principles of federal-state relationships and should be repealed.

National Labor Legislation

There are other provisions of existing federal labor law that directly conflict with the established policy of the United States to further collective bargaining. These provisions restrict the right of workers to organize, to picket and to strike. They urgently require revision.

Three major bills relating to labor-management relations have been enacted since 1935. Some of their provisions overlap or are contradictory, causing needless complications, uncertainty and court appeals. We urge prompt action to eliminate inequities and resolve contradictions in basic labor-management law.

Social Insurance

The Social Security System's contribution to American life has touched virtually every family in the nation. Possibly more than any other social program, it has operated to ameliorate and prevent poverty. It has improved the quality of everyday life for millions.

The worst threat to old-age security today is the high cost of illness. The general design of a workable remedy became clear beyond doubt in the 88th Congress—a national hospital insurance system based on social security principles for those over 65. Now the 89th Congress must implement what is unquestionably the will of the people.

To make Social Security truly effective in reducing poverty, substantial increases in cash benefits are also absolutely necessary—for the retired, the disabled and for widows and dependent children. Adjustments in such benefits should also take into account that age 65 is in fact no longer a realistic age for retirement. As a minimum the actuarial reduction for early retirement should be modified.

There should be established a federal system of reinsurance for all private pension plans to assure the payment of the benefits provided by such plans. Tax credit

for employer payments into such pension plans should be contingent on participation in the reinsurance plan.

It has been clear for years that unemployment compensation must be freed from inequitable state limitations on weekly benefits, eligibility and duration of payments, and from inadequate financing. We have repeatedly asserted that a federal system of minimum standards must be enacted to enable unemployment insurance to fulfill its intended role of maintaining a strong economy and meeting the needs of those who are unemployed through no fault of their own.

Wage-Hour Improvements

Since most Americans agree that there is no excuse for poverty in America, poverty among those who are fully employed at useful work must surely be regarded as intolerable. There must be no "working poor" in the richest nation on earth.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was designed to outlaw that kind of poverty. The time has come when it must be modernized to achieve that end.

Coverage of the act should at once be broadened to include all workers whose jobs affect interstate commerce. The exclusion of millions, over many years, has been a disgraceful injustice and an economic absurdity.

The basic minimum wage should be raised to $2 an hour, simply to assure all employed workers of a standard of living above the poverty level.

The standard workweek should be cut to 35 hours, in line with the higher productivity of American workers.

The overtime penalty should rise from time and a half to double time, in order to discourage overtime and create new jobs.

Education

Every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb.

This is a basic principle. It is basic to the American way of life and it is basic to the future of the United States as a nation.

Great strides were taken by the 88th Congress, but there are greater strides yet to be taken if this principle is to become a reality. They include:

1. A major program of federal aid to elementary and secondary schools to help meet all needs, including construction, in the categories of instruction covered by the National Defense Education Act. This should include construction grants for all schools.

2. Substantial federal aid to schools which serve large numbers of culturally-disadvantaged children from low-income areas, including work-study opportunities for vocational and high school students.

3. Comprehensive assistance, embracing scholarships, expanded student loans and work-study opportunities, for junior college and college students. The Cold War GI Bill of Rights would help meet this need.

4. We urge the appropriation of additional federal funds to foster the growth of community junior colleges.

Urban Problems

The great cities that only a generation ago were America's pride are now beset by problems that only expanded federal action can resolve. The decay of city centers is a shocking waste. The urgency of these problems grows daily, for every day the United States becomes increasingly an urban nation.

Ever since the early years of the New Deal this country has been pledged to the proposition that every American family is entitled to a decent home. That goal must still be met.

Public housing for low-income families has been shamefully neglected. A heavy increase in grants-in-aid is required to give reality to the fight against slums.

Low-cost, long-term loans must be more readily available to provide housing for those of moderate income.

These same needs should also be met in rural areas, but the problem is far more acute in the teeming cities.

Urban renewal in the broad sense must be stepped up, with emphasis on slum clearance and modernization, based upon community planning.

Special attention—and assistance—must be devoted to the thousands of families and small businesses which even now are dislocated each year by new highways, housing developments and other public projects.

Mass transit is a decisive factor in the future of urban life. The bill enacted by the 88th Congress must be reinforced by fully adequate appropriations.

All the foregoing can be expedited by the establishment of a Dept. of Housing & Community Affairs in the Cabinet.

Community Facilities

There has for years been a vast backlog of urgently-needed community facilities, from water and sewage systems to cultural centers and public buildings. A continuing federal program of grants-in-aid is essential to dispose of this backlog and keep pace with the mounting requirements of a rapidly-growing population. In addition, full appropriations of already-authorized funds is needed for the attack on air and water pollution and for the construction of highways, hospitals, other health facilities, college buildings, and airports.

This whole area is a classic example of the economic dividends that flow from social progress. As the nation invests in these facilities, it will also create huge numbers of useful jobs—and therefore increase the number of consumers and taxpayers.

Regional and Resource Development

Experience under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 has demonstrated the need for a broader assault on chronic depression—an assault that embraces a region rather than a single community. The proposed Appalachia program conforms to this need and it has our support.

There should be similar programs in other areas, based upon the concept of regional planning. Financial and technical assistance by the federal government can obviously be more effective on this broader base.

There remains the national challenge of conservation and development of natural resources. Such areas as water supply and river development, giant grids for the interstate transmission of electric power, desalinization of sea water, the preservation and maintenance of national forests and range lands—and these are but a few—require firm federal initiative.

Health Problems

The ever-accelerating advances in medical science hold forth the promise of long life and good health to a degree never before imagined.

The benefits of this astonishing progress must be made available to all Americans. But this cannot be brought about without legislative action.

There is still a pressing need for skilled personnel to man the hospitals and other health facilities now being built. This requires federal scholarships and other assistance to students in the health professions. Also among the essential areas of federal action are grants and loans for the operation of community mental health centers, construction of facilities for direct-service health plans based on group practice, and hospital construction and the modernization of existing hospitals.

War on Poverty

Pres. Johnson's declaration of war on poverty has captured the imagination of America, and rightly so. It is fully consistent with the policy of the American labor movement, for poverty has been our sworn enemy since the first union was established.

Virtually every item in this present list of legislative goals is an attack on poverty. Many are direct, like

wage-hour improvements; some are indirect, like conservation; but all contribute to the objective.

The war on poverty is already in progress and needs more support; specifically, it needs more money. We refer in particular to the Economic Opportunities Act and the Manpower Development & Training Act.

Tax Policy

There is general agreement that the federal tax structure needs improvement.

We support at this time the elimination of excise taxes that now apply to goods and services generally used by all Americans.

We further call for effective action against all tax loopholes.

We most vigorously urge a revision of the tax structure to ease the disproportionate burden on low income groups, and we insist on the elimination of income taxes imposed upon those who are at or below the poverty level.

We oppose the indiscriminate rebate of federal taxes to the states with no restrictions on the use of such funds.

Consumer Protection

It has been clear for a long time that the American consumer is at a serious disadvantage in dealing with sharp lenders and unethical merchants. A number of measures to aid the consumer that have already been proposed deserve enactment.

One is a simple requirement that an installment buyer should know how much interest he is really paying.

Another asks that packaged goods give a clear indication of what's inside, in terms that the buyer can understand without a slide-rule.

Others reinforce the work of the late Sen. Kefauver on drugs and drug prices.

We also propose a federal consumer information service to help buyers meet the complexities of today's marketplace.

We cannot understand why any reputable merchant or manufacturer should oppose these simple ground-rules. They are consistent with the principle of free competition. Similarly, we oppose all forms of "fair trade" laws, under any name, that are designed to maintain monopoly price-fixing.

Migratory Labor

Migrant farm workers have long been the most painfully exploited people in America, whether they were citizens or imported visitors.

The AFL-CIO was gratified when Congress put an end to the importation of Mexican farm laborers under Public Law 78. We are appalled to learn that some large agricultural interests are making efforts to continue the same program under Public Law 414. This is clearly contrary to the intent of Congress and it must not be allowed to happen.

Moreover much remains to be done for American migratory labor. Congress should provide minimum wage standards for migratory farm workers, include them under the unemployment compensation system, strike out their exemption from the protection of the general labor laws, assure them of adequate housing and health services and see to it that their children have full and equal educational opportunities.

Foreign Trade and Aid

The AFL-CIO has amply demonstrated its commitment to the principle of trade expansion.

We have also stressed that trade expansion will continue to command broad national support only if accompanied by a mechanism to protect workers and businesses adversely affected by increased imports.

The present law contains a mechanism but it has yet to work. Unless it can be made to work, it must be replaced by one that does.

The incorporation of fair labor standards in international trade should be an integral part of United States trade policy.

The foreign aid and economic assistance programs have also had the whole-hearted support of the labor movement since their inception. While we believe private American investment in developing nations is desirable, it can only be a supplement, not a substitute, for government help. Moreover, while the United States government should make sure that funds provided for specific projects are spent efficiently, it should fully respect the right of aided nations to determine their own forms of economic control and ownership. The use of American flag ships in transporting materials used in aid projects and indeed in all aspects of our export-import commerce must be expanded.

The principles of the Alliance for Progress should guide American aid undertakings in Africa and Asia. The United States should also seek joint efforts with other democracies in both civilian and military assistance projects in new and emerging nations.

Conclusion

Inevitably there will be those who ask what all this will cost; who question whether the nation can afford a better life for its people.

There is a two-fold answer.

The first is that America cannot afford anything less. Poverty, unemployment, discrimination and ignorance are intolerable in a society that has the resources to wipe them out.

Second, what we are proposing is a massive investment in the future of the nation—an investment the country can easily afford, and one that is essential to its destiny and to the future of freedom on earth.

Our view would be more easily understood if the United States like other western nations adopted a capital budget—an accounting that truly distinguishes between costs and investment. The federal government's accounts should separate housekeeping costs and national security outlays, on the one hand, and on the other, the sums used to create, improve or acquire assets, or advanced as recoverable loans. This is the general practice in private business, in many states and cities, and even in well-run individual households.

Nearly all our proposals for 1965 involve federal outlays which are in the investment category. And we believe they are investments this country dare not refuse to make.

We believe in the Great Society. We believe in it, not just as a dream, but as an attainable reality. We do not want a Great Society just for union members, or just for wage-earners, but for all—for every American, and indeed for all mankind.

The goal is within reach. Our own nation is rich, productive, and prosperous as never before. Human knowledge is every day expanded into new areas. The aspirations of 2,000 years are within our grasp.

V. 8.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

CCR Special Publication—Number 4 *August 1965*

BOOK REVIEWS

MARIAN D. IRISH, *Editor*
Florida State University

Change in the Contemporary South. Edited by ALLAN P. SINDLER. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1963. Pp. x, 247. $7.50.)

The failure of the South to become one of the main currents of American life has long attracted the attention of novelists, poets, literary critics, sociologists, historians, political scientists, economists, and other genre of publicists. That such attention is deserved will be doubted by few, that such a propensity to attract attention is complimentary will be questioned by many. *Change in the Contemporary South* is a welcome addition to the literature on the South as prime problem in national life. An outgrowth of a conference conducted by the Department of Political Science at Duke University, the volume consists of nine essays by recognized writers in history, economics, law, sociology and political science.

Thomas D. Clark provides historical perspective in the first essay and concludes that "the modern South cannot accept the advantages offered by industrialism without adapting many of its social and political ideas and forms." (p. 23). Although many changes have occurred as a result of rising urbanization and industrialization, the refusal of southern leadership for the most part to face realistically the dilemma posed by a sterile and perverted traditionalism and economic development has produced inordinate stresses and tensions in politics, economics, race relations, and the social order generally. Migration from the South, low wages, uneven economic growth, poor education, lack of capital and anti-intellectualism are all treated graphically by Joseph J. Spengler.

John P. Frank has a comprehensive essay on the legal developments in race relations followed by Edgar T. Thompson's chapter on the second emancipation in which he traces changes in race rela-

tions generally and changes in the *ethos* of the Negro. One aspect of this new *ethos* is the increase, uneven as it is, in Negro voter registration ably treated by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro in what is perhaps the most important essay in the volume.

The inevitable and chronic speculation concerning political realignment in the South, its causes and consequences, presents itself in successive chapters by Robert J. Steamer on southern disaffection with the national Democratic Party, Donald S. Strong on durable Republicanism, and a major political realignment by Philip E. Converse. All three of these writers agree that significant changes are taking place with respect to party loyalties and voting patterns. Mr. Strong tends to interpret these changes from the perspective of distinctly southern factors, whereas Mr. Converse sees the South as participating in national trends.

None of these writers emphasizes the kind or quality of Republican growth that is occurring in the South. That the present generation of southern Republicans with their extreme emphasis upon state rights, laissez-faire economics, racial segregation, and a narrow nationalism in world affairs hardly speak with the same inflections and accents as Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, or leaders like Elihu Root, Charles E. Hughes, Henry L. Stimson, or even Everett McKinley Dirksen is fairly obvious. Certainly, there is little that is national, Republican, or conservative among the "new" Republicans of the "new" South. It is seriously to be doubted that either the nation or the Republican Party benefits through the attachment of radical reactionaries and unphilosophical anarchists to a party once identified with political and economic nationalism, basic civil rights for all people, and active government. For the Republican Party to exchange Abraham Lincoln for John Randolph of Roanoke or Theodore Roosevelt for "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman is hardly an equal bargain.

ROBERT J. HARRIS

University of Virginia

Human Nature In Politics. By JAMES C. DAVIES. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963. Pp. ix, 365. $7.50.)

What Professor Davies is after in this book is to widen our knowledge about the origins of political behavior. He sets forth

ISSOURI TEAMSTE

Unions, Civil Rights Groups Join In Alabama

MOBILE, Ala. (PAI) — Trade unionists and Negroes are joining forces in Alabama to provide the state with a political organization dedicated to the liberal, pro-labor policies of the National Democratic Party.

The "third force" would give the voters an alternative between the Dixiecrats led by white supremacist Gov. George Wallace and the Goldwater-oriented Republicans.

Plans for the organization came to light during a convention of the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc. here. This group was originally founded by Negro civil rights leaders who were excluded from the Wallace party.

In recent months liberal and moderate whites have joined the Negroes with the open objective of either forcing their way into the state Democratic organization or establishing a liberal Democratic force aligned with the National Democratic Party.

Among the trade union speakers at the conference were Philip Weightman, associate director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education in Washington and Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association. The ILA has a large membership at the Mobile port.

The Alabama AFL-CIO is not officially part of the conference but a large number of unions are participating.

One union spokesman told Press Associates that "we have embarked on a joint campaign with the civil rights groups to register as many Negroes as possible and our registration campaign is already well under way."

A problem openly faced by some unions in Alabama is that some of their members are tied up with such extremist groups as the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Councils and this limits their effectiveness. Other unions, however, find that extremists are such a small proportion of their total membership that they can work with civil rights groups with relative freedom.

The conference, attended by some 35 delegates, adopted a resolution asking the National Demo-

der way.

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The conference, attended by some 35 delegates, adopted a resolution asking the National Democratic Party for a progress report on a requirement adopted at the 1964 convention that Alabama's Democratic Party open its activities to full participation by Negroes.

Orzell Billingsley, Jr., Birmingham Negro lawyer who heads the conference, said that no action would be taken by the group until the Alabama Democratic Party's executive committee meets in January and decides whether or not it will admit Negroes.

Miss Ethel Payne, assistant to the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, pledged that the national organization would see to it that Negroes are permitted to participate fully in the affairs of the Alabama party.

A key speaker at the conference was Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, a bitter opponent of the Klan who has also battled Wallace. He was given a standing ovation.

He gave a hard-hitting talk in which he declared: "The time has come for us to act like men. Our people are turning their backs on a party that has done so much for them through far-reaching laws which were fought throughout by the opposition party."

Flowers gave no hint as to what his own plans would be. There has been speculation that he might run for governor. Wallace, himself, met with a major defeat at the hands of the Alabama legislature when they refused his demand that they act to permit the governor to succeed himself.

One other major office open in 1966 is that of the seat of Senator John Sparkman. A one-time moderate, Sparkman in recent years has aligned himself with ultra conservatives in Congress. Wallace could oppose him.

A world free from tuberculosis? Not now, but some day, perhaps. Christmas Seals work for that kind of future. Have you answered your Christmas Seal letter?

V - AFL-CI

EFFECTS OF SHIFT IN POPULATION

The Big Changes Shown in Census Survey

Broad shifts in population . . . West and Southwest showing biggest gains . . . national total growing less than expected, yet approaching 200 million. These and other changes, now reported officially, hold important keys to planning for future.

A close look at the America of the mid-1960s, spotting important changes that occurred during the first half of the decade, is provided now by the U. S. Census Bureau.

It is set out in a new report, "Americans at Mid-Decade," showing what has happened to the country in the five years after the 1960 census.

What's shown is a pattern of broad shifts in population, rising incomes, changes in the age groupings of the population, other trends. These shifts carry important meaning for businesses in their market and sales planning.

Biggest increases in potential markets are developing in the West and Southwest. California, during the past five years, has overtaken New York as the most populous State, while Texas has replaced Ohio as fifth-largest.

Fastest-growing States are: Nevada, Arizona, California and Florida.

Some other States in the South and some along the path of the Boston-Washington "megalopolis" are also growing faster than the country as a whole.

Political power as well as buying power is affected by changes afoot.

All across the U. S., the shifting of people is toward metropolitan areas and away from smaller towns and the countryside. States depending on farming are showing the slowest growth.

Now: 195 million. All told, the U. S. population now has passed 195 million. Of these people, almost two thirds live in or near big cities.

People are found, by and large, to be bettering themselves in many ways.

There is an upgrading of workers, with more and more people in professional and technical occupations. Today, for the first time in U. S. history, more than half of all white Americans 25 and above have a high-school education.

Incomes of $10,000 a year now are common. One of every five families earns that much. A decade ago, only 1 in 10 had an equivalent income.

More education and rising incomes create expanding demand for goods and services and an upgrading in consumer tastes.

Each year sees the population grow by between 2.5 and 3 million people. This rate of growth has slowed a bit in recent years, due largely to a declining trend in the birth rate.

The Negro population, on a percentage basis, is increasing more than half again as fast as the white population.

More of the young. The population, as a whole, is becoming somewhat younger. In the last five years, the biggest increase has occurred in the age group of 14 to 24. These are the people pressing on the market for jobs, pushing up enrollment in high schools and colleges and adding to the number of marriages.

More marriages, in turn, are expected

(continued on page 52)

TEEN-AGERS AND YOUNG ADULTS: THE FASTEST-GROWING MARKET

(millions of people)

AGE GROUPS	1960	1965	CHANGE
Below age 14	53.3	56.3	Up 3 million or 6%
14-24	27.0	33.9	Up 6.9 million or 26%
25-44	46.8	46.5	Down 0.3 million or 1%
45-64	36.2	39.0	Up 2.8 million or 8%
Age 65 and older	16.7	18.2	Up 1.5 million or 9%

Half of the population rise in the last five years has been concentrated in the 14-24 age group — the people now flooding high schools and colleges, looking for their first jobs, getting married, forming new families.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau

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[continued from page 50]

in future years to mean a rising number of births; this in spite of the declining birth rate and a trend toward marriage at a somewhat older age than has been the case in recent years.

As marriages rise, so do the number of new households formed. And new households mean larger demand for houses and apartments, and for everything that goes into them.

All of these developing trends will have their effect on school enrollment.

As a result of the declining birth rate of recent years, the rate of increase of children moving through elementary schools has slowed down sharply. Enrollment in high schools, now growing at a fast clip, is to drop in future years as those now of elementary-school age move upward.

Pressure eased. In other words, many communities now are beginning to feel declining pressures to expand their school plants.

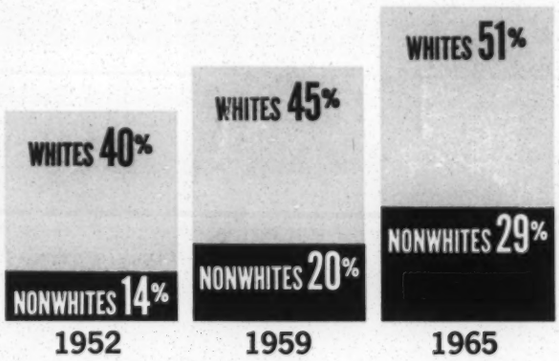
It's a different story in the case of the nation's universities and colleges, where enrollment is to surge sharply in coming years.

All this and more shows up in the United States of the mid-1960s. Changes are vast, and they include shifts of population that are certain to have a profound impact on many aspects of American life.

TREND:

A BETTER-EDUCATED POPULATION

Percentage of adults, 25 and over, with at least 4 years of high-school education:



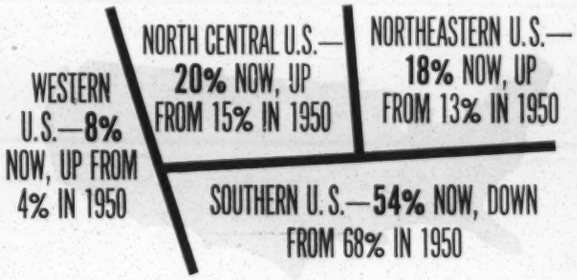
Source: U. S. Census Bureau

NEGRO POPULATION:

MIGRATION OUT OF THE SOUTH

Fifteen years ago, only 1 of every 3 American Negroes lived outside the South. Now, nearly half do.

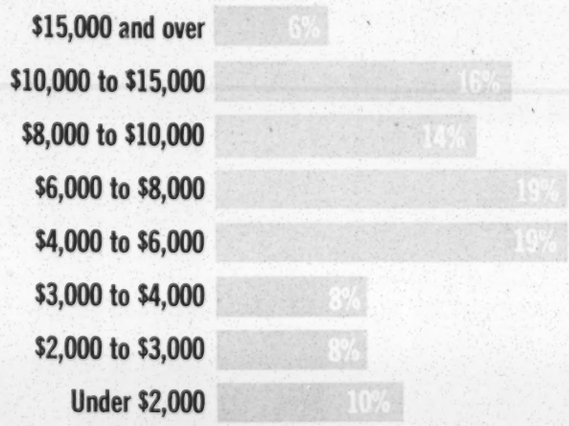
Percentage of the country's total population of Negroes in each region:



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

WHAT FAMILIES IN U.S. EARN

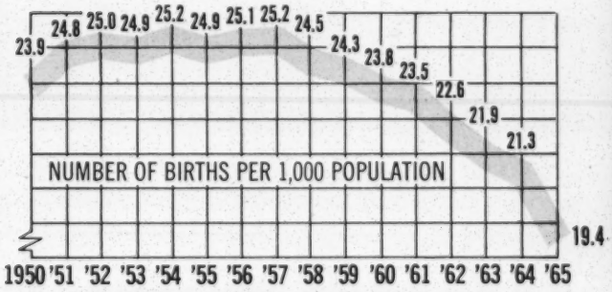
Percentage of families at various income levels in 1964:



Source: U. S. Census Bureau

BIRTH RATE IN U.S.: **DOWN**

NEARLY ONE FOURTH SINCE 1957



In 1965, the number of babies born in U.S. dropped below 4 million for the first time since 1953. The U.S. population, as a result, is growing at a slower rate.

Source: 1950-64, U. S. Census Bureau; 1965, U. S. Public Health Service

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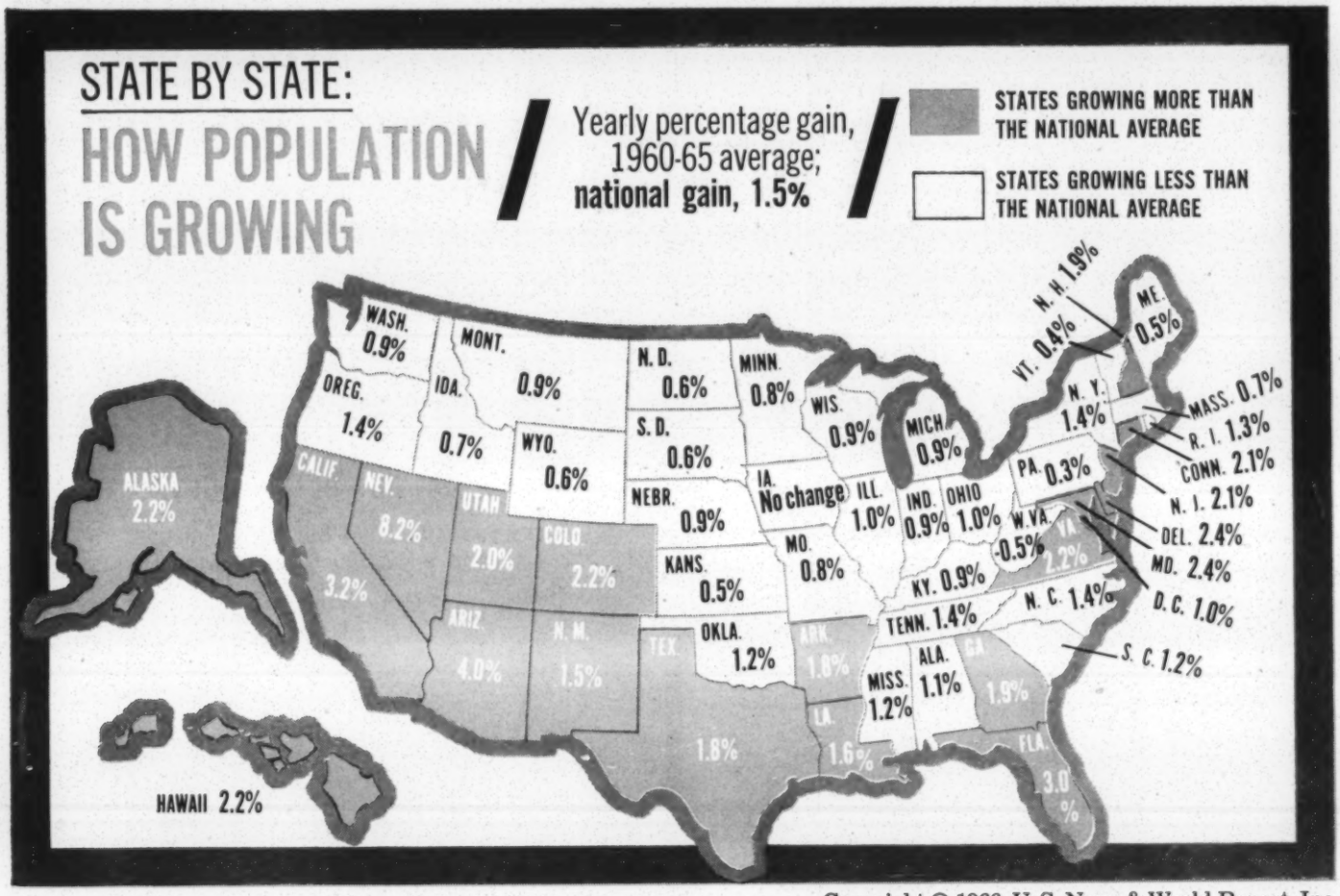
Avg. wage? Rate of non-ag-jobs



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METROPOLITAN AREAS THAT ARE GROWING FASTEST

Here's how the 38 biggest metropolitan areas, including suburbs and central cities, rank in order of their rate of population growth. Gains are based on yearly averages for 1960-64.

	1964 population	Annual change
1. Anaheim-Santa Ana, Calif.	1,041,000	Up 9.2%
2. San Bernardino, Calif.	994,000	Up 4.8%
3. Washington, D.C.	2,339,000	Up 3.8%
4. Houston, Tex.	1,447,000	Up 3.6%
5. Dallas, Tex.	1,260,000	Up 3.6%
6. Denver, Colo.	1,079,000	Up 3.5%
7. Atlanta, Ga.	1,169,000	Up 3.3%
8. Miami, Fla.	1,057,000	Up 2.9%
9. Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	870,000	Up 2.8%
10. Los Angeles, Calif.	6,734,000	Up 2.6%
11. New Orleans, La.	1,001,000	Up 2.3%
12. San Antonio, Tex.	787,000	Up 2.2%
13. San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	2,909,000	Up 2.2%
14. San Diego, Calif.	1,133,000	Up 2.2%
15. Columbus, Ohio	821,000	Up 2.0%
16. Rochester, N.Y.	774,000*	Up 1.7%
17. Portland, Oreg.	883,000	Up 1.7%
18. New York, N.Y.	11,291,000*	Up 1.7%
19. Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, N.J.	1,273,000	Up 1.6%
21. Indianapolis, Ind.	1,808,000	Up 1.6%
20. Newark, N.J.	981,000	Up 1.6%
22. Kansas City, Mo.	1,168,000	Up 1.6%
23. Philadelphia, Pa.	4,632,000	Up 1.5%
24. Seattle, Wash.	1,179,000	Up 1.5%
25. Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	1,578,000	Up 1.5%
26. Baltimore, Md.	1,811,000*	Up 1.5%
27. Louisville, Ky.	771,000	Up 1.4%
28. Chicago, Ill.	6,598,000	Up 1.4%
29. St. Louis, Mo.	2,217,000	Up 1.2%
30. Dayton, Ohio	766,000	Up 1.2%
31. Providence, R.I.	751,000	Up 1.0%
32. Detroit, Mich.	3,918,000	Up 1.0%
33. Cincinnati, Ohio	1,320,000	Up 0.9%
34. Cleveland, Ohio	1,987,000	Up 0.9%
35. Milwaukee, Wis.	1,264,000	Up 0.6%
36. Boston, Mass.	3,174,000*	Up 0.6%
37. Buffalo, N.Y.	1,306,000*	No change
38. Pittsburgh, Pa.	2,360,000	Down 0.4%

*1963 population

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

C.O.P.E. REPORT

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815-16th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

EDITORS: This is another in the "C.O.P.E. REPORT" series which will come to you monthly for exclusive publication in National and International Union Journals.

COPE Report for March 1966 International Journals

NOTE TO EDITORS: The main story and sidebars cover major facts for election year 1966. We hope you will be able to use these in your international union publications.

1966--THE TOUGHEST TEST IS COMING

Example: A switch of two votes in the House of Representatives in 1965, would have butchered the public works bill. A key proposal to increase public works funds barely passed, 196-194.

Example: A switch of four votes in the House would have kayoed the President's proposal for rent subsidies for the poor. It nudged by, 208-202.

Example: A switch of 12 votes in one instance and 10 in a second would have doomed 14 (b) repeal in the House. In the first case, a move to kill the repealer was defeated, 223-200. Following that, the vote on repeal itself passed, 221-203.

Example: A switch of only 17 votes would have torpedoed the new Housing and Urban Development Department, proposed to coordinate federal aid to cities. It got by the House, 217-184.

More than anything else, these examples and others like them spotlight the crucial nature of the 1966 congressional elections. They show how thin the line is between the present liberal-controlled Congress and a potential conservative-controlled Congress.

They show how important labor's role in politics will be this year, for the new programs workers and their families want and need are riding on the results of the voting next November.

The main event will be the battle for control of the House, and the major battlefields will be those normally-conservative districts that switched to liberal in 1964 on the strength of the Johnson landslide.

There are 51 first-term liberals in the House. As the above examples show, these newcomers provide the winning margin on a significant number of key votes. Any heavy cut in their numbers next November would douse hopes for new Great Society legislation in the next few years.

Addition of only a small number of conservatives would install a new set of uppers for the presently defanged Dixiecrat-GOP coalition and bring back the bite that for decades chewed up efforts to enact needed new programs.

In the Senate, continued Democratic control is assured, though here too a loss of liberal seats could endanger passage of liberal legislation.
The present balance is 68-32 for the Democrats. Of the 35 Senate seats up for grabs this year, 21 are held by Democrats and 14 by Republicans.

The factors that make 1966 labor's toughest political test ever are these:

* 1. The tradition of off-year losses that hit the party in control of the White House. The average loss in the House over the past 60 years has been 37 seats, in the Senate five seats.

* 2. The large number of new liberals coming from districts with histories of conservative representation.

* 3. The absence of a strong head-of-ticket like President Johnson, whose huge vote rubbed off on liberal candidates in 1964.

* 4. The growing savvy of right wing and conservative political action groups. It is not just the Birchers and other extremist organizations. Respectable conservative outfits like the NAM's Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) and the AMA's American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC) have picked up know-how in recent campaigns, and will be more effective this year.

* 5. The usual drop-off in voting that takes [illegible] in non-presidential years, a drop-off averaging more than 15 percent. It cuts most deeply into the vote of working people.

##

SIDEBAR

ELECTIONS '66--
VITAL STATISTICS

U.S. Senate Elections

Total--35
Democrats--21
Republicans--14
Present Senate Make-up--D 68, R 32

U.S. House Elections

Total--435 (all seats)
Present Make-Up--D 293, R 140 (2 vacancies)

Gubernatorial Elections

Total--35
Democrats--20
Republicans--15
Present Balance-- D 33, R 17

Biggest Stake

Control of U.S. House of Representatives. Present strong liberal majority threatened by three factors:

1. Many liberals elected in 1964 came in on Johnson presidential sweep, were elected from usually conservative districts. Particularly vulnerable: 51 first-term liberals whose votes gave President the edge he needed for Great Society legislation.

2. Traditional shake-out that hits party in control of White House in congressional election years. Average loss of seats in past 60 years: 37 in House, five in Senate.

3. Stepped-up right wing political action. John Birch Society alone eyes $12 million political warchest for ultra-conservative candidates, plans organization in 325 congressional districts. Fast-growing rightist GOP splinter groups also geared for effective action.

SIDEBAR

SENATE ELECTIONS--1966

Following are U.S. Senate contests this year: Alabama, John J. Sparkman (D); Alaska, E.L. Bartlett (D); Arkansas, John L. McClellan (D); Colorado, Gordon Allott (R); Delaware, J. Caleb Boggs (R); Georgia, Richard B. Russell (D); Idaho, Len B. Jordan (R); Illinois, Paul H. Douglas (D); Iowa, Jack Miller (R); Kansas, James B. Pearson (R); Kentucky, John Sherman Cooper (R); Louisiana, Allen J. Ellender (D); Maine, Margaret Chase Smith (R); Massachusetts, *Leverett Saltonstall (R); Michigan, Pat McNamara (D); Minnesota, Walter F. Mondale (D); Mississippi, James O. Eastland (D); Montana, Lee Metcalf (D); Nebraska, Carl T. Curtis (R); New Hampshire, Thomas J. McIntyre (D); New Jersey, Clifford P. Case (R); New Mexico, Clinton P. Anderson (D); North Carolina, B. Everett Jordan (D); Oklahoma, Fred R. Harris (D); Oregon, *Maurine B. Neuberger (D); Rhode Island, Claiborne Pell (D); South Carolina (2), Strom Thurmond (R) and Donald S. Russell (D); South Dakota, Karl E. Mundt (R); Tennessee, Ross Bass (D); Texas, John G. Tower (R);

Virginia (2), A. Willis Robertson (D) and Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (D); West Virginia, Jennings Randolph (D); Wyoming, Milward L. Simpson (R). *Not running for reelection.

SIDEBAR

RUGGED SENATE
RACES LOOMING

Some Senate races this year shape up as potential donneybrooks, with both incumbent liberals and incumbent conservatives involved.

In Michigan, Sen. Pat McNamara (D), who has taken the lead in legislation to heop the elderly, might run into Gov. George Romney as an opponent, though Romney hasn't yet announced. McNamara in 1960 won with only 51.7 percent of the vote.

In Montana, progressive Sen. Lee Metcalf will be the target of right wing and conservative interests and may face a tough foe, Gov. Tim Babcock who is mentioned as a potential GOP candidate. Metcalf won by only 50.7 in 1960.

Other liberals who won close races their last times around are Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) who won with 55.5 percent of the vote; Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D.-N.H.), 52.3 percent; Sen. Fred Harris (D.-Okla.), 51.2 percent; Sen. Ross Bass (D.-Tenn.), 52.1 percent; Sen. Jennings Randolph (D.-W. Va.), 55.3 percent.

Conservative Republicans up for election this year who had tight races in their last campaigns are Gordon Allott (Colo.), 54 percent; J. Caleb Boggs (Del.), 50.7 percent; Len Jordan (Idaho), 50.9 percent; Jack Miller (Iowa), 51.9 percent; Karl Mundt (S.D.), 52.5 percent; John Tower (Texas), 50.6 percent.

- 30 -

oeiu #2
afl-cio

SAMPLE BALLOT

NOTE: The recommendations of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council are indicated by the cross mark (X) in front of the name of the respective candidate.

SAMPLE BALLOT
Federal & State Candidates
VOTING MACHINE

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION
May 3, 1966
Jefferson County, Alabama

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

AFTER MARKING YOUR BALLOT

Leave Levers In Voting Position With Crosses Showing Like This →

DON'T PUSH THEM BACK

The machine does this for you and clears itself for next voter.

	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5	
	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 — DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 — DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 — DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 — DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 — DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY	
FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR Vote for One	JOHN G. CROMMELIN ☐	FRANK E. DIXON ☒	JOHN SPARKMAN ☐	MRS. FRANK E. STEWART ☐		
FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT Vote for One	WALTER BRANDT PERRY ☐	JOHN C. (Jack) SCHMARKEY ☒	[Runs in Precincts 12-13-15-16-20-22-50] FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT Vote for One		BILL NICHOLS ☐	ED PEPPER ☐
FOR GOVERNOR Vote for One	CARL ELLIOTT ☐	RICHMOND M. FLOWERS ☒	JAMES E. (Big Jim) FOLSOM ☐	BOB GILCHRIST ☐	(MR.) BURNICE T. GORE ☐	
	JOHN PATTERSON ☐	SHERMAN BLACKSTONE POWELL ☐	A. W. TODD ☐	MRS. GEORGE C. WALLACE ☐	CHARLES WOODS ☐	
FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Vote for One	ALBERT BREWER ☐	MRS. MITCALF ☒	JOHN A. REYNOLDS ☐	JOHN M. TYSON ☐		
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL Vote for One	MacDONALD GALLION ☐	GUY SPARKS ☒				
FOR STATE TREASURER Vote for One	MRS. AGNES BAGGETT ☐	BETTYE FRINK ☒	MRS. WYATT (Ruth Johnson) OWENS ☐			
FOR STATE AUDITOR Vote for One	MILBA TILL ALLEN ☐	NELL COWEN ☐	ALLEN HARGROVE ☐	JUANITA McDANIEL ☐	SALLY BRAGG MORRISON ☒	
FOR SECRETARY OF STATE Vote for One	MABEL AMOS ☐	GLENN HEWETT ☐	MARY E. MANDERSON ☐			
FOR PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION—PLACE No. 1 Vote for One	JOHN CASEY ☒	JAMES H. HORN ☐	C. C. (Jack) OWEN ☐			
FOR PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	FRED H. DAVIS ☐	SIBYL POOL ☒				
FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION Vote for One	DONALD L. HORNE ☒	ERNEST STONE ☐				
FOR COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES Vote for One	RICHARD (Dick) BEARD ☐	ARTHUR DEES ☐	ED ESTES ☒	SHELTON C. PINSON ☐		
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	FOSTER (Buck) ETHEREDGE ☒	JOHN GOLDEN ☐	NEAL E. HEMPHILL ☐			
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 3 Vote for One	JEROME A. (Buddy) COOPER ☒	JOHN H., JR. HAWKINS ☐				
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 4 Vote for One	RICHARD DOMINICK ☒	LOUIS MOORE ☐				
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 7 Vote for One	HENRY D. DOZIER ☐	JOHN LAIR ☒	PASCHAL P. (Pat) VACCA ☐			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	MAURICE E. ALLEN ☒	WOODY BRATCHER ☐	BETTY DAVIS DeARMAN ☐	J. T. (John) JR. WAGGONER ☐		

Vote for One	HORNE ☒	STONE ☐				
FOR COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES Vote for One	RICHARD (Dick) BEARD ☐	ARTHUR DEES ☐	ED ESTES ☒	SHELTON C. PINION ☐		
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	FOSTER (Buck) ETHEREDGE ☒	JOHN GOLDEN ☐	NEAL E. HEMPHILL ☐			
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 3 Vote for One	JEROME A. (Buddy) COOPER ☒	JOHN H., JR. HAWKINS ☐				
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 4 Vote for One	RICHARD DOMINICK ☒	LOUIS MOORE ☐				
FOR STATE SENATOR 12th SENATORIAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 7 Vote for One	HENRY D. DOZIER ☐	JOHN LAIR ☒	PASCHAL P. (Pat) VACCA ☐			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	MAURICE E. ALLEN ☒	WOODY BRATCHER ☐	BETTY DAVIS DeARMAN ☐	J. T. (John), JR. WAGGONER ☐		
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 3 Vote for One	ROBERT L. (Bob), JR. ELLIS ☐	MACK RUDD ☐	Arthur D. SHORES ☒			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 4 Vote for One	BON JONES ☒	HUBERT KILGORE ☐				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 5 Vote for One	RICHARD (Dick) DILL ☒	HENRY A. PARKER ☐	RAYMOND J., SR. ROWELL ☐	CHARLES STERNE ☐		
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 6 Vote for One	CLARENCE BLAIR ☐	JOE MONEY ☐	CHARLES NICE ☒			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 7 Vote for One	BOB ADWELL ☐	M. P. GRAY ☐	LAWRENCE (Larry), JR. KLOESS ☒	HENRY B. WELCH ☐		
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 8 Vote for One	RAYMOND WEEKS ☒	CHARLES HENRY YESSICK ☐				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 9 Vote for One	L. S. Jr. GAILLARD ☒	J. S. (John) KENNAMER ☐	TOMMY WATKINS ☐			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 10 Vote for One	LAWRENCE A LEE ☐	James T. MONTGOMERY ☒	J. D. WILKINSON ☐			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 11 Vote for One	GEORGE HIGGINBOTHAM ☒	TRAM SESSIONS ☐				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 12 Vote for One	ROBERT C. (Bob) GAFFORD ☐	NEWMAN (Red) YEILDING ☒				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 13 Vote for One	TAFT EPSTEIN ☐	R. F. (Bob) HOLMAN ☐	VIRGIL E. PIERSON ☒			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 14 Vote for One	A. E. (Cordy) COLEMAN ☐	VERNON E. CRANE ☐	EVELYN CREAMER ☐			
	HOWARD HUDSON ☐	WILLIAM L. IRONS ☒	JERRY O. LORANT ☐			
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 15 Vote for One	QUINTON E. BOWERS ☐	J. F. (Joe), JR. VOLKER ☒				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 16 Vote for One	JOHN W. (George) COOK ☐	GEORGE TRAWICK ☒				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 17 Vote for One	FRANK (Pig) HOUSE ☒	JOHN W. MILLER ☐				
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 18 Vote for One	BENNETT L. (Ben) CHERNER ☐	ROBERT R. KRACKE ☒	FRANK T. MORGAN ☐	DON WATTS ☐		
FOR MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 14th DISTRICT—PLACE No. 20 Vote for One	David H. Jr. HOOD ☒	THOMAS H. (Big Tom) JACKSON ☐	DON MALOY ☐			
	J. HOWARD, JR. McENIRY ☐	BILL PRENTICE ☐				

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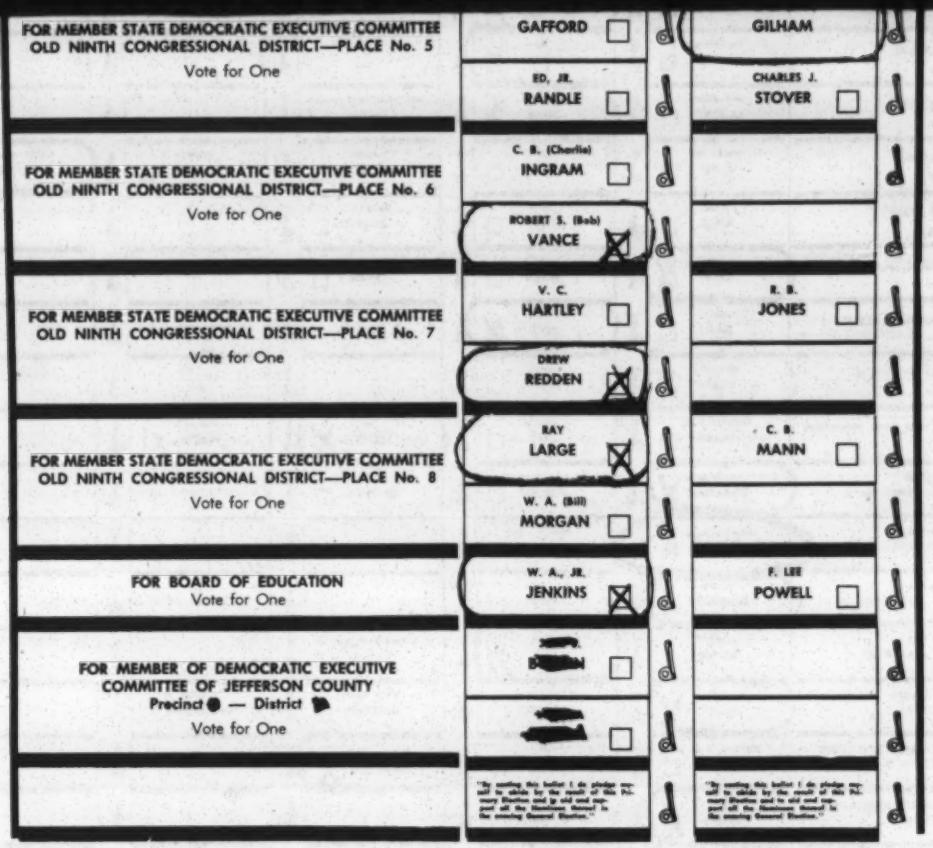
1ST TURN SWITCH RIGHT TO CLOSE CURTAINS

2ND MARK YOUR BALLOT AND LEAVE MARKS SHOWING →

WARNING—YOUR ☒ MARKS MUST BE SHOWING FOR VOTE TO REGISTER

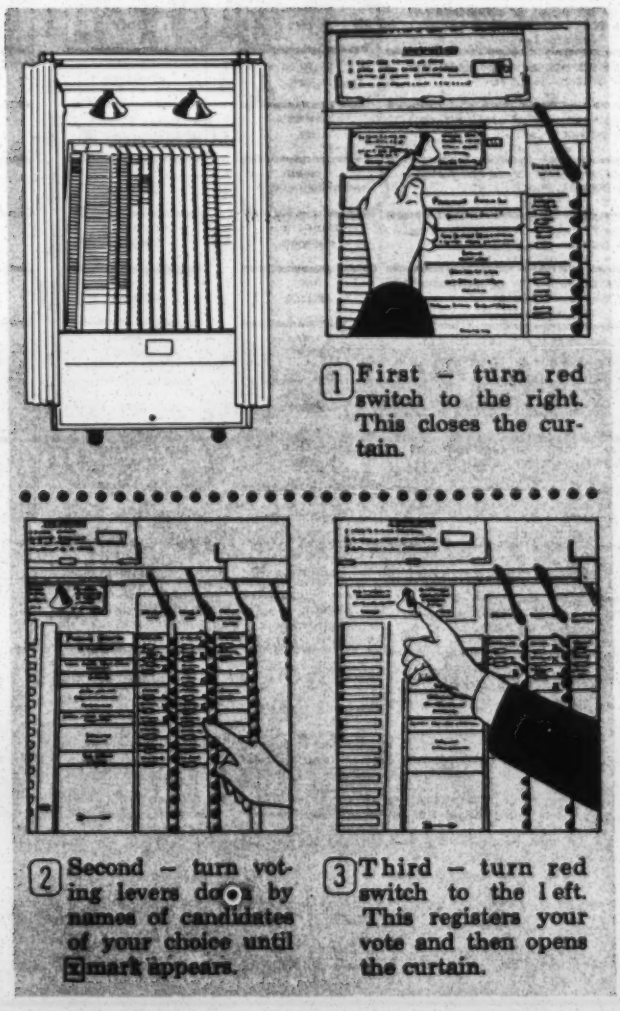
3RD TURN SWITCH LEFT

	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 DEMOCRATS FOR THE RIGHT DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY Column 1	OFFICIAL BALLOT STATE OF ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION MAY 3, 1966 DEMOCRATS FOR THE RIGHT DEMOCRATIC PARTY JEFFERSON COUNTY Column 2
FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY Vote for One	J. EARL LANGNER ☒	EARL MORGAN ☐
FOR SHERIFF Vote for One	MEL BAILEY ☒	ALBERT (Al) LINGO ☐
FOR TAX ASSESSOR Vote for One	GRAVES MUSGROVE ☐	BILL PATTON ☐
	EARL T. ROGERS ☒	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 1 Vote for One	ALAN T., JR. DRENNEN ☒	HUBERT KILGORE ☐
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 2 Vote for One	S. J. (Steve) COLPACK ☐	DON L. HAWKINS ☐
	GEORGE C. LONGSHORE	VIRGINIA DAVIS RANDOLPH ☐
	H. B., JR. THOMPSON ☐	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 3 Vote for One	JOE CLAYTON INGRAM ☐	TOM KING ☒
	JAMES M. TINGLE ☐	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 4 Vote for One	PAUL J. CLEMENTS ☐	JAMES A. HEAD ☒
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 5 Vote for One	ROBERT C. (Bob) GAFFORD ☐	L. E. (Dick) GILHAM
	ED, JR. RANDLE ☐	CHARLES J. STOVER ☐
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 6 Vote for One	C. B. (Charlie) INGRAM ☐	
	ROBERT S. (Bob) VANCE ☒	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 7 Vote for One	V. C. HARTLEY ☐	R. B. JONES ☐
	DREW BEDDEN ☒	



FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 5 Vote for One	GAFFORD ☐	GILHAM
	ED, JR. RANDLE ☐	CHARLES J. STOVER ☐
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 6 Vote for One	C. B. (Charlie) INGRAM ☐	
	ROBERT S. (Bob) VANCE ☒	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 7 Vote for One	V. C. HARTLEY ☐	R. B. JONES ☐
	DREW REDDEN ☒	
FOR MEMBER STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OLD NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—PLACE No. 8 Vote for One	RAY LARGE ☒	C. B. MANN ☐
	W. A. (Bill) MORGAN ☐	
FOR BOARD OF EDUCATION Vote for One	W. A., JR. JENKINS ☒	F. LEE POWELL ☐
FOR MEMBER OF DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF JEFFERSON COUNTY Precinct ● — District ▶ Vote for One	[redacted] ☐	
	[redacted] ☐	
	"By casting this ballot I do pledge myself to abide by the result of this Primary Election and to aid and support all the Nominees thereof in the ensuing General Election."	"By casting this ballot I do pledge myself to abide by the result of this Primary Election and to aid and support all the Nominees thereof in the ensuing General Election."

INSTRUCTIONS for using YOUR VOTING MACHINE



Polkes

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

newsletter

from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

VOLUME 1, NO. 4 MAY-JUNE 1966

NEWPORT NEWS LANDMARK PACT

Shipyard Case Opens Many New Opportunities

EEOC ARCHITECTS *of the Newport News agreement are, left to right, Alfred Blumrosen, conciliation chief, Kenneth Holbert, conciliation officer, and Herman Edelsberg, executive director.*

The nation's largest shipbuilder has signed an agreement with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to provide broad new promotion opportunities for Negroes.

The Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company signed the agreement after six days of intensive negotiations at Commission headquarters in Washington. Representatives of the Department of Defense and the Department of the Navy joined with Commission conciliators in shaping the agreement.

The agreement grew out of employment discrimination charges filed with the Commission by 41 Negro employees under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Commission had determined reasonable cause to believe Newport News was violating Title VII. The Departments of Labor and Navy also had determined that Newport News was not in compliance with the Executive Order dealing with Federal contracts.

Under the agreement, an outside expert, approved by the Company and the Commission, will evaluate jobs and pay rates in the Newport News plant to determine whether Negroes are being paid the same rates as whites doing the same or substantially equivalent work. Where it is determined that Negroes are being paid discriminatory rates they will be immediately raised to equivalent levels with whites.

A survey of key departments will be made to determine the promotion pattern of whites over past years. The history of Negro promotions will be compared to the white promotion profile and where Negroes have not progressed accordingly, they will be promoted immediately.

At the time of the agreement, Commission Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., said:

"One effect of this agreement will be an increase in pay for hundreds of Negro employees at the Newport News plant. It will also mean widespread promotions for Negroes. An even more far reaching effect will be the application of this agreement as a model for the correction of discrimination in other industries by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In this case, the government spoke with one voice."

The package of remedial programs which the company and the Commission developed was described by Roosevelt as being "not a grudging agreement to stop discriminating, but a model of comprehensive affirmative action to reach and counteract the effects of prior discriminations."

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz said: "The successful completion of these negotiations resulted from a concerted government effort to make equal employ-

Continued on page 11

SPECIAL ISSUE—The First Year—pages 2-11

EEOC

A SPECIAL ISSUE—THE FIRST YEAR

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been pounding down the track ever since the starting gun was fired on July 2, 1965.

The breathing has been a little heavy at times and there has been some wide swinging on the turns, but this agency, created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, looks as if it might cross the first year finish line without serious injury.

This issue of the EEOC NEWSLETTER takes a look back—and a look ahead.

It sees more than 7000 employment discrimination charges received by EEOC in 10 months where only 2000 were anticipated for the whole first year.

It sees some dramatic landmarks along the way—such as the Bogalusa Dovetailing Principle and the Newport News Agreement.

It sees some of the complexity that was predicted in the part of Title VII which deals with sex discrimination—but none of the bunny girl frivolity that caught the early headlines.

It sees the tremendous reservoir of goodwill—the willingness to comply with the law—that exists in many segments of business, industry and labor . . .

And it ruefully sees the difficulties of getting at discrimination directed against the Mexican-American and Spanish-speaking minorities in the United States.

The nuts and bolts of the line operations are described briefly in this Newsletter.

The Commission lost its chairman to the New York Governor's race, but he left his mark of leadership on the first 10 months.

Each of the Commissioners expresses his feelings about the accomplishments, shortcomings, and future goals and needs of this agency's leading part in the battle to end discrimination in employment practices.

From a sudden and unrehearsed start, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has come a long, if sometimes bumpy way. It is on the threshhold of even tougher problems, more demanding challenges, and hopes to have a little better budget to keep it abreast of the vote of confidence given it by the public in all parts of the Nation. ■

COMPLIANCE

7,000 COMPLAINTS FLOW IN

More than any other division of EEOC, the Office of Compliance has felt the strain of short budget and staff during the Commission's first 10 months.

"Compliance" is where the action starts—and keeps on and on and on.

Charges of employment discrimination arrive in the Office of Compliance. They are analyzed there. If they appear to have grounds, they are investigated from there.

When the investigation is completed, and the Commission finds cause, the charge comes back to Compliance and the Conciliation Section moves into action.

Picture a staff budgeted for on the basis of 2000 complaints in a year—confronted with more than 3000 charges in the first six months—and 7000 by the 10-month mark.

Compliance has operated with no more than 45 investigators—all but 20 on loan from other agencies—when it should have had almost 100 to keep ahead of the avalanche.

In spite of it, these figures show what has been done:

In the first 10 months, the Commission received 7,060 charges of discrimination in employment. These cases were analyzed as follows:

Probable jurisdiction (recommended for investigation)	3,074
Deferred for state or local FEP action	686
Returned for additional information	958
Rejected—no jurisdiction	1,809
Closed or withdrawn	533

Investigations have been completed on 1,220 of the 3,074 cases recommended.

The Commission has found cause to believe there is a violation of Title VII in 517 of these cases and sent them to the Conciliation Section. No cause has been found in 218 of the cases in which investigation is complete. Eighty-two cases have been closed during investigation and 403 are pending a finding before the Commission.

Of the cases where cause has

been found, 70 have been successfully conciliated. Thirty more are nearing conciliation. In 25 cases, conciliations have been designated "unsuccessful," either because signed agreement was not achieved, or all of the counts charged were not resolved. But in most of these cases, substantial accomplishments have been made.

The Compliance Division is expanding its staff as rapidly as the supplemental appropriation will permit. It hopes to have 96 investigators on full-time staff soon. The Division hopes that this will enable it not only to catch up with the backlog, but to stay even with the flow of charges that continues to come to the Commission. ■

GEORGE HOLLAND, *director of compliance, outlines a problem. Richard Berg, deputy general counsel, right, and Win Newman, special assistant to the executive director, left, concentrate on it.*

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Working with Business and Labor

EEOC's Office of Technical Assistance is in business to put the Commission's complaint-handling departments out of business.

OTA offers business, industry and labor an assortment of Do-It-Yourself programs designed to accomplish compliance with Title VII and to open up new job opportunities at every level through voluntary affirmative action.

OTA operates on the principle that most business leaders want to comply with the law, not only as a matter of avoiding the costly and time-consuming complaint route—but also as a matter of good will and conscience. This reservoir of good will is demonstrated by community equal employment opportunity councils—many of which were established before Title VII became law. OTA tells leaders of business and industry how such councils can be set up and furnishes guidelines.

There is a widely-held opinion that equal employment opportunity is good business. OTA has compiled information from those who practice it and presents this in a booklet designed to show that it is, indeed, good business.

OTA's "How-To" program underlines the need for active recruiting, job training, and liaison and cooperation with civil rights groups.

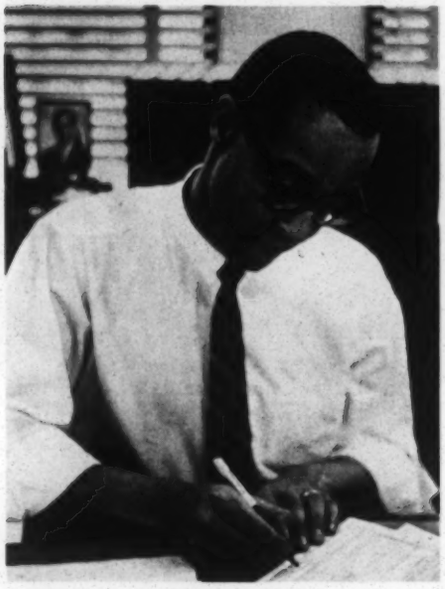
Another OTA program is designed for new and expanding plants. It aims at giving minority groups employment opportunities before hiring patterns have been set.

In situations where EEOC's conciliation officers go to work on active charges, OTA offers educational and technical support for affirmative action beyond the resolution of those specific charges.

OTA works with a climate of cooperation and seeks to extend the beneficial effects of such a climate. Through personal contacts, speeches and seminars with employer groups, at business and trade association meetings and conventions, OTA spreads the word: "Equal Employment Opportunity is Good Business." The final word, of course, must be spoken by business, industry and labor. Technical Assistance can only tell them "How."

It is not too much to suggest that the technical assistance side of the Commission's operation consists largely of persuading laggard companies and unions to adopt the practices of the most progressive and successful employers and labor unions. ■

ROGER McKENZIE *listens as Frank Caracciolo talks at a technical assistance session.*



CHARLES T. DUNCAN, *General Counsel, uses shirtsleeve approach to an EEOC legal question.*

GENERAL COUNSEL

INTERPRETING THE LAW

The General Counsel is probably the most talked-to office in EEOC. The five attorneys measure just about every question that comes before the Commission—from specific charges all the way to broad policy decisions—by the yardstick of Title VII.

An unusual amount of time in the General Counsel's shop has been called for on matters relating to the sex provisions of Title VII. What became law with very little legislative history has moved through the opening forays of bunny-girl frivolity into the serious realm of seniority, retirement, bona fide occupational qualification, and other issues. Guidelines for solution of conflicts between state protective laws for women and the sex provisions of Title VII is a current and future project undertaken by General Counsel.

In the course of dealing with these and other questions, General Counsel has prepared some 150 memoranda and written some 750 opinion letters. The office also has published a digest of legal interpretations and one supplement. Another supplement is in preparation.

General Counsel reviews all private suits filed under Title VII to determine whether to file briefs or intervene; reviews cases for submission to the Attorney General for possible civil action; drafts Commission guidelines (i.e. help-wanted ads) and proposals for guidelines (i.e. religious discrimination).

General Counsel also has a big hand in: legislative proposals; conciliation agreements; and Commission hearings on broad issues such as seniority. A longer-range project is the publication of a detailed interpretive analysis of Title VII. ■

SEGAL SMILES—*EEOC's Liaison Director, Ben Segal, wouldn't let a turned ankle keep him from the swift completion of his appointed rounds. Pressed for a statement, Segal said: "It happened on the tennis court."*

LIAISON

FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL

Equal Employment Opportunity doesn't exist in a vacuum. Other vital issues such as housing, education, public accommodations, voting rights—all interact upon the problems of fair employment. Liaison with agencies concerned with these areas is an important part of EEOC's effort.

And on the specific issue, EEOC isn't the only agency in the business of assuring fair employment practices. There are other Federal agencies whose jurisdiction sometimes overlaps that of EEOC, such as the OFCC which covers government contractors. There are 31 states and two cities to which the EEOC has agreed to defer action on discrimination complaints. There are conflicts between state and Federal law and the problems of resolving such conflicts.

The EEOC's Office of Liaison undertakes to keep lines of communication open between these numerous jurisdictions and agencies, hoping that left hands will be kept aware as much as possible of what right hands are doing.

Steps in this direction include a Memorandum of Understanding (between EEOC and state FEP agencies); administration of grants for research projects through private organizations; exchanges of ideas about fair employment problems through regional meetings and through direct contact with state and local FEP's.

The Memorandum of Understanding was drafted by EEOC and is under consideration by state and local FEP organizations. It outlines standard agreements on procedure in connection with employment discrimination complaints and deferral by EEOC to state agencies.

EEOC played a leading role at regional meeting of state FEP agencies at Providence, R. I., which included representatives from New England and Middle Atlantic States.

Eleven state and municipal FEP agencies are sharing in a $165,000 grant provided by EEOC to Wayne State University to research patterns of discrimination in employment. The EEOC Liaison Office is working out a two-year program for promotion of common Federal, state and local fair employment projects for which $900,000 has been requested from Congress for Fiscal 1967.

EEOC policy decisions, news

developments, legal opinions, and other information are sent regularly to state and local organizations and EEOC receives information in turn from the state groups. ■

CAPITOL HILL *is the precinct of William Kendrick, EEOC's director of congressional liaison, and his secretary, Clare Soponis.*

LIAISON

CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC

Telling the story of Title VII and the Commission is a responsibility shared by all the Commissioners and staff.

It is the particular assignment of the Liaison Office when it comes to inter-agency and federal-state communications. It is the particular assignment of the Congressional Relations office of EEOC in terms of keeping 100 Senators and 435 Congressmen advised of programs and needs of the EEOC.

And as a matter of general public information, the story of Title VII and the EEOC is a particular responsibility of the Public Affairs office of EEOC.

The Congressional Relations office has handled more than 1500 written and phone requests from Members of Congress, their staffs and committee personnel. Contact has been maintained with the appropriate legislative and appropriations committees on matters relating to EEOC activities.

The Commission's supplemental request for funds has been approved in the amount of $500,000, making a total appropriation of $3,250,000 for 1965-66. Legislation which would widen the Commission's jurisdiction over employers and unions and provide enforcement powers beyond the present conciliation authority has passed the House. Similar legislation is under consideration in the Senate.

Working with Public Affairs, Congressional Relations has arranged for the appearance of Commissioners and radio and television programs of Senators and Congressmen and numerous articles about the EEOC activities have appeared in Congressional newsletters.

Public Affairs has issued 117 general press releases on EEOC actions, guidelines and statistics. Public Service spot announcements about the Commission were prepared and recorded by Public Affairs and distributed to all radio and television stations in the United States. Return advice from more than 10 per cent of these stations show that the television spots have been used at least 56,659 times and the radio spots at least 54,707 times.

A general Fact Pamphlet about Title VII and the Commission and other information about Commission activities was prepared and distributed by Public Affairs to the general public, trade associations and press, radio and television.

Three Newsletters prior to this issue have been written, published and distributed by Public Affairs. ■

RESEARCH

SEEKING ANSWERS FROM FACTS

When it comes to Government Forms To Be Filled Out, it might be said the EEOC Research Division is the Businessman's Best Friend.

Replacing Standard Forms 38, 40, 40A, 41 and EEO-10 is the new joint reporting form for employers

JUST A FEW *of the thousands of EEO-1 Employer Reporting Forms which have come into Washington are tackled by Herbert Hammerman, chairman of the Joint Reporting Committee, and Betty Reynolds of the EEOC research division.*

which will serve EEOC, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and Plans for Progress.

The name of the new form is "Standard Form 100 Equal Employment Opportunity Employer Information Report EEO-1," which is a mouthful but at least employers can now tell it all in four pages.

More than 35,000 employers have done so as of the deadline of April 30 and some stragglers are expected to bring the total up. The data submitted on EEO-1 (there, you see it wasn't hard to say, was it?) will be processed by the Bureau of the Census. This information will be used by EEOC in technical studies of employment practices in selected geographical areas and industries.

The Office of Research has also pulled together a study of testing procedures used in employment and is looking for a full-time expert to add to the staff to work in this field. Meanwhile, a consultant from the Department of Labor is on detail to EEOC one-day a week for preliminaries.

Other study projects the Office of Research is undertaking include: a profile of the Mexican-American worker; dynamics of equal employment opportunity and the economic status of the Negro worker. ■

ADMINISTRATION

KEEPING HOUSE FOR EEOC

If there's a beef about the way the elevators are working at EEOC headquarters in Washington—it goes to the Office of Administration.

And when the Commission wants to beef up the budget request to take care of the flood of business—that's the business of the Office of Administration, too.

Administration takes on its big jobs and little jobs with plegmatic calm. If you want a typewriter or a typist, a desk or a directive, office space in Atlanta or an order for

JOHN EBERLE *ponders an administrative problem posed by one of his staff.*

printing—just call Administration. They'll manage it.

During the first year of EEOC, here are some of the things that the Office of Administration has managed:

More than 7,500 employment applications were evaluated. By early May 157 employees were in headquarters and 17 were assigned to new field offices in Atlanta, Chicago and Dallas.

Off and on since last July, 75 investigators have been borrowed from 26 state and federal agencies until the supplemental appropriation enables EEOC to bring its own staff of investigators up to full strength.

The Fiscal 1967 budget request for $5,870,000 is now under Congressional review. Office of Administration put together the nuts and bolts of it to present to Congress.

In the months ahead, opening and staffing the remaining field offices is the biggest assignment of this office. ■

REGIONAL OFFICES

THE COMMISSION MOVES TO THE FIELD

Regional offices are operational in Atlanta, Dallas and Chicago. Recruitment for additional offices is underway. Additional regional offices will be located in Los Angeles, San Antonio, New Orleans and Kansas City. Target date for these offices is June 30.

These offices will employ 149 persons when fully staffed. At present 10 professionals are on detail from other agencies to investigate complaints now before EEOC.

A coordinated field program has been approved by the Commission. This program is now in effect where offices have been activated. It will continue under study and review for possible improvement.

Discrimination complaints, except in cases of special significance, will be investigated and conciliated by field staff under supervision of regional and area directors. Each field director will represent the Commission in the states under his jurisdiction and will report to the Deputy Executive Director in Washington.

In early April, staffs of the Dallas and Atlanta offices underwent one week of training. The program emphasized the Commission's philosophy and objectives in respect to Title VII; investigation and conciliation techniques; report requirements and special problems. These programs will be continued and revised as new problems occur. ■

WALTER DAVIS, *deputy regional director, oversees field operations.*

MARGARETTA BELL, *EEOC's Executive Secretary, includes among her responsibilities assignment of thousands of pieces of mail for action and the operation of the Speaker's Bureau. Since last July, Commissioners and Senior Staff have accepted 482 invitations to tell of the work and objectives of EEOC in 148 major cities in 42 states.*

SALLY BOYD *is the gal to see at EEOC when you want to get a job done—be it mimeographing, printing, message-carrying, bill-paying, or getting the air-conditioning turned on or off.*

MRS. BERTHA NEWMAN *manages the EEOC Library—from lawbooks to newspapers.*

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Commission's responsibility is to assure that all in the American labor pool will be considered for hiring, firing and promotion on the basis of their ability and qualifications, without regard to race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

If a person believes that he or she has been discriminated against by an employer, labor organization, employment agency or joint labor-management program, that person may file a complaint with the Commission.

Persons believing a pattern of practice of discrimination exists in their areas may call such pattern to the attention of the Commission. After investigation, the Commission will consider filing a Commissioner's Complaint.

Instructions and complaint forms are available at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20506.

DISCRIMINATION CHARGES *come to the EEOC through the Compliance Division's Control Unit. Left to right: Everett Crosson, Tyese Flood and Keith Lyman discuss routing of a charge.*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

On May 11, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. handed his resignation as chairman of the Equal Employmen Opportunity Commission to President Johnson and announced the next day as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor of New York. Stepping down from the helm after guiding the Commission in its first 10 months, Mr. Roosevelt expressed his impressions in the following statement:

I am proud of the progress that has been made by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in its first year.

We have helped to bring about new employment attitudes and practices in many areas throughout the South – in retail and department stores and taxicab companies, in famous New Orleans restaurants and in public service establishments – and in major industry after industry in all sections of the U. S.

The Newport News Shipbuilding Company settlement is probably the most comprehensive and far-reaching solution ever achieved in a job discrimination case. Thousands of Negro employees were brought up to the starting line – for promotion and for pay – to remedy past discrimination in the country's largest shipyard.

In Bogalusa, a strife-torn, Klan-ridden community, the principle of horizontal merging of segregated lines of promotion was established by the Commission, the Crown-Zellerbach Paper Company and the International Paperworkers and Papermakers Union. We sat down for three hours at a table and hammered it out. We not only settled a stubborn seniority problem; we improved the race relations climate in the community.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not create new responsibilities for the major employers in the nation, except, perhaps, in respect to sex discrimination. These employers have been subject to fair employment practice laws for years in many states. If they were Government contractors they were committed to avoid discrimination and, indeed, to engage in affirmative action to provide equal opportunity in employment.

But Title VII *WAS* the first Congressional declaration in the employment field. It followed a

The EEOC Commissioners Look Back At The

long and dramatic Civil Rights struggle that overcame fire hoses, police dogs and an 83-day filibuster. Thus it assumed an importance beyond the letter of its modest law.

Those who designed the Commission budget estimated that we would receive 2000 complaints in our first year. We stand today six weeks away from our first year in business and already the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been deluged with more than 7000 complaints.

This is striking testimony to the confidence minority persons have in this Commission. Title VII is an article of faith throughout the land, a bright light toward which the disadvantaged in every walk of our life have turned.

The Commission has conciliated 70 charges brought against 28 respondents and 30 more are nearing solution. In most of the 25 charges against eight respondents where we must say that our efforts were "unsuccessful" – because every count was not resolved or signed agreement was not accomplished – correction of many of the issues was nevertheless achieved.

In all 14 court cases which have been filed by charging parties to protect their rights to file, none has been brought to trial as we continue conciliation efforts.

For all sorts of reasons major segments of business, industry and labor have shown they are anxious to comply with the new law and the national policy it propounds – a fair chance for all at a job or a promotion, regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Business and labor are concerned about public image, but more than that, they are responding to the law because it is right and because there is in this country a basic reservoir of good will based upon that rightness. For those segments which persist in discriminating, we have asked for new laws with more powers. Happily, the House has already passed the Hawkins bill which I advocate and the President has asked the Senate to follow suit.

Discrimination in employment practices, of course, has not been wiped out by the Commission and Title VII. In many places discrimination is still deeply rooted in habit and custom. But the gates to opportunity have been opened by this new law and the momentum of positive accomplishment will keep Americans moving through these gates more and more and more as this Commission and this Administration continue to pursue their convictions with dedication and resolve. ■

First Year—And Ahead to the Future

DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB

The concept of affirmative action, which seeks through Title VII to urge employers, unions, and employment agencies to go beyond the letter of the law and grasp its spirit, is basic to my philosophy of equal employment opportunity.

If we are to build on the experience and achievements of government—both state and federal; management and labor as well as that of civil rights and civic leaders, we must exercise care not to retread steps that were taken a decade ago, or even last year. This means to me that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission must not only take remedial action as evidenced by our complaint adjustments, but must "look ahead" if the word "progress" is to have meaning in the 1960s.

Faced with modern technological requirements, manpower skills of minority groups must be drastically upgraded. This means training and education, much of it on-the-job, to fill the present need for manpower.

Once we have reversed the spiral of futility of low income, poor health, low educational attainment and consequently low employability—we will then have attained the opportunity to be equal.

As we look into the future and at the expanding goals of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, our affirmative action programs will have opened the doors for all qualified citizens to participate in the mainstream of American economic life. It is at this point that the combined efforts of government, business and labor to remove barriers to employment opportunities; of parents and civic groups to lift aspirational levels; and of educators and civil rights leaders to provide basic skills and stimulation, will begin to harvest the real fruits of equal opportunity. ■

RICHARD A. GRAHAM

The EEOC through key cases and through cooperative efforts with business and labor groups has made clear what is expected under Title VII and how to do it.

In its first year the Commission received four times the number of charges of discrimination that had been predicted—some 8,000 in all. It has set up field offices and a headquarters staff to handle them.

Often case work has been the trigger for affirmative action programs—the extra efforts needed to overcome the traditional discrimination that prevents true equality of job opportunity.

The Commission has brought together the nation's leading research authorities on racial discrimination for guidance. Top business and labor leaders have met with the Commission to work out revisions to bargaining agreements that have held captive the victims of past discrimination. The Justice Department has been requested to bring suit in the few cases where employees have resisted compliance and private suits have been brought where the Commission has been unable to conclude conciliation.

The Commission is now receiving reports on the work forces of all employees covered by the Act—reports that businessmen say are as important to management in assessing job equality performance as inspection reports are in controlling quality.

Though few jobs can be performed only by a man or only by a woman, hundreds of thousands of jobs are still classified by sex. Twenty per cent of Commission cases charge sex discrimination and employers and unions alike have generally accepted the idea that in a society where most women will work outside the home, equality of work opportunity is fair and is now required. ■

AILEEN C. HERNANDEZ

New techniques must be devised if "equal opportunity" is to be more than a pious pronouncement to America's disadvantaged. Too many years of too many rejections have made the victims of discrimination reluctant to apply and reluctant to complain. Disillusionment, fear, cultural patterns may limit the utilization of government agencies by those most in need of assistance. For example, few Mexican Americans, few women, few Jews, few American Indians have brought formal complaints before this Commission or any local Commission. Yet we know that individuals from all these groups have suffered discrimination. And actually, even though more Negroes have brought complaints, *relatively few have,* in proportion to the problem.

This Commission has a unique opportunity to put President Johnson's concept of "creative federalism" to the test:

1. We can demonstrate that by developing a meaningful, working relationship with state and local FEP agencies, together we can set guidelines, raise standards, and move imaginatively as partners to fulfill our mutual responsibility to end employment discrimination.

2. We can devise a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal attack on job bias—incorporating complaint processing, but going beyond to include affirmative actions to overcome the effects of past barriers.

3. We can plan ahead rather than wait passively to react to the results of discrimination—a Watt's explosion. ■

SAMUEL D. JACKSON

It has become more and more clear since the implementation of the various provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that employment is the vital factor in the struggle for equal opportunity.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is acutely conscious of its responsibility and role in the effort to overcome bias based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

Since July 2, 1965, Commission members and staff have tackled a variety of problems springing from unlawful practices. Many of these have been long-standing, deep-seated problems—cemented in tradition and surrounded by a wilderness of stubborn attitudes. Hiring, promotion, referral, testing, segregated facilities, and the extreme complexity of seniority systems are typical problems.

I feel that we have come far this first year toward long-sought goals,

accomplishing some widely-known successes and others which also have deep significance although they may be less newsworthy. In the handling of more than 7000 discrimination charges, we have accomplished many gains for disadvantaged citizens. We must undertake more in the way of industry and community-wide programs to eliminate discrimination patterns which continue to throttle the Negro's full participation in the job market.

Positive compliance—incorporating bold, imaginative programs to implement affirmative action—will contribute much to closing the widening gap between the earnings of white and non-white Americans. The responsibility to make it possible for minority citizens to enjoy the full bounty of America is one we on the Commission hope every other American will share with us. ■

NEW DEAL AT NEWPORT NEWS—*Posting of job vacancies at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. was part of the agreement reached with the EEOC.*

Newport News

Continued from page 1

ment opportunity a fact at this major shipbuilding firm."

Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company builds nuclear submarines, aircraft carriers and other ships for the United States Government. Its contracts with the Government run into billions of dollars. The company employs about 19,000 persons, about 5,000 of whom are Negroes. Its last report to the Government showed that only 32 out of 1997 persons employed in supervisory positions were Negroes. It showed that only 6 out of 506 apprentices enrolled were Negroes.

On March 16, Newport News came to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and requested assistance in conciliating the charges against it. Conciliation sessions began on March 22. On March 25, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz directed all Federal agencies not to award contracts to Newport News until the agencies and the Department of Labor were satisfied that the company was in compliance with the Executive Order requiring equal employment opportunity.

Principal architects of the agreement were Alfred W. Blumrosen, EEOC conciliation chief, and Kenneth Holbert, EEOC conciliator.

Participating in the sessions for the Departments of Defense and Navy were: Jerry Clark, Alan Reeves and Sam Schwartz.

Some of the charging parties have filed a civil suit under Title VII against Newport News through the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Other principal terms of the agreement include:

- immediate promotion of three Negroes who had filed charges to supervisory positions;
- rapid conciliation of the complaints of the other 38 charging parties;
- further opening of all job classifications to all employees without discrimination;
- complete elimination of segregated facilities;
- revision of promotion policies and practices to improve opportunities for qualified Negroes to and within supervisory levels;
- improvement of transfer procedure to other departments for Negroes;
- re-evaluation of Negro employee skills, institution of training programs to develop and improve Negro skills, promotion and pay adjustment on the basis of such evaluation and/or training;
- giving qualified Negroes equal opportunity to apprenticeship programs and actively recruiting for such programs in Negro schools.

The company also agreed to:

Post a non-discrimination policy statement, signed by the president, throughout the Yard and attach it to the paycheck of each full time employee within 30 days of the agreement signing;

Assemble all supervisory employees to read the policy statement to advise them of the terms of the agreement and to instruct them to advise employees in group meetings that a violation of such policy shall result in disciplinary action—including discharge where appropriate;

Make a detailed report to the Commission of actions taken to comply with the terms of the agreement 90 days after signing and each quarter for two years thereafter. ■

WALKER

Phillip Walker, NAACP attorney who represents the charging parties in the Newport News case said:

"This is a long fought for solution. We are grateful to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for its vigorous and successful handling of our cases."

HOLDEN

Donald A. Holden, president of the company, said:

"We are proud of our part in working out this agreement. It represents, in our view, an effective and responsible effort by the company and the Commission to further achieve genuine equality of opportunity for Negroes in our yard."

BELTON

Robert Belton, Assistant Counsel NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., said:

"Exemplary—is our designation of the conciliation agreement between the Newport News Shipbuilding Company and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

"Agreement to promote the Rev. J. C. Fauntleroy, president of the local NAACP chapter, and other complainants, shows the good intentions of the Newport News Shipbuilding Company.

"The firms's additional pledge to end discriminatory hiring and future promotion practices; and, its willingness to end segregated facilities in its plant, shows intention to comply with the spirit as well as the letter of the law . . ." ■

Industry Expert Asks: Do Tests Tell All?

Do psychological tests used in employee selection and upgrading discriminate unfairly against the culturally-deprived?

Dr. Philip Ash of Inland Steel makes some interesting observations on this question in a recent Chicago Merit Employment Committee Newsletter. Dr. Ash is research assistant to Inland's vice president for industrial and public relations. Excerpts of his article follow:

For whatever reason, Negro job applicants as a group consistently score significantly below white job applicants on most of the standardized paper and pencil tests used in selection. For example:

- In the administration of a junior-management civil-service examination to 5,000 white residents of an eastern state, forty per cent earned a qualifying score and were placed on the eligible list. But of 300 identifiable Negro applicants also taking the test, only three per cent made the eligible list;
- Of 100 whites and 100 Negroes taking the General Aptitude Test Battery which is widely used in state employment service offices, the whites made statistically significant better scores on all but one of the twelve tests in the battery even though the two groups were roughly comparable in age, educational attainment, and other personal characteristics;
- A large manufacturer of electronics equipment found that Negro college seniors scored consistently lower than white college seniors on general intelligence tests which the firm used to help select candidates for entry-level management jobs.

But for merit employers, differences in test scores are of value only to the extent that they predict differences in job performance. The central question is: Will an applicant with a low test score perform his job less satisfactorily than one with a significantly higher score? Or is it possible the low scorer can perform his work as competently as the candidate with the higher score?

Unfortunately, at the present time, only a handful of studies have addressed themselves to this key issue. But already the scattering of studies has turned up some interesting results:

- An electronics manufacturer who hired Negroes as programmers, despite their test scores, found they performed satisfactorily even though they did not score as well as the white applicants on the firm's programmer aptitude tests;
- A radio TV Appliance retailer who hired and then trained a group of Negroes deemed "unemployable" by standard aptitude and sales ability tests found that in fourteen out of the sixteen test cases the Negroes did better than had been predicted by the sales aptitude tests. Moreover, ten of the Negroes turned in actual job performances which were better than the expected performance level of all new employees;
- A study of Negro college students from culturally deprived environments revealed they did much better in college than would have been expected from their college entrance test scores;

- Of a group of sixty-six Negro students who were graduated with honors from a North Carolina college, fifty-eight would not even have been admitted to the school had the usual norms of college entrance tests been applied to them;
- A study of Negro and white highway toll collectors showed that the Negroes achieved supervisory performance ratings which were identical to those of the whites even though they had scored significantly lower on a mental-ability test used for selection.

Studies such as these—and others now underway—may well have profound implications for merit employers. True—a test may serve as an accurate predictor of job performance for an applicant who was born into and educated in the predominant, white, highly verbal culture in the United States. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly clear that these tests may not be as accurate an indicator of possible job success for an applicant who has not shared—or shared only partially—in this culture.

What is needed is more information about the relationship between test performance and cultural deprivation on the one hand and job performance on the other. This relationship must be studied both for non-white and white job applicants, and only those psychological tests used which validly predict job performance for both groups.

Right here allow me to caution against setting cutoff test scores based only on the performance of present employees. Unless this employee group includes a fair representation of minority-group workers—and unless it can be demonstrated that there is a clear relationship between test performance and job performance for these employees—there is no assurance that the test will not screen out minority-group workers in some way not truly related to their possible job performance.

The Ford Foundation currently is supporting an extensive research program to study the relationship between test performance and race both for white and non-white applicants. Meanwhile, until more of the facts are in, personnel managers may well wish to use their tests with renewed discretion, realizing that the possibility exists that applicants who have not shared in the dominant, white, middle-class verbal culture may give a significantly false impression of their real job potential. ■

MEXICAN-AMERICAN PROBLEMS *were discussed at a recent meeting at EEOC Headquarters in Washington. Right to left: Vice-Chairman Holcomb; Commissioner Hernandez; Augustine Flores, national president, American GI Forum; and Commissioner Jackson.*

EEOC ADOPTS TESTING GUIDELINES

The Commission has adopted six testing guidelines designed to help employers establish objective standards for selection, screening and promotion of workers.

These recommendations were offered in a paper on testing prepared by Dr. Phyllis Wallace, Beverly Kissinger and Betty Reynolds of EEOC's Research Division. The guidelines are:

1. Job descriptions should be examined and their critical requirements established before tests are selected for screening applicants.

2. Tests used should be those developed by reputable psychologists. Such tests should be administered by professionally qualified personnel who have had training in occupational testing in an industrial setting.

3. Rigidly inflexible minimum scores should be re-examined in light of the considerable research underway on differential selection.

4. Test scores must be considered as only one source of information and must be combined with other available information on performance, such as motivation, leadership, organizational experience, self-sufficiency and dependability.

5. Tests should be validated within the setting where they will be used. Validation should be for as many separate groups as possible in preference to one large, heterogeneous group.

6. It may be advisable for employers who deal with applicants from culturally-deprived backgrounds to offer re-tests to candidates who are unsuccessful on their first test, since these people are less familiar with the testing situation and may not do as well as they are able. ■

PROFILE

MRS. HERNANDEZ

Scholar, lecturer, union organizer, civil rights crusader, political scientist, traveler, and journalist is the versatile Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Born in New York City, raised in Brooklyn, N. Y., where she was a salutatorian of Bay Ridge High School, Mrs. Hernandez received her AB degree magna cum laude from Howard University.

In addition to being elected to the honor society at Howard, Mrs. Hernandez edited the college newspaper.

Upon graduation from Howard, Commissioner Hernandez travelled to Norway with the International Student Exchange program and spent the summer of 1947 in graduate study of comparative government. She returned to Howard as a research assistant in the Department of Government.

Her next job was with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, where she first served as a Pacific Coast organizer and later worked as assistant educational director during her 11 years with the union.

While with ILGWU, Commissioner Hernandez took graduate work at UCLA and USC and received her master's degree in government at Los Angeles State College.

From union work, she was appointed by Gov. Edmund G. Brown as assistant chief of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission.

President Johnson appointed Mrs. Hernandez as Commissioner of the EEOC for a full five-year term in 1965.

Mrs. Hernandez toured six Latin American countries in 1960 as a labor specialist lecturing for the U. S. State Department. She spoke in Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Argentina and Uruguay on conditions in American trade unions, the position of minority groups in the United States and the status of women.

Mrs. Hernandez believes the only successful approach to fair employment must be through a concerted effort in many fields. She feels, for example, that housing and education problems have a significant relationship to the problems of job opportunity.

Commissioner Hernandez has a busy speaking schedule. Since her July, 1965 duties began, she has criss-crossed the nation several times speaking to audiences about the function and programs of the EEOC. ■

Conciliator Assigned To North Carolina

EEOC has assigned a conciliation officer full time to Raleigh, North Carolina, to handle employment discrimination cases in that state.

The officer, Andrew Muse, began in April with 40 individual charges against nine different employers. These are the first cases in which the Commission found reasonable cause following an intensive investigation effort begun in North Carolina early this year. The Commission will forward additional cases to Muse for conciliation. Reasonable cause has been found in more than 30 percent of the North Carolina cases.

Muse, prior to joining the Commission staff, practiced law in Danville, Va. ■

Social Science Research Conference Sets Priorities

As a part of its program of stimulating and encouraging greater interest within the social science research community in the problems of discrimination in employment, the Office of Research convened a conference on February 2, 1966.

Thirteen eminent social scientists were asked to specify the priorities in research.

Recommendations for research were in five areas: (1) the Negro's perception of himself as it relates to economic mobility; (2) how the minority worker fits into the normal functioning of the labor market; (3) exploration of the relationship between hiring criteria (especially tests) and job requirements; (4) what shapes employers attitudes toward equal employment opportunity; and (5) evaluation of present manpower development programs.

Copies of the recommendations were sent to specialists on manpower problems in a number of government agencies. The response to the Commission's role as "an idea broker" has been enthusiastic.

In fact, several of the members of the ad hoc panel urged that the Commission assume the responsibility as a clearinghouse on equal employment matters.

It is hoped that government research operations will support some of the suggested research areas. The recommendations were also made available to interested university researchers.

The conference served to help mobilize the support of the research community and to establish close, collaborative communication with this important group.

It demonstrated that the Commission could, with limited resources, attempt to "direct and shape research in equal employment opportunity in the United States." ■

COFFEE, TEA— OR MEN?

Should positions as cabin attendants on the airlines be limited to young women?

Management of the nation's largest airlines, at a hearing before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission said: "Yes!"

Officials of unions representing more than 17,000 cabin attendants on the major airlines argued that hiring of young women to the exclusion of males is a violation of sex discrimination provisions of Title VII.

The hearing developed out of 11 cases that have been filed with the Commission charging that certain airlines had violated Title VII by requiring stewardesses to resign when they married or be grounded after they reached a certain age.

The airlines argued that they had spent millions training young women as cabin attendants and that women not only attracted passengers but served them efficiently and in a pleasing manner.

The unions argued that there are no duites of a flight attendant that a man can't perform as well as a woman. The unions also argued that the airlines are discriminating by forcing women to resign when they get married, or grounding them when they reach a certain age—without applying the same requirements to men.

The Commission has left the record open for additional statements and will rule later on the question: "Is being a young woman a bona fide occupational qualification for the job of airline cabin attendant?"

✳ NEWS BRIEF

MRS. MARY ELLEN JAMES has been named administrative assistant to EEOC's Atlanta Region Director Donald L. Hollowell. Mrs. James, for many years secretary to Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, became the first Negro to be employed as a white collar worker in the Atlanta post office in 1962.

AIRLINE STEWARDESSES *(foreground) and Commissioners (far background) hear Air Transport Association's arguments presented by Jesse Friedin during May EEOC hearing on the question: "Do cabin attendants on the airlines have to be young women?"*

Charges from all over . . .

- A woman complained against a state government in New England that she passed the tests but they wouldn't consider women for dog warden.
- Man in a Midwest college town charges neither fraternities nor sororities will give him a job as a house mother. ■

✳ NEWS BRIEF

Dr. Luther Holcomb, vice chairman EEOC, was keynote speaker at a Consultation on Equal Opportunity in Employment in St. Louis April 18. The meeting, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, was attended by 100 business, industry, labor, government and church leaders. ■

PENSION PLANS *were the subject at a recent meeting at EEOC Headquarters with Congresswoman Martha Griffiths of Michigan. She is chairman of the Fiscal Policies Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee. Left to right: Commissioner Jackson; Vice-Chairman Holcomb; Commissioner Hernandez and Mrs. Griffiths.*

WHIRLWIND VISIT – *When the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) held a civil rights conference in Washington, some of the delegates asked to see what goes on at EEOC. One afternoon, this group was taken on a two-hour tour which began (above) in the office of Executive Director Herman Edelsberg, went through several departments and ended up with Commissioner Graham and coffee. (When time and work permit, brief tours such as this are possible at EEOC. Contact the Office of Public Affairs, 343-5621, if interested.)*

New Policy Stated on Help-Wanted

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has revised its policy guidelines dealing with classified advertising.

The Commission's new policy on help-wanted ads, male and female, means:

1. That a disclaimer previously requested on help-wanted classified pages is no longer requested.

2. Ads for help may be placed in either column – male or female – and the advertiser is not requested to state specifically that both sexes may apply. However, if he asks for either sex specifically in his ad, the advertiser must be prepared to justify his preference as a bona fide occupational qualification.

The new policy, as it appears in the Federal Register, reads:

> "Help wanted advertising may not indicate a preference based on sex unless a bona fide occupational qualification makes it lawful to specify male or female.
>
> "Advertisers covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may place advertisements for jobs open to both sexes in columns classified by publishers under 'Male' or 'Female' headings to indicate that some occupations are considered more attractive to persons of one sex than the other. In such cases, the Commission will consider only the advertising of the covered employer and not headings used by publishers." ■

Self-Enforcement In Missouri

A leading U. S. company with headquarters in Missouri has adopted a policy under which any discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin will be treated "as a firing offense." The company directive, distributed to its offices and branches throughout the U. S., was issued after three charges were filed with the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. The Commission's executive director, Peter C. Robinson, said: "Although there appeared to be no discrimination in these cases, there did appear to be some misunderstanding on the part of some company personnel concerning the terms of the Fair Employment Practices Act and the policy of the company on non-discrimination. This was the reason for the directive and this is the kind of self-enforcement by businessmen that we should like to see spread throughout the entire state of Missouri." ■

House Votes Cease & Desist

HR-10065, introduced by Rep. Augustus Hawkins (Dem. Calif.), has passed the House by a vote of 299 to 94. It provides cease and desist powers for EEOC and drops the number of employees or members of covered employers or unions to eight. The Senate is considering similar legislation.

EEOC COMMISSIONERS

DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB
Vice Chairman

RICHARD A. GRAHAM
AILEEN C. HERNANDEZ
SAMUEL C. JACKSON

National office:
1800 G St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Atlanta office:
1776 Peachtree St. – 30309

Chicago office:
219 S. Dearborn – 60604

Dallas office:
1309 Main Street – 15202

GSA DC 66-18579

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

information

from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR RELEASE PMs, Saturday, July 2, 1966 Phone: 343-5621

EEOC ENDS FIRST YEAR

Geared to handle a predicted 2,000 complaints the first year, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was swamped by more than 8,600 charges claiming job discrimination in its first 12 months of operation.

On July 2, 1966, the Commission's coverage of employers extends to employers hiring 75 employees or more. The first year coverage included employers hiring 100 employees or more. The number of employers covered will increase from 58,000 to 73,000.

Reporting on the Commission's first birthday, July 2, 1966, Dr, Luther Holcomb, acting chairman, said:

"Those who prepared the Commission budget estimated that we would receive 2,000 complaints during our first year. As of June 30, the Commission has received 8,672.

The overwhelming response from minorities to the new law, and the vigorous processing of the charges filed, have helped to bring about new employment attitudes and practices in many areas of this nation.

"Our files disclose that new employment opportunities have unfolded in all areas of this nation's economy.

"The settlement in the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock case, affecting more than 5,000 Negro employees, stands as a comprehensive and far-reaching settlement, a milestone in the conciliation of a job discrimination case. Many other successful conciliations -- in paper mills and steel plants, in restaurants and banks -- have also charted new courses. Most encouraging

66-71

has been the voluntary cooperation of businessmen and union leaders in going beyond the letter of the law to fulfill its spirit.

Of the 8,672 complaints received, 2,646 were found not to come under the jurisdiction of the Commission. Of the remaining 6,026, investigations have been completed on 1,622 complaints and 2,120 are in the process of investigation. The remaining 2,248 have been deferred to states with FEP laws, or have been returned to the complainant for additional information.

A total of 49.9 per cent (3,008) of the 6,026 complainants allege discrimination against them because they are Negroes.

Sex as a basis of discrimination is charged in 33.7 per cent, 2031, of the cases. This is a large jump from the figure of approximately 20 per cent which held constant for the first half of the year.

Only 2.1 per cent (127) of the cases cite national origin. Of these, 70 were Mexican-American complaints.

As to the nature of the discrimination charged, 22.9 per cent (1,377) of the cases deal with hiring, and 20.6 per cent (239) deal with promotions. Seniority claimed 15.8 per cent (950), benefits 13.4 per cent (806) and wage differential 11.1 per cent (668).

The year end figures show that 86.3 per cent (5,200) of the charges were filed against employers, 22.1 per cent (1,329) against unions, 1.8 per cent (101) against state and private employment agencies, and .03 per cent (2) against joint labor-management apprenticeship programs. (In some of the cases, both union and employer are jointly charged, which accounts for a total of more than 100 per cent.)

The Commission has received at least one discrimination complaint from all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

The largest number of charges from a single state were received from North Carolina (852), with Alabama (610) in second place. New Jersey (536), Kansas (534) and Tennessee (423) follow in that order. (It should be noted, however, that 475 charges were filed at one time against a single respondent in Kansas, so that it would be imprudent to equate number of charges with the degree of discrimination existing in a state.)

A total of 41.8 per cent of the complaints (2,519) were received from 12 southern states, namely, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky. The 13 mid western states totaled 30.3 per cent (1,828) of the complaints, while the New England and middle Atlantic states comprised 17.9 per cent (1,076). From the southwest came 5.1 per cent (310) of the complaints, and from the west, 4.8 per cent (289).

The Commission has referred 10 cases where it failed to achieve a just settlement by conciliation to the Attorney General. Under Section 707 of Title VII, the Attorney General may bring suit to end a pattern or practice of discrimination.

There have also been 37 Commissioner complaints filed against employers, employment agencies and labor organizations.

The Commission has recommended that 692 charges involving 209 respondents (employers and/or unions) move into conciliation. Of these 97 have been successfully conciliated; 60 charges involving 19 respondents have been unsuccessful. Pending and in the process of conciliation are an additional 515 charges involving 144 respondents.

Those bare statistics on conciliation only tell part of the story, however, since almost every successful conciliation -- desegregating facilities or opening up promotions for women, Negroes or Mexican-Americans -- affects hundreds or even thousands of workers, not just those who formally complained. And in many instances, major accomplishments have been made in conciliation efforts which are not listed successful because one or two of perhaps a dozen issues have not been settled.

The Commission is also able to look back on other indirect but salutary developments in its first year. Passage of Title VII was undoubtedly a factor in the passage of a fair employment practice law in Kentucky, and in the budget increases secured by FEP commissions in five states with existing laws.

And the EEOC's Office of Technical Assistance has offered business, industry and labor an assortment of programs designed to accomplish compliance with Title VII and to open up new job opportunities at every level through voluntary affirmative action. For example, a manpower specialist on loan from the Department of Labor, is available to help companies secure Federal funds for training programs to qualify minority workers for available jobs.

The Commission has issued a number of guidelines interpreting Title VII, and has issued two digests of legal opinions.

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REMARKS BY

BEN D. SEGAL
Director, Office of Liaison
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Presented at

23rd ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

DATE: July 7, 1966

PLACE: Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

CRISIS IN THE CITIES AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

It is not often that I am taken aback by a newspaper account of progress in the civil rights area, but a recent story in the New York Times had just that reverse effect on me. The story disclosed, a little triumphantly, I felt, the fact that the Acting Police Commissioner of Baltimore had last month directed his men to address all citizens as "Mr. or Mrs." and to "avoid the use of 'wop, nigger, boy or girl'". Any policeman who would not follow his order, he said, should resign immediately.

I was struck by this bit of news because I felt it was characteristic of so much that is wrong in urban America. Here we are in the summer of 1966, mindful of the high unemployment level and the equally high level of bitterness pervading the ghettoes of some 30 to 40 big cities, wondering which city will

next be shattered by an explosion of pent-up hate, fear, resentment and despair. Baltimore, with its non-white population of 43% and a Negro unemployment rate more than double that of the white work force, is one of these cities.

Yet, two years after the 1964 Harlem riots set off a series of similar explosions in seven other cities, and less than one year after the first riot in the Watts Area of Los Angeles, the police force of Baltimore had to be ordered to treat Negro and Italian citizens with respect.

I believe this tells us more than the well-meaning Acting Police Commissioner intended for us to infer. It tells us in unmistakable terms how the police of so many cities are accustomed to deal with members of minority groups. It tells us how late -- how very late-- comes the recognition that it must be corrected. It is symbolic of the denial of dignity which the Negro and other minorities have suffered at the hands of the white establishment. And, it is symbolic of the slowness of today's cities to understand and move decisively against the ills which, taken together, constitute what we call "The Crisis in the Cities."

It is probably because of this chronic refusal to anticipate a developing crisis and then to act to avert it, that our major metropolitan areas are being shaken by problems which were being predicted and might have been headed off two decades ago.

As we look back, we can see that four inexorable developments which were becoming visible in the years immediately after World War II have created our present situation:

First: Rural Americans were moving to the cities at an increasing rate. A century ago, our country was one-fifth urban; by 1920, it had become half rural, half urban; and today, two-thirds of us live in the cities. By the year 2000, however, 85% of our population will be concentrated in metropolitan areas which by that time will have grown over into super-metropolises. Visualize the problems of interlapping jurisdictions that are certain to plague a single population mass that extends from Boston to Baltimore, for instance.

Secondly, the postwar baby boom was certainly going to intensify the cities' problems as these youngsters deluged inadequate school systems and flooded the job market.

Thirdly, it was clear to all who cared to see two decades ago that the segregation and job discrimination which met the Southern Negroes on their arrival in the big cities were certain to create a Frankenstein-monster which would haunt the nation forever. By foreclosing the Negro from all but the most menial jobs and by sentencing him and his children to live out their lives in the decaying center of each city, society prevented him from following the course which all white immigrants to the city had taken. It barred him from moving up the economic ladder and out of the congestion of the slum. Thus, we have today the problem of the growing ghetto.

The fourth development is that of the flight to the suburbs of the white middle-class families, thus removing from the hard-pressed city its major source of much-needed community leadership and tax revenue. As the people with the dollars ran off to the suburbs, business followed the dollar -- hence the trend of business and industry moving to the outlying suburban areas, industrial parks, etc. -- with the result that the preponderance of jobs will be located outside the city.

Who, then, remains in the city? Among the whites living in the cities, the percentage of aged, poor and handicapped is very high. The dominant group in most of the metropolitan areas is coming to be the Negro, of whom 60% are under 21.

Between 1940 and 1965, 3.3 million Negroes fled the South in search of a better life. (Actually, several times this number of whites left rural areas to find jobs in the cities during this period, but because no discrimination impeded their progress, they and their children are among those who today are moving into the suburbs.)

So rapid was the Negro migration from the South that today 75% of the national Negro population is in cities, where they are still awaiting the promise that America was supposed to hold out to them. Today, they nurse despair and bitterness in crowded, dilapidated, rat-infested housing units for which slumlords can extract from them, on the average, $15 more a month than he could have from white families. In 1960, 44% of all Negro dwellings, nationwide, were substandard; it is not unusual to find units in which six to ten sleep in a room. It need hardly be pointed out that the child who emerges from this

cauldron the next morning is scarcely the world's most likely to succeed in school.

In 18 cities of the nation there are Negro populations of 100,000 or more. Washington, D. C. is the only major city to have a Negro majority; but if present population trends continue, it will be joined within the next 15 or 20 years by five other cities which will be predominantly Negro - Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans and Philadelphia.

By the year 2000, again if present population trends continue, nearly every major city in the United States will have a Negro majority. What this may mean in terms of political power is unmistakable:

Negroes will be able to elect city administrations and Congressmen of their own choosing. They will gain control of the party machinery in the major cities and will wield great power within the national parties and within the councils of whatever administration occupies the White House.

Now there is nothing alarming in such change in itself -- any more than there was reason for alarm when power in some of the

great cities passed to the Irish. What must concern us are the attitudes, being forged in today's ghetto, which will motivate tomorrow's leaders.

Throughout my lifetime I have believed in and strived for a truly integrated society. That is my conviction today. However much I may understand the factors which have led to a growth of Anti-white feeling among Negroes; however much I may recognize the reasons for their rejection of the white man's gradualism or worse, his indifference -- I am still convinced that replacing white racism with black racism would be a disaster. Instead of working unitedly toward common goals, we shall be divided into two warring camps -- one inside the city, the other on the outskirts. I cannot conceive of a more destructive way to organize a new society.

Yet, this is certain to be the outcome if we fail to take decisive measures against the hate-producing life of the Negro ghetto, where generations of youngsters grow up with a bitter resentment and fear of "whitey." In their black neighborhoods and their black schools, their only encounter with "whitey" is when he appears in the form of the oppressor -- the white policeman, the white landlord, the white interviewer, the white boss.

In discussing the crisis of the cities, therefore, we are forced to dwell on the tragic condition of our minority group citizens because the solution to the cities' problems lies in how competently and forcefully we set about righting the wrongs which have been perpetrated against these citizens -- and I am referring to Spanish-surnamed Americans no less than Negroes, because although their number is fewer, the crimes against them are as persistent and as numerous.

Former EEOC Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., recently described the Spanish-Americans as "the most neglected, the least sponsored, the most orphaned major minority group in the United States."

Every statistic on their condition bears this out:

San Antonio and Denver, each with large Spanish-surnamed populations, exemplify the misery in which these citizens - many of whose ancestors came here two hundred years ago - continue to live.

Half the population of San Antonio is Spanish-speaking. Some 28.4% - more than one in four - of the city's residents

live on less than $3,000 a year. Compare this with a figure of 10.6% for Chicago or 13.4% for New York, both of which have sizeable Negro and Puerto Rican segments.

San Antonio has the highest number of functional illiterates in the United States - 107,000 - which is hardly surprising since the average Mexican-American child will not go beyond the fourth grade. San Antonio also has the dubious distinction of having one of the worst slums in the country. Called "Villa Coronado", it boasts of two-room hovels in which as many as 20 immigrants are housed.

Denver's population of Spanish-surnamed citizens suffers the same discrimination, although some of these families are descendents of men who served in Colorado's territorial legislature and helped in the formation of Colorado's statehood. Today, their unemployment rate is almost 10%, and fully 42% live in substandard dwellings. Only one-fourth of the Spanish-surnamed youngsters of Denver complete high school, and one-fifth go no further than the fourth grade. Spanish-sounding names have been enough to exclude them from virtually all employment except farming, while they have been barred from such public accommodations as restaurants, theaters, and barber shops. Needless to

say, enforced poverty has resulted in their having a disproportionate share of the juvenile delinquency, tuberculosis and public welfare dependency.

Whether the victims are Spanish-surnamed or Negro, this type of decay in the cities results in what President Johnson described as " ...the tragic waste, and indeed, the chaos that threatens where children are born into the stifling air of overcrowded rooms, destined for a poor diet, inadequate schools, streets of fear and sordid temptations, joblessness and the gray anxiety of the ill-prepared."

Let us take stock of these ills in the context of our national condition: In general, our national economic indicators are at an all-time high: There are more jobs, more profits, fewer bankruptcies; greater Gross National Product, greater business expansion and greater average incomes than ever before.

It is true, also, that Negroes have partaken to some extent of this affluence: Economic growth and state, local and federal efforts to eliminate discrimination in employment have boosted the number of Negroes employed from 6.4 million to 7.7 million in the past 10 years - - faster than the growth rate for white workers.

Non-whites made exceptional progress in teaching jobs and in such white-collar occupations as postal clerks or telephone operators. Even in the traditionally-segregated crafts, non-white employment increased from 4 to 5.6%.

However, despite this progress, Negro unemployment is still twice the national rate -- 7.6% compared to the national average of 4%. Almost one out of every five Negro young people, age 16 to 21, is out of work and out of school. At the close of last year, two out of five college-trained Negroes were working, not in the professions for which they were educated, but in blue-collar or farm jobs. Viewing the situation, ghetto by ghetto, we encounter even more terrible statistics: In the Watts Area of Los Angeles, unofficial figures indicate that 25% to 35% are unemployed; in Oakland, 15% are jobless, with over 30% of the Negro youth unemployed. In Baltimore, the Negro jobless rate is 8% -- more than twice the white rate.

As bad as these figures are, they, nevertheless, grossly understate the problem. They do not include the many under-employed or the millions who, in despair, have dropped out of the job market, who have just given up. If these members of the work force were included, it is estimated that the true unemployment rate among Negroes would be 12%.

Nor do the figures indicate the real conditions of those who are classed as employed, but whose drudgery-filled jobs pay so little that they remain in poverty, often required to "moonlight" or to seek welfare assistance. While the rest of the nation was enjoying increasing affluence between 1960 and 1966, the median family income in the Watts Area actually fell $800. That segment of our big cities' population which has remained untouched by the general affluence is so substantial that half of all non-white families still live on or below the poverty line. The median income for Negro families is only 56% that of whites.

The Nation's Capital, with 63% Negro population, offers us a view in microcosm of all the problems now plaguing or soon to plague each of the big cities with expanding ghettoes.

Until very recent years, Washington was a rigidly-segregated city -- to the extent that it maintained a dual school system, one for Negroes and one for whites. Following the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, the Washington schools were integrated, and the city "discovered" for the first time that Negro students were suffering an achievement lag of several years behind white students. This educational lag is now reflected in Negro unemployment statistics:

The District of Columbia is an area of low unemployment -- the rate is 2.1%. That percentage, however, represents 17,000 unemployed men and women - 75% of them non-white.

These constitute the hard-core unemployed -- the ones who are underskilled, unskilled, under-educated, under-trained and untrained. Many have an additional strike against them: they have arrest records. In one neighborhood center, 85% of the males and 10% of the females (among 5,100 interviewed for jobs) were found to have arrest records. Virtually all were barred from employment because no adequate distinction is made between arrest, conviction and prison records.

The requirement of a high school diploma, even for jobs which may not require this much education, hinders many non-whites, for the dropout rate is high.

Tests for employment -- which more often reflect the individual's absorption of a white culture than they do the individual's capacity to do a job -- block many other Negroes from jobs.

Like many other cities, Washington has ordinances prohibiting discrimination in housing and in hiring; but, obviously, something more aggressive is needed now.

Industry and those in charge of apprenticeship training programs need to be convinced that the situation requires more than token adherence to the law; it requires a policy of deliberate hiring, of deliberate seeking-out of the Negro; it may also require special training or a waiving of prerequisites which may not be relevant to the job.

The difficulty of finding jobs for the Negro in the center of the city is further complicated by the flight to the suburbs of industry and new business enterprises. In the Washington area, according to the Employment Service, 63.7% of the construction jobs are now in the suburbs; 52.2% of those in trade; 49.7% of the jobs in manufacturing; 49% of the jobs in finance, insurance and service, and 38.9% of those in transportation, communications and utilities. Virtually all other big cities are experiencing the same loss of jobs.

The city which produced the ghetto now must more aggressively find solutions to the evils created by the ghetto. It must eliminate the poor schooling and stunted motivation imposed on each victim of disadvantage. It must recognize that poverty and segregated housing patterns breed crime, violence, illness, dope addiction, alcoholism and hopelessness. It cannot turn

away from the fact that segregated housing patterns also breed de facto school segregation and, invariably, inferior schools.

Although 17 states now have fair housing statutes, very few are seriously enforced. The NAACP last year undertook to break the pattern of discrimination in real estate selling by filing antitrust suits against the Akron, Ohio Area Board of Realtors and against the Board of Realtors in Trenton and Mercer County, New Jersey. More than 1,000 fair housing organizations have been formed, working to open up the suburbs as well as the city to minority group members.

These are problems whose solutions will require the combined efforts of private groups and government agencies. Such cooperative activity might well be mobilized around the many far-reaching recommendations adopted by the recent White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", as well as the Administration's trail-blazing Demonstration Cities Program.

Among these conference proposals is the establishment of Metropolitan Job Councils in each urban community with a substantial Negro population. Representatives of business, unions, all levels of Government and community organizations would work

together to gather information on the characteristics and needs of minority group members and then to assign responsibility for meeting those needs.

The councils would develop a system of periodic reports for employers in the area to identify job opportunities and training possibilities for Negroes and would undertake the task of fitting the jobless for these openings.

Also proposed by the Conference were:

* A large-scale government-financed program of public works which would provide immediate jobs for Negroes at their present levels of skill.

* Year-round employment, training and counseling programs for minority youth, as well as a federalized employment service.

*Affirmative actions by private employers, labor unions and government to provide more and better jobs.

* The strengthening of all programs which protect workers' incomes, including minimum wage, unemployment compensation; and extension to farm workers and others of the protection of the right to organize.

* Establishing of national standards for public assistance programs.

* Improvement of schools and reduction of racial concentration within them.

In seeking solutions, we should add to these proposals those which would provide the broad physical and social face-lifting that the President envisages in his Demonstration Cities legislation. "I propose," he declared, "a demonstration cities program that will offer qualifying cities of all sizes the promise of a new life for their people.... I propose that we focus all the techniques and talents within our society on the crisis of the American city."

If approved by Congress, such projects would establish, not only low- and middle-income housing (replacing blighted areas) but also schools, parks, playgrounds, community centers and access to all necessary facilities including health and transportation facilities.

There will be those who will complain about the cost of total renewal and the discomfort of eliminating segregated housing,

but they must be told of the cost of not taking these steps. Los Angeles, for instance, spends $1.87 in police services and $2.25 for health services in the blighted areas for each dollar it spends in the economically favored areas. Louisville, Kentucky, spends twice as much in the poor areas. The experience is the same in all large cities with the result that metropolitan areas suffered a per capita rise in expenditures of 36% in the years of 1960 to 1963 -- at a time when their tax base was shrinking.

In varying degrees, every major city is now the scene of numerous governmental and private programs designed to alleviate the problems I have mentioned. Some community leaders bring to the problem more understanding than others, however. The police department's relations with the Negro and Spanish-American communities offer a case in point:

Although incidents involving police have served as the spark which set off virtually all of the riots of the past two years, reflecting the Negroes' and in some cases the Puerto Ricans' bitterness toward the police, few big cities have accomplished very much in the way of improving this relationship.

There are now under way many efforts to alleviate the situation in the most poverty-stricken areas: California has established 12 Community State Service Centers in blighted areas where the poor can find, under one roof, access to all the services the community offers: job and family counselling; training; information about educational possibilities; job referrals; health and welfare services, etc. The Watts Center has registered over 13,000 people and has placed 1,400 in jobs thus far.

Oakland, which is likewise the scene of a large body of jobless non-whites, will have such a center when the state budget is approved. Also going forward in Oakland is the effort by local, state and federal agencies to develop industry, promote the hiring of minority group members, provide desperately-needed housing and renew the areas of blight.

In Philadelphia, attention has recently been focused on the Rev. Leon Sullivan, who has established eight Opportunities Industrialization Centers for people in need of job training. Dotting the poor neighborhoods and manned by residents of the area, the OIC project was financed by businessmen whom Rev. Sullivan inspired, as well as by a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor. No

applicant is turned away, and all seem to be infused with the minister's evangelical message that success awaits each one who tries. Some 1,500 trainees have already been placed in jobs; an additional 1,700 are now in training; and 6,000 are on the waiting list. OIC trainees are now working at such companies as RCA, Philco, General Electric and Budd. Once they were called "unemployable."

Efforts to stamp out job discrimination will need to be reinforced by a strengthened Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which requires greater enforcement power to be truly effective, and by stronger, better-financed state and local Fair Employment or Human Relations Commissions.

Sporadic, uncoordinated programs in each community to stimulate economic development, train people for existing jobs, provide decent, low-cost housing, establish good schools and a wholesome environment for every child -- all these will have to coalesce into one thorough-going plan with total renewal as the goal, if we are to succeed.

In this massive effort, no community can afford the exclusion of groups whose philosophy is at variance with "the establish-

ment." On the contrary, it is already apparent that the college-bred social worker or government agency representative is regarded with suspicion and thus cannot establish a dialogue with those most in need of being motivated.

I am convinced that this gulf, in so many instances, can be bridged only by leaders who are themselves products of the ghetto, who speak the language of the disadvanted, who can command the confidence of the wary. Many of these leaders are volatile youngsters, themselves embittered and in search of a proud Negro identity. Their varying expressions of anti-white feeling have created a split within the civil rights movement and a greater alienation, if that is possible, from the so-called "establishment," of which human relations commisions are a part.

I believe that we shall have to gain the cooperation of these angry young men and women, and that it is incumbent on us to actively seek their cooperation. Failure to do so will close to us one of the most important avenues of communication with the poor.

We cannot afford to do less than involve every segment of the community in this effort to save our cities and reclaim lives.

To quote from the President once more:

> "If we stand passively by, while the center of each (city) becomes a hive of deprivation, crime and hopelessness; if we devour the countryside as though it were limitless, while our ruins -- millions of tenement apartments and dilapidated houses -- go unredeemed; if we become two people, the suburban affluent and the urban poor, each filled with mistrust and fear one for the other... then we shall effectively cripple each generation to come."

# # # # #

AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

1966 FACT SHEET NO. 4

(Second Revision)

The AFL-CIO urges approval by the House of Representatives for H.R. 13712, the bill approved by the House Education and Labor Committee on March 29, 1966 to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act.

H.R. 13712, sponsored by Congressman John Dent (D-Pa.), chairman of the House General Labor Subcommittee, was substituted for the more comprehensive Roosevelt bill, H.R. 10518, approved by the Committee in 1965. The substitution was the result of deliberations and consensus in the Subcommittee following appointment of the former Subcommittee chairman, Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) to be U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, effective September 30, 1965.

Although the Dent bill, H.R. 13712, differs in some respects from the Roosevelt bill, the AFL-CIO urges that the Dent bill be promptly passed by the House of Representatives.

H.R. 13712 raises the minimum wage to $1.40 an hour in February, 1967, and $1.60 in February, 1968, and extends coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to more than 6.5 million additional workers.

Enactment of legislation along the lines of this bill would be a tremendous step forward toward the wage-hour objectives of the AFL-CIO. It would help assure a decent minimum standard of living to America's working people and it would make a major contribution to the elimination of poverty.

Therefore, AFL-CIO affiliated organizations should urge prompt action by Congress to enact into law the FLSA improvements contained in H.R. 13712.

Coverage

At present, some 17½ million non-supervisory wage and salary earners who should be covered are excluded from FLSA protections by unduly narrow coverage definitions and by special exemptions. Excluded workers are among the most poorly paid in the nation and must endure the worst working conditions.

H.R. 13712 would extend minimum wage protections to more than 6.5 million workers in the following categories of employment:

Industry	H.R. 13712 Dent Bill (Thousands)
Retail and Service:	
Retail Trade*	1,500
Restaurants	425
Hotels and Motels	275
Hospitals, nursing homes	1,471
Miscellaneous services	50
Subtotal	3,721
Other Industries:	
Laundries	505
Transit	65
Processing in areas of production	90
Taxicabs	100
Logging	37
Cotton ginning	34
Construction	581
All other industries**	960
Subtotal	2,372
Agriculture	485
Grand Total	6,578

* Includes: General Merchandise Stores; Limited Price Variety Stores; Food Stores; Gasoline Service Stations; Apparel and Accessory Stores; Furniture and Appliance Dealers; Drug Stores; Auto and Farm Equipment Dealers; Food Service Enterprises; Building Materials Dealers; Hardware Stores; Auto and Accessories Dealers.

** Includes: Non-profit Organizations; Professional and Educational Organizations; Wholesale Trade; Finance, Insurance and Real Estate; etc.

Enterprise Coverage

H.R. 13712 changes the Fair Labor Standards Act definition of an "enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce" to include an enterprise which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and which has an annual gross volume of sales of $500,000 or more beginning February 1, 1967, until January 31, 1968; and an annual gross volume of sales of $250,000 or more thereafter. There is no dollar volume test for laundries,

drycleaning, construction enterprises and hospitals. "Mom and pop" establishments remain excluded as do individual retail and service establishments with annual sales of less than $250,000.

$1.60 Minimum Wage

Enactment of H.R. 13712 would be a substantial step forward toward the AFL-CIO objective of assuring low-paid job-holders a standard of living above the poverty level.

The bill would raise the minimum hourly wage both for workers now covered by FLSA and for workers newly covered. Here is the step-up schedule for increasing the minimum hourly wage under H.R. 13712:

For 29.6 million presently covered employees:

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.40
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.60

For 6.0 million newly covered employees (nonfarm):

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.00
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.15
(3) Beginning February 1, 1969 ..... $1.30
(4) Beginning February 1, 1970 ..... $1.45
(5) Beginning February 1, 1971 ..... $1.60

For "tipped employees," the wage paid by an employer shall be deemed to be increased by the amount of tips received by or attributed to such employee, but not by more than 35 percent of the applicable minimum wage rate, during the period February 1, 1967-January 31, 1969; 40 percent during the period February 1, 1969-January 31, 1971; and, 45 percent thereafter.

For 485 thousand agricultural employees:

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.00
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.15
(3) Beginning February 1, 1969 ..... $1.30

The present minimum wage rates affecting Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands would be increased by the same percentage amounts as the minimum wage increases on the mainland, i.e. 12 percent in 1967 and 16 percent in 1968. The rate for newly covered workers in the islands would be fixed on the basis of recommendations by special industry committees.

Overtime

H.R. 13712 would extend overtime protection to many workers in the following categories of employment:

- Retailing
- Hospitals and related institutions
- Construction
- Laundering and drycleaning
- Automobile, truck and farm implement dealerships, (excluding salesmen and mechanics)
- Agricultural processing
- Gasoline service stations

These newly covered workers would get overtime protection starting July 1, 1967. For these workers, overtime pay—time-and-a-half pay—would be required after:

44 hours any workweek after February 1, 1967
42 hours any workweek after February 1, 1968
40 hours any workweek after February 1, 1969

AFL-CIO Wage-Hour Goals

H.R. 13712 is a significant step forward toward the AFL-CIO wage-hour goals. The bill's improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act deserve the support of AFL-CIO affiliated organizations.

Opponents of wage-hour improvements are trying to convince members of Congress that H.R. 13712 will injure business and cut back job opportunities. This is not true. A 1965 U.S. Labor Department study shows that "the economy adjusted easily to the increase in the minimum wage" under the 1961 Fair Labor Standards Act amendments, and that "employment in these newly covered segments did in fact go up."

It is vitally important that Congressmen learn immediately that there is strong support in their home districts for Fair Labor Standards Act improvements contained in the 1966 wage-hour bill, H. R. 13712, as approved by the House Education and Labor Committee.

Urge your Congressman to vote for the wage-hour bill approved by the House Labor Committee, and to oppose weakening amendments.

For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Education 1960

Median School years Completed
Negro. 8.2
U.S. 10.6

Fla	10.9	— whites: 11.6 – 7.0
Tex	10.4	10.8 – 8.1
Va	9.9	— 10.8 – 7.2
Ala	9.1	10.2 – 6.5
Ga.	9.0	10.3 – 6.1
N.C.	8.9	9.8 – 7.0
Miss	8.9	— whites 11.6 — N. 6.0
La.	8.8	10.5 – 6.0
S.C.	8.7	10.3 – 5.9

Ala., S.C., Miss. no Compulsory School law

1963

Total Textile employment (most in South) 889,000

Southern Mfg. total 3,200,000

Ala, Ga, S.C, N.C. — 1,418,000

Chemicals (includes paper) more many invented than textiles

1963 Nat'l hourly Mfg wage 2.46

N.C. 1.68 to 2.39 in La.

South

1950 — 45% urban

1960 — 54%

Miss. — 37.7%

Tex — 75.%

Much of exodus by Negroes —

Negro migration

Cities — to North

College degrees migrated

The problem of textile

Southern Ag. income about 1/3 average for U.S.

But overall per capita income is 2/3 of nat'l

Less attention given to wages in poor situations

Declining farm jobs

Ethos of industrial activity "religion"

Company towns
Change to Community

NLRB procedures — delays

Unions in South have not had general acceptance among workers — no signal of power

Independent organizations believe owner has "natural rights"

Religious fatalism
Can't change material world

Unions failure to put adequate resources, thought, & get rid of compet. tra

Prior to 1964 — enforcement of equal-treat policies was difficult (by national unions)

Since 1964 (July 1965) the clause of outside enforcement (individual, pressure group, govt. has greatly increased) — forces union action — but means facing problem locally — no more comfortable dodges

Intelligence & brain size

Amahosa (Africa)	1,490 cc
Buriats (Siberia	1,496 cc
Eskimos	1,563
Iroquois	1519
Koreans	1490
White	1400–1450
Am. Negro	1350–1400

Family income — poverty.

1960 — all 11 states had higher poverty ratios than national average —

Miss. —	37.7%	under $2,000
	13.9%	2–3T
Fla	16.2%	under 2,000
	12.2	2–3T

Unions —
not just a put. club for the few

a set of ideas — in practical
about economic factors and ~~the~~
human conditions of work.

In doing it, because people band
together, you get economic & political
power — the big question is for
what — may not look like power in Ala. — but
potential organizing

(over)

So education
on issues
on changing society

Ignorance never settles a question (DISRAELI)

No man ever wetted clay & then
left it as if there would be beauty by
chance or fortuit (Blatardi)

Labor Education

For more effective Unions

1) Sharper skills of running the organization — better meetings, Union admin, community relations, political effectiveness

2) Skills in bargaining — using research, negotiation, running the grievance procedure

3) Social, economic, political understanding —

Labor and Education in the South

B.W. Arnolade

Types of Labor Ed.

The Changing Scene

Industrialization
Urbanization
Job Outlook
Politics
Human Relations
New outlook are poor
Towards Unions

Where we miss the boat —

1) Bread & Butter — Rights, fear —

2) Community Understanding

Kindergarten kids

airplane identification

recess bell —

go back to stringing flore

damn beads —

Preemption – ~~defeat~~ define

Stop. – Segregated relation

Practical reason for optimism about labor movement –

Cf. 1935–7 adjustments to present

exclusion vs. inclusion

Labor ed. –

do old jobs better

face new jobs to be done

Southern Justice

& the good life –

Police brutality –

Jail treatment

Juries & courts –

fear of sheriff & court house –

What cost perversion?

Reapportionment

Attention to city problem

Negro representation

Racism & politics

Goldwater – the last big race

Talmadge – a dead issue

~~EAL 875 - 7531~~

~~Delta 521 - 3000~~

~~Mandy~~

~~2:00 - 3:21~~

~~2:05 - 2:09~~

30 Min before departure

[redacted]

Atlanta → 8:25 PM Mobile 8:16 EAL #111

Mobile Atlanta

~~2:40 5:17~~

→ 3:05 5:22 EAL 694

Th. Hy —
recalling interracial organizing — meetings in each others homes — Still said "Bigger" — & yet, under positive influences, talks about support from Negro members.

We know now that given a chance in life — living conditions, school, & free of discrimination — that poor children, Negro and White, can learn, can achieve, can make healthy contributions to our total society —

But not just the education of the young — ed. of adults —

ILGWU

Hobson City, Fla

Negro town

All Negro plant

low pay -

Sought help from

NAACP

SCLC

Power structure blocked

(Negro mayor, etc.)

Robb Burlage —

3 - Southes in people's minds

the old South — resistance

Moderate South — Sanford calls listing to people by which he means telling people.

Democratic new South — now

Old attempts in N.C.

Organizing the old industry

register Negro voters in Eastern N.C.

But a new South has emerged around us —

new kinds of industry

growth of cities —

Becoming good market areas —

Political potential of white liberals votes with Negroes

e.g. Pearsing in S.C. — if wins (and wont) taken 49% of total vote being Negro and 600 Unitarians — but this makes for tension especially for a man attempting to be a bridge —

(watch out for the old Mobiles)

The conventional formulation of New South

The important forces new industry — new research parks (Univ.) but still being organized by the old order — Nat'l & Int'l industry —

Students not just transients — but citizens & worried about State, Nation, & World — not just reach out but yell out

What happened to population is important to look at — the economy got taken away —

The city "managers" like plantation managers in basic outlook —

Jim Pierce

hats off to new Laborers' Union leadership —
not just interested organization but whole
Social fabric —
Joined ~~within~~ in with I.U.D.

South — 8M unorganized — non-agricultural workers

1.

[just won
Greenville, S.C.
L-T.V. (?) electronics
500 people
2-1 vote]

~~in 4~~ Hard many years
13.6T new workers out of 18T tested
in number of people won — 66% — but not
keeping up with

will go into Miami next week — migrant labor
contractors (1,400 of them) to discuss organizing
would reach 100,000T workers —

---

getting identity between students — workers
emphasizing pitch & examples —
differences between working & not working
between working and having to work for a
living without a chance of escape —

[unions organize unorganized
in plant (many railroad
Klan)
Contract development
(a case study)

Recognize
a new student
generation in the
few years —

The relation of unions & members to Nat'l Consensus
yet the idealistic & militant part of unions

world focus vs. job focus

resistance to establishment
(Southern)

[Recognize behavior part of
not how to differentiate]

Recognize that most students are anti-labor for consumerist
reasons — liberal students must recognize the context in which
unions operate —

Bertie Co. Voters League — VEP(?) — Ulmer(?)
(Co-ops)
~~Bertie(?)~~ Mr. Basemoar(?)

Pest Fertilizer
30%-40% more than other farmers

Buying mobile units to replace schools that must be closed — $100T spent rather than transport children & get more integration —

500 Tons of Fertilizer
Seed $15-20 Ton
Insecticide Herbicide

would like to get in some liberal white people who are interested in what's best for people & not what's best for them.

N. C. Fund — (?) Mobile libraries good in the 4 county area but really for middle class poor folks don't need —

5500 white voters
Negro
3700
could make some
Enough have 60% of population

can't get a proposal past County Commissioners

lost many from rolls
white may not have been purged

Students —
Lab-ed — internships
Ind. Rels —
work in plant —

~~3DT~~

Charlotte — (Peirce)
Union many + State + poverty funds —

CCAP — now starting a rural action project —
how to dislodge O.E.O. money for "independent" groups & programs —
technical assistance

Agenda - Students and Labor Conference - Education Bldg., N.C.C.

Friday, April 22

6:00 PM - Conference Registration
7:00 PM - "What is the Labor Movement", Norman Hill, IUD, AFL-CIO
8:00 PM - Panel Discussion:
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council
John Russell, Amalgamated Meatcutters
Jim Williams, International Union of Electrical Workers
10:30 PM - Film: "The Inheritance"

Saturday, April 23

10:00 AM - "The Upper South, Civil Rights, and the Labor Movement", Robb Burlage, Institute for Policy Studies, and Wilbur Hobby, Region III COPE.
11:00 AM - General Discussion: Jim Pierce
Wilbur Hobby, COPE
Dan Pollitt, UNC Law School
~~Paul Swaity, United Textile Workers~~
Representative of Bertie County Voters League
Noon - Lunch
2:00 PM - "Unions - A Vehicle for Social Change ?"
Peter Brandon, State, County, and Municipal Employees
Al Kehrer, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
Myles Horton, Highlander Center
Jim Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO
4:00 PM - Small Workshops
6:00 PM - Supper
7:30 PM - Small Workshops
9:30 PM - Films: "People of the Cumberlands", "Union and Freedom"

Sunday, April 24

9:30 AM - Informal Worship led by Rev. Charles Webster, BSU, NC State
10:30 AM - Workshops including:
a) Campus union organizing
b) organizing the poor
c) union education and political action
d) unions in an urban strategy for change
2:00 PM - Closing session

The agenda for the conference is designed to be a somewhat unified whole with interrelated parts. Therefore all are urged to attend all sessions if possible.

Mr. Hardy - Pres Duke local
Buddy ~~Trigger~~ Tigger (?) - helped (from Duke Durham ?) in Chapel Hill on Restaurant desegr.
Porter (?) County Benson (?) Co.

Sat. Afternoon —

Faculty ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ |

Staff - 11

Union 1

Students ~~||||~~ ~~||||~~ ||||

For Place —

Fri night — 23 Students

Sat AM — 30 Students

Sat aft — 11 Students

Pete

Greenwich ~~[illegible]~~ of exploitg institutions

Best E's

Medicare

One man one vote (NY — Mich — ed —)

Soc Sec System —

W.C, U.C., old age pension

Brings pol. awareness & sense of pol. place —

[Unionist usually trying to persuade students to accept —]

Student — Worker gap

overlook inter-relatedness of life

plight of poor whites & K Dem

Questions —

Does Union challenge economic system —

Labor party —

economic dem —

Automation

Foreign policy —

"

"Altering Structures"

what alternatives to public ownership

Labor ed.

Talk democracy

vs. do democracy

(Vic as Teacher)

Paupel leaders ~~[illegible]~~ were the only

Assumption of

just interest in

bread & butter interest —

Disc. —

overlook Civ Rts Laws

Contributions to

overlook —

Min - Wage

Full employment

policies

Unemployment

Staff Training (Int'l Affairs)

CIA

UAW

Moldem

Bailenmeier

Migrant Labor

Medicare

Civil Rts —

Poverty

Education

Hably – (Va, Fla, Ga, S.C., Ala.)?

Le clerget
Meetings of Negro & labor leadership on registration
etc – Hably has ~~sent~~ sat in on the meetings –
(Spring 1966)

Durham –
12 years ago White Citizens Councils made
move to break up Labor – Negro – Liberal (Duke)
Coalition

Va –
$13T – Nat'l COPE
$6.5T – State school
} on voter registration prior to July 13 hearing –

Why work with Unions — got in when still idealistic about unions

Adult ed —

work with people — even with all their problems (as indicated by Steve Max)

Labor movement —
not unified —
But some "working" consensus —

Economic System —
does it work —
can it be changed within the political framework —

one of most important things EV leaders is to disagree with the Professors

Radicals in the union show up at the meetings —

talk democ — vs. do democ

Labor ed —

Mr VEP questionnaire
Jim Pierce
PO Box 12245
Charlotte —

Civil Rights

1960 Act

I For interference with Fed Ct. Order
$1,000 or 1 yr.
Also private suits seeking injunctions

II Fed crime to cross state lines to avoid punishment, prosecution, or giving evidence —
Bombings or Burnings
$5,000 &/or 5 yrs.
To transport explosives with knowledge of about use
FBI can enter after bombing on presumption of interstate, But must prove before conviction
1 yr &/or $1,000; if injury 10 yrs or $10,000
Fed Crime to use interstate facilities to threaten a bombing : phones
$1,000 &/or 1 yr

III Preserve Voting records 22 mos
$1,000 &/or 1 yr
Records undisclosed by Fed officer unless Ct Directed except to Cong., govt. agency, or in Court.

IV Civ. Rts Com. empowered to take Sworn Statements

Civil Rights

1960 Act (2)

IV After Attyn Gen wins suit under 1957 Act
Can ask Ct to hold adversary proceeding to find pattern or practice of depriving N. Vote in the Area

If found, Any N. could apply to Ct. for order declaring qualified to vote if
1) qualified under state law.
2) attempted to register
and
3) had not been allowed to register or found unqualified by someone acting under color of law.

Court hear N. application in 10 days
Order effective for as long as would be if he had been registered —

VI Ct. may appoint referees (qualified voters in the judicial District)
Receive applications & proof — ex parte
state officials may challenge report in 10 days
Burden on challenger to show a case in law or fact —

Civil Rights

1957 - Act

I Civ Rts Com - 6 members - Not over 3 from one party

a) Power to investigate voting
color, race, National origin, religion

b) Study denial of equal protection of Laws

c) Appraise laws of U.S. re equal protection

II Additional Asst Attyn Gen'l in Dept of Justice
(Pres. appoint)

III Jurisdiction of Fed Cts to recover damages or equitable relief under any act of Cong. providing for protection of Civ. Rts.

IV Prohibited attempts to intimidate or prevent voting
Attyn Gen can get injunction
Dist. Ct. has jurisdiction <u>without</u> exhausting Admin Remedy
<u>Defendant</u> can compel witnesses & should have counsel

V Convictions: $1,000 or 6 mos.

Judge decides on jury
If more than $300 or 45 days, defendant can demand jury trial
Except contempt in presence of court

FACE OF THE SOUTH — Talk — Title of Film

PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOUTH

Congrats to ILGWU — Ed on Organizing
Impatient to Union, Workers, Region

A MOST GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO TALK —

BEFORE AFTERNOON is OUT: RACIAL RELATIONS

CIVIL RIGHTS — PROBABLY CONTROVERSY

Assume Adults, experienced, thoughtfull

But can't dodge Controversy —

Unions are Controversial

Democracy is

But today we can't escape a discussion of problems — they are there before us — we live in a region where 1/3 of population is colored, where Social patterns are changing — Such a Situation can not be ignored. A problem of Southern defensiveness (Sensitivity.)

The Film:
- Some have seen it
- Narrator — Several Souths
- The origin of Some of our problems
- Some Solutions

Comment on Film:

When made? (1956) Good? What's left out?

Continued urbanization — "pulling power" of city

Civil rights laws

Reapportionment decisions

More Recent Southern Statistics [CARDS]

Family income — Education — Relapidation

LET'S do some up-dating { Civil Rights Revolution
Southern Revolution

If I ~~good~~ could restate why get into such a discussion — in general terms:

1. Democracy requires a settlement

2. We have practical union problems

3. Revolutions can't be ignored

Democracy requires a Settlement

1) Democratic theory of equality, minority rights

2) In U.S. Const'l. requirements — 14th Amend.
   Equal Protection of the Laws

3) Political Realities
   Negro Vote (Defensive reaction) } Related to Urban Strength and Economic interests
   Liberal Interest

4) Peace of the Community
   More than absence of Violence
   Cooperation for a full & better life
   [What do you want: health, police protection (& wrong side of tracks) housing, education, earning power]

5) Human Problems: will reach us if we are Civilized.
   Man denied, is man in need.

   Underginding
   A Govt. of Individual Rights
   Historically: "high Visibility"
   Currently: force of a group movement
   Defensive reactions
   Laws of Revolution

6) Relations with other nations

7) Moral problem of democracy — It's perversion a la Southern Justice
   What happens to whites: Conflict of Creed and Deed
   Re rest of life

Civ. Rts groups and Unions

14b repeal } literature

Okla. Right to Work

Organizing

1) Scripto – SCLC – ILGWU

~~2) Baltimore~~

3) Griffin – NAACP – RWDSU

4) Greensboro – SNCC, SCLC } RWDSU

5) Anniston, Ala – ILGWU – SCLC

Needed:
[Not just National Union Contact — or Civil Rts Dept, or Reg. Dir — but all staff should be alert and knowledgable –

6) Augusta — NAACP – (Painters) – Can go either way A Price

Politics

Atlanta Alliance (ILG – 2 others – Ministers)

Miss. Dem. Conf.

Ala. Dem. Conf.

S. C. Voter Project

C.O.P.E. in general

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Union Staff can do —

Know Negro organizations

working Negroes <u>may</u> be more tied in to groups than whites — Church, Civ. Rts.

Understand Negro Sentiments & whites

Get to know leadership

Help members bridge gap between past and future

Call on Specialized help —

SRC — AFL-CIO — Civil Rts Org.

Join Human Relations Councils —

a potential source of Union friends

Appreciate opportunity —

Problems are serious — need attention

Must aim — find Solutions

The extent of thoughtful discussion & action

must increase

<u>Offer</u>

Send packet of materials

To be Consulted — Contacts

Further educational programs.

I Perspectives on the South

A. Geographic & Cultural patterns

B. Industrial & Economic development

C. Changing Patterns

1. Race Relations — Understanding Prejudice —

2. Urbanization

3. Reapportionment

II Labor's Stake in Civil Rights.

A. Why does the labor movement take a stand

B. Background on Civil Rts. Organizations

C. Union - Civil Rights Cooperation

Understanding the Community

I. ~~Looking~~ at a Community —

A. Its Population — Race, Sex, Age

B. Its groups — Ethnic, church, civic, Rec. Vet., Union, Bus.

C. Its power structure

D. The Community's idea of itself.

E. Understanding Community problems —

F. How to win acceptance —

From Wives — potential members,

Neighborhoods, leaders —

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES:

IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH

by

Vivian W. Henderson

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM

NO. 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Vivian W. Henderson is professor and chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University. He is currently serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

The author is indebted to T. S. Currier, Senior Professor at Fisk University and Chairman of the Department of History and Government, for his help in preparing this paper. Also, appreciation is extended to Martin Mutisya and Boniface Tibagambirwa for help in compiling parts of the data.

The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South

Contents **Page**

I. Introduction: The State of Optimism 5

II. Structural Reorganization of the South 6

The South Loses Its People 6

Negroes Move to the Central Cities 7

Employment and Sources of Income 8

III. Negro Gain Has Been Slight 10

Income: Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still 11

Southern Negroes at the Bottom of Economic Ladder 13

Employment, Occupations, and Manpower Utilization 15

IV. What Price Discrimination? 19

Education 19

Cost of Discrimination 20

Race Relations and Economic Growth 21

Public Policy 21

Appendix 22

TABLES

Table 1. Nonwhite Population for Eleven Southern States, 1950-1960 6

Table 2. Population Change and Total Net Migration 1950-1960 and Net Migration of Nonwhites, 1940-1960 for Eleven Southern States 7

Table 3. Distribution of Population between Urban and Rural for Eleven States by Color, 1950-1960 . . . 8

Table 4. Population of Selected Urbanized Areas by Color, 1950-1960 9

Table 5. Income and Population of the South as a Percent of the United States, 1930-1961 9

Table 6. Per Capita Personal Income for Eleven Southern States, 1940-1962 10

Table 7. Estimated Purchasing Power of Negroes in Ten Selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1961 11

Table 8. Percent Distribution of Income of Families by Color for United States, 1945-1961 12

Table 9. Median Wage and Salary Income of Persons 14 Years and Over with Wage and Salary Income by Color and Sex for Selected Years, 1939-1960 12

Table 10. Median Wage or Salary Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals with Wage and Salary Income by Color, 1940-1961 13

Table 11. Median Income of Persons 14 Years and Over with Income by Region and Color, 1950-1960 . . . 13

Table 12. Median Income of Families with Income by Region and Color, 1960 14

Table 13. Median Income of White and Nonwhite Families for Eleven Southern States, 1950-1960 14

Table 14. Median Income of White and Nonwhite Persons 14 Years and Over for Eleven States, South, and United States, 1950-1960 15

Table 15. Median Income of White and Nonwhite Male Workers for Eleven Southern States, 1950-1960 . . 15

Table 16. Nonwhite Employment as Percent of Total Employment in Each Major Occupation Group, by Sex, April 1940 and April 1960 16

Table 17. Distribution of Employed Persons in the South by Color and Sex and Major Occupation Groups, 1950-1960 17

Table 18. Nonwhites as a Percent of Total Persons Employed by Industry 1950-1960 United States, South and Non-South 18

Table 19. Occupational Distribution of Nonwhites, and Nonwhites as a Percent of Total Employed by Occupation, South and Non-South, 1960 18

Table 20. Annual Average Income of Males 25 Years and Over by Years of School Completed, 1939-1958 . 19

Table 21. Percent Distribution of Income of Families, United States and South by Color, 1954-1961 22

Table 22. Distribution of Income of Families, United States and Eleven Southern States, by Color, 1960 . . 22

Table 23. Distribution of Income of Families of Selected Cities, by Color, 1960 23

Table 24. Distribution of Income of Persons 14 Years and Over with Income for United States and Eleven Southern States by Color, 1950-1960 23

I

Introduction: The State of Optimism

By most measurements, Negroes in the United States appeared to be moving from perennial poverty to relative prosperity at the beginning of the postwar era. Forces at work promised to liberate them from the imbalance that had historically characterized their position in the economy. National economic expansion, technology, and southern economic reorganization had generated new opportunities and higher incomes. There was, in fact, cause for high expectations of basic and accelerated change.

Likewise, the South* had cause to be optimistic. Historically, it had lagged behind the rest of the nation and was generally looked upon as the "nation's number one economic problem," dependent for development upon slow-growth industries and agriculture. The region, since 1940, had been shedding itself of its relative homogeneity of economic structure; it had been moving away from economic backwardness and, as a result of national expansion and reallocation of resources, had been moving toward parity with the rest of the nation.

These developments—southern economic reorganization and improvement in the economic status of Negroes—are two of the principal results of national economic expansion since World War II.

Yet, despite the gains made, both the South and the Negro remain the most depressed segments of the economy and the population. There is some cause for continued optimism about southern economic growth and progress in general. *But there is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future.* Unless unforseeable, "revolutionary," changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the "forgotten man" in America's affluent society.

The situation of southern Negroes is less favorable than that of Negroes in the rest of the nation because the South has failed to extend the benefits of economic progress to them at a rate comparable to those extended to Negroes in other sections of the country. Personal per capita income in the South has quadrupled since 1940, but it is still less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. The income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, but it is still little more than one-half that of white families and individuals; and in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income of their non-southern counterparts.

Gains have been made in employment, but unemployment is twice as extensive among Negro members of the labor force as among whites. Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categories, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Racial discrimination in employment is still as widespread as segregation and discrimination in education. This latter practice, particularly in vocational and technical training, helps to perpetuate a relatively poor job distribution of Negroes.

Thus, while it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change. Basically, the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense. The issue is whether the momentum of change is great enough, and deep enough, to generate an economic base among Negroes which will guarantee their continued movement up the economic ladder.

Traditional patterns of race relations have never worked in the best interest of the economy of the South or of the nation. Indeed, poor race relations have helped to depress growth.* Thus, the manner and extent to which Negroes are absorbed into the economy will strongly determine the pace with which the South reaches parity of income and economic well-being with the nation. Economic progress of the region is increasingly influenced by its urban and racial climate. And, we may add, pressure for change in southern race relations is increasingly generated by forces imbedded in the region's industrial-urban development.

Even this brief examination of southern economic change and the economic status of Negroes will, there-

*Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this report the "South" means the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Since Negroes make up about 97% of the nonwhites in the country, census and other data on nonwhites will be considered as applicable to Negroes.

*See William Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress.* Chapel Hill, 1960.

fore, show also why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically in the nation and in the region. Hopefully, this study may also bring into focus certain aspects of the challenge to the South, if it is to continue its progress.

TABLE 1. NONWHITE POPULATION FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	Year 1960	Year 1950	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1960	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1950	Increase or Decrease Nonwhite 1950-1960	Percent of Increase or Decrease Over 1950 1950-1960
Alabama	983,123	980,950	30.1	32.1	2,173	0.2
Arkansas	390,079	427,555	21.8	22.4	—37,476	—8.8
Florida	887,679	605,254	17.9	21.8	282,425	46.7
Georgia	1,124,898	1,064,890	28.5	31.0	60,018	5.6
Kentucky	217,999	202,560	7.1	6.9	15,439	7.6
Louisiana	1,045,068	885,065	32.1	33.1	160,003	18.1
Mississippi	920,734	991,795	42.3	45.6	—71,061	—7.2
North Carolina	1,156,707	1,078,945	25.4	26.2	77,762	7.2
South Carolina	834,962	824,870	34.9	39.0	7,092	0.9
Tennessee	589,136	531,461	16.4	16.2	57,675	10.9
Virginia	822,426	736,665	20.8	22.2	85,761	11.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

II

Structural Reorganization of the South

Economic progress is best evidenced by upward changes in the real per capita income of individuals (and, to a lesser extent, in the income of families). Income determines the spending and saving power of people, while at the same time it provides a measure of the earning capacity of the whole economy and an indicator of individual contributions to the production of goods and services.

On the other hand, structural changes and economic reorganization are best shown by change in industry sources of employment and income, shifts in occupational distribution of employed persons, growth in "value-added" by manufacturing, and characteristics of population change.

The South Loses Its People

Beyond the size of the population (see Table 1) two aspects of population change are of interest here: the patterns of migration between the South and the non-South; and the patterns of migration between rural-farm areas and the city, both within and outside the South.

In the 1950's, the South's population grew 14%. But Table 2 shows that

—most of this gain, however, resulted from "natural increase," *i.e.*, an excess of births over deaths.

—only in Florida and Virginia was there a migration gain.

—all other southern states had more people moving out than moving in.

—Arkansas and Mississippi exported so many people that the former actually declined in population in the 1950's and the latter was stationary.

—Negroes were leaving the area in larger numbers than whites.

Another depressing fact: the South's export of people included a high proportion of its youth and its well-educated.

For Negroes this is shown by such facts as

—in 1950, 55% of Negroes with four or more years of college were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

—in 1950, 67% of Negro professional and technical workers were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

During the decade 1940-50, more than 1.5 million Negroes left the South, and another 1.5 million left during the decade 1950-60. These movements involved 16% and 14% of the Negroes in the region in each of the two periods respectively. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes in the United States resided in the South compared with 51% today.

The leading exporters of people were Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Patterns of migration by Negroes among southern states have varied. Florida, for example, is the only state which had an excess of inmigration by Negroes over outmigration in both decades since 1940: a 3% net inmigration between 1940 and 1950 and 17% bebetween 1950 and 1960 (see Table 2). Georgia and Louisiana are the only states in which outmigration by Negroes slowed itself after 1950 and began to show a downward trend. In each of the other states, included in Table 2, the upward trend in Negro outmigration continued throughout the 1940-1960 period. Mississippi lost the largest number of Negroes, 326,000, or 30%, between 1940 and 1950, and 323,000, or 32%, between 1950 and 1960.

The movement of Negroes out of the South is both helpful and harmful. By moving out of the South in pursuit of jobs created by national economic expansion, Negroes, as well as whites, find new job opportunities. Simultaneously, the South is being relieved of a sizeable portion of the population which over the years has depended on low-income agriculture for a livelihood.

On the other hand, losses in population drain away much of the best developed and trained manpower, and these losses are from the most productive age group, which has received the benefit of substantial investment by the South in education and training. The loss of these persons from the region is a drain on the economy's human capital.

TABLE 2. POPULATION CHANGE AND TOTAL NET MIGRATION 1950-1960 AND NET MIGRATION OF NONWHITES 1940-1960 FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES (PERCENT)

State	Total Net Change 1950-1960	Total Net Migration 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1940-1950
Alabama	+ 6.7	−12.0	−22.8	−20.5
Arkansas	− 6.5	−22.7	−35.0	−32.4
Florida	+78.5	+58.3	+16.6	+ 2.7
Georgia	+14.5	− 6.2	−19.2	−22.2
Kentucky	+ 3.2	−13.2	− 7.6	− 7.9
Louisiana	+21.4	− 1.9	−10.4	−17.0
Mississippi	(a)	−19.9	−32.2	−30.2
North Carolina	+12.2	− 8.1	−19.2	−16.2
South Carolina	+12.5	−10.5	−26.5	−25.3
Tennessee	+ 8.4	− 8.3	−10.7	− 9.2
Virginia	+19.5	+ 0.4	− 9.5	− 3.9

(a) Less than 1 percent.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

Negroes Move to the Central Cities

Another population shift is the movement of people to cities and urban areas, both within and outside the South.

By 1960, three-fourths of the Negroes of Florida were urban dwellers (see Table 3). The proportion in Kentucky and Tennessee was about as high, and in Louisiana three out of five Negroes were urban. By 1960, in only four states—Arkansas, Mississippi, North and South Carolina—did the majority of Negroes live where once they overwhelmingly had: on the land, or close to it.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL FOR ELEVEN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

States	White						Nonwhite					
	1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60		1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Alabama	54.2	45.8	42.6	57.4	39.9	−12.2	56.8	43.2	46.2	53.8	+23.1	−19.4
Arkansas	42.4	57.6	32.6	67.4	22.7	−19.2	44.6	55.4	34.2	65.8	+18.6	−23.0
Florida	73.4	26.6	65.5	34.5	111.6	+44.8	76.5	23.5	65.6	34.4	+71.3	+ 1.2
Georgia	54.4	45.6	44.9	55.2	44.1	− 1.9	57.5	42.5	46.8	53.8	+31.4	−16.5
Kentucky	42.5	57.5	34.8	65.2	26.2	− 9.1	70.6	29.4	62.9	37.1	+20.8	−18.6
Louisiana	64.0	36.0	70.3	29.7	12.4	+ 3.1	61.7	38.3	23.5	76.6	+210.7	− 8.6
Mississippi	41.8	58.2	31.5	68.5	40.9	−10.0	32.1	67.9	23.4	76.6	+27.6	−17.7
North Carolina	39.6	60.4	33.6	66.4	34.4	+ 4.1	39.5	60.5	33.5	66.5	+26.4	− 2.5
South Carolina	45.2	54.8	42.0	58.1	29.5	+13.6	33.9	66.1	28.5	71.5	+19.7	− 6.5
Tennessee	48.4	51.6	40.3	59.7	29.7	− 6.8	71.8	28.2	64.1	35.9	+24.1	−12.8
Virginia	56.4	43.6	47.4	52.6	44.9	+ 0.7	53.4	46.8	45.8	58.3	+29.8	− 3.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of the Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics and *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

The movement of people to the cities and metropolitan areas of the South symbolizes a basic change in the economic structure of the region, sealing an end to the region's traditional economy.

Negroes have also concentrated in the central cities rather than the suburbs. Charles Silberman has suggested that this ranks as one of the great population movements in modern history.* In the last decade, the twelve largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas —New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore — lost over two million white residents and gained nearly two million Negro residents, while the central cities of all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the nation had an increase of 3.5 million in the Negro population.

However, the influx of Negroes to the large cities of the North and West should not obscure the fact that Negroes have been moving into southern cities as well.

Between 1950 and 1960, the number of whites in the central cities of the South increased only 26%; the number of Negroes in the central city increased 37%. Whereas just a few years ago the large majority of Negroes lived on farms, today about 72% live in urban areas and about one-half live in the central cities of those urban areas. Table 4 shows population data for selected southern cities.

These patterns underscore the fact that Negroes are becoming more urbanized than whites, in the South as well as in the North. The trends are not as great in the South as in the North, but it is clear that Negroes and whites have been moving in opposite directions, *i.e.*, Negroes toward the central city and whites toward the suburbs.

Population redistribution within the South and between regions reflects the momentum of economic change and opportunity. The greatest single factor underlying population migration is economic, or employment, opportunity. The denial of opportunity to Negroes within the South and the attraction of such opportunity elsewhere has been the major motivation.

Employment and Sources of Income

The principal factor determining the distribution of population over broad regions is economic opportunity and the principal dimension of economic opportunity is employment opportunity.

While farming continues to occupy a big place in southern economic life, its relative role over the past 20 years has decreased. Farm employment declined by about 45% in the South between 1940 and 1960. During the same period manufacturing employment increased 23%, and as a source of income by 27%.

These changes have not only meant more factory jobs in the South. They have also involved diversification in employment. For example, the textile industry, once the backbone of manufacturing in the South and responsible for 25% of all manufacturing employment, is now the source of only 18%. Chemicals, transportation equipment, electrical machinery, and fabricated metals have grown as sources of factory employment, and other non-agriculture industries are increasingly

*See his article, "The City and the Negro," in *Fortune*, March, 1962.

TABLE 4. POPULATION OF SELECTED URBANIZED AREAS BY COLOR, 1950-1960

Urbanized Areas	White 1960	White 1950	White Increase 1950-1960	White Percent Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite 1960	Nonwhite Percent Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite 1950	Nonwhite Increase Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite Percent Increase 1950-1960
Atlanta	560,124	210,055	350,069	166.7	207,821	27.1	130,055	36.6	86,666	71.5
Birmingham	320,302	195,690	124,612	63.7	201,028	23.2	130,055	39.9	70,973	54.6
Charleston, S. C.*	137,471	96,130	41,341	43.0	78,911	36.5	68,055	41.4	10,856	16.0
Dallas	794,411	395,145	419,266	111.76	137,938	14.8	57,825	13.4	80,113	138.5
Durham*	75,955	67,520	8,435	12.5	36,040	32.2	33,530	33.2	2,510	7.5
Houston	900,817	469,825	430,992	91.7	238,861	21.0	124,760	21.0	114,101	91.5
Jackson, Miss.*	112,093	77,890	34,203	43.1	74,952	40.1	63,830	45.0	11,122	17.4
Little Rock	142,423	78,650	63,773	81.1	42,594	23.0	23,425	23.0	19,169	81.8
Louisville	527,,420	309,940	217,480	70.2	79,239	13.1	57,435	15.6	21,804	38.0
Memphis	344,487	255,273	89,214	35.0	200,018	36.7	150,761	37.1	49,257	32.7
Miami	737,146	208,935	528,211	252.8	115,559	13.6	40,035	16.1	75,524	188.6
Nashville	273,928	200,198	73,736	36.8	72,801	21.0	58,695	22.7	14,106	24.0
New Orleans	579,640	210,055	192,080	49.6	265,597	31.4	181,120	31.9	84,477	46.6
Oklahoma City	385,777	221,195	164,582	74.4	43,411	10.1	20,890	8.6	22,521	107.8
Richmond	238,226	156,625	81,601	52.1	95,212	28.6	73,030	31.8	22,182	30.4

*Cities.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 53.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, by state, Table 72.

providing more and better jobs for southern workers.

Unquestionably, the South has reduced its poverty. Since 1940, the region has made progress toward achieving a balance between its share of the nation's income and its share of the nation's population. The South had one-fifth of the population in 1930 but received only one-tenth of the income; in 1961, although its proportion of the population had remained at about 20%, its share of personal income had advanced from 10 to 15% (see Table 5).

The figures in Table 6 show per capita personal income. Clearly, the progression in the South since 1940 has been greater than for the nation as a whole. Perhaps the most illuminating figures are those on the bottom line: in 1940, southern personal income was only 58% of the national average; by 1962, it had reached 72%.

TABLE 5. INCOME AND POPULATION OF THE SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1961

Year	Population of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.	Income of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.
1961	20.5	15.0
1960	20.6	14.8
1959	20.6	14.9
1958	20.7	14.9
1940	21.4	12.2
1930	20.8	10.2

SOURCE: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Characteristics of the South*, January 1959.
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Statistics on the Growing South*, November 1962.

These indices, as shown in Tables 5 and 6, indicate the economic progress of the South. A different impression is obtained, however, if dollars and cents, rather than percentages, are used.

In 1940 per capita personal income amounted to $595 in the United States as a whole, only $252 more than that of the South. By 1950 the national figure had grown to $1,494, but the South's per capita income was only $1,011, or $482 lower. By 1961, when the national figure had reached $2,263, the South had a per capita income of $1,652, or $611 lower.

In other words, the South has had large growth in personal income and has made impressive gains in the percentage relationship of its income to that of the rest of the nation. *At the same time, there has been an increase in the dollar gap, a gap that is more than twice greater than two decades ago.*

The South is, nevertheless, now experiencing substantial improvements in its well-being. The economic lag which kept the region at the rear of American industrialization is being eroded. But Earl Rauber and Harry Brandt, both of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, placed the "new South" in its best perspective. Rauber put it this way: "for better or worse the inexorable march of economic history has abolished the South as an economic entity." Brandt said, "with the old rural-agriculture economy gone, the Mississippi Delta farmer has less in common with the Atlanta fac-

TABLE 6. PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1940-1962

States	Years				Percent Change		
	1962	1961	1950	1940	1940-1950	1950-1961	1961-1962
Alabama	$1,538	$1,492	$ 869	$ 282	208.2	71.7	3
Arkansas	1,533	1,446	807	256	215.2	79.2	6
Florida	1,997	1,965	1,287	513	150.9	52.7	2
Georgia	1,714	1,649	1,017	340	199.1	62.1	4
Kentucky	1,705	1,625	958	320	199.4	69.6	5
Louisiana	1,715	1,626	1,087	363	199.4	49.6	5
Mississippi	1,282	1,229	733	218	236.2	67.7	4
North Carolina	1,709	1,642	1,012	328	208.5	62.3	4
South Carolina	1,516	1,433	882	307	187.3	62.5	6
Tennessee	1,679	1,605	995	339	193.5	61.3	5
Virginia	2,004	1,908	1,234	466	164.8	54.6	5
UNITED STATES	2,375	2,263	1,491	595	150.6	51.8	4
(1)							
South*	1,724	1,652	1,011	343	194.8	63.4	4
					Percent Change in Ratio		
South as Percent of U.S.	72.0	73.0	67.7	57.6	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1961
					+17.7	+7.8	+26.3

*Eleven States included above plus West Virginia.
SOURCE: 1940-1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Personal Income by States, Since 1929.*
1961, *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1962.
1962, *Survey of Current Business*, April, 1963.

tory worker or sales representative than the latter has with his counterparts in the rest of the country."

The region can no longer be characterized by a relatively homogeneous set of basic economic characteristics and pursuits different from those of the rest of the United States. It may be assumed, therefore, that southern economic growth and organization will be constantly linked to patterns of change in the total economy. Therefore, whatever forces shape the economy as a whole will tend to shape the future of the South, particularly if the region will emancipate itself from traditional race relations, a formidable barrier to its economic progress.

III

Negro Gain Has Been Slight

The Negro population of this country has jumped from about 13 to 20 million since 1940, and it has become predominantly urban. The number of Negroes in better paying semi-skilled and white collar jobs has doubled.

These advances have been important because they represent a new beginning and provide the basis for optimism about the continuing economic improvement of the Negro population. Three aspects of the situation should be observed, however, at this point:

(1) Negroes in the South have not shared proportionately in these advances. Differentials in economic progress by Negroes in the South and the non-South persist. They reflect not only the southern lag in general, but also a substantial lag in employment and occupational opportunity for Negroes in the South in comparison with opportunity in other regions.

(2) Not only have the improvements failed to close substantially the historic gap between Negroes and others, but in dollars and cents the position of Negroes has deteriorated.

(3) There are signs which suggest that the momentum underlying improvements in the position of Negroes has not been sufficient to allow Negroes to overcome their marginal position in the work force, nor sufficient to generate change at rates

significant enough to guarantee continuous progress. One of the forces which generated positive change in the position of Negroes in the immediate postwar period was technology. Today it is exerting a negative impact.

Progress appears, at present, to be occurring at a decreasing rate when compared with progress of other Americans. New forces must be vigorously brought into play if the relative gains of the past 20 years are not to be eliminated or wiped out during the immediate years ahead. These forces will have to include intensified training and development of Negro manpower. But, above all, there is a need for vigorous application of public policy in eliminating racial discrimination in education, training, and manpower utilization or employment.

Income: Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still

Income analysis suggests that Negroes are on a treadmill and time is in reality "running out" on them, as a group, in their pursuit of parity with whites. The group has to run exceptionally fast in order to stand still. And Negroes in the South have more difficulty in sustaining their relative and absolute positions than those in other sections of the country.

Undoubtedly the position of Negroes as income recipients and consumers has improved. Three times more Negroes were employed in 1960 than in 1940 in income producing, non-agriculture jobs; thus there are more Negroes with money. Change has occurred in the distribution of income among Negroes, and the huge migration of the Negro population from rural to urban areas and to the central cities has resulted in a large concentration of Negro purchasing power in these areas.

For example, Table 7 sets forth estimates of participation in retail sales by Negroes in ten cities, ranging from $26 million, or 21% of the total, in Durham to $512 million, or 15%, in Houston. In none of these cities did Negroes represent this much sales volume 20 years ago. This is not only suggestive of the impact of aggregate and concentrated purchasing power in the Negro market, but it is also indicative of the kind of economic potential to which southern race relations must adjust.

Not only are there more Negroes with income, but also, in comparison with 20 years ago, fewer of them are in the lowest income brackets and more of them are in the middle and upper income categories. Obviously, this suggests a higher participation by Negroes in the market place.

For example, Table 8 shows a tripling in the proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 between 1945 and 1961, while the number

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED PURCHASING POWER OF NEGROES IN TEN SELECTED STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1961

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total Retail Sale Estimate	Estimated Negro Participation*	Percent Negro
Atlanta	$1,800,000,000	$306,000,000	17.0
Birmingham	897,000,000	206,000,000	23.0
Durham	125,000,000	26,250,000	21.0
Charleston, S. C.	220,000,000	50,600,000	23.0
Houston	2,050,000,000	512,500,000	15.0
Miami	1,700,000,000	153,000,000	9.0
New Orleans	1,200,000,000	252,000,000	21.0
Nashville	610,000,000	91,500,000	15.0
Memphis	850,000,000	204,000,000	24.0
Richmond	790,000,000	142,200,000	18.0

*Estimate of retail sales made to Negroes trading in central trading areas of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; includes Negroes from contiguous counties or total market area.

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, *Census Tracts.* U. S. Department of Commerce, 1958 Bureau of Census.
J. Walter Thompson Company, *Population and Its Distribution, The United States Markets,* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

of families with income over $6,000 has grown from 4% to 20% of the total during the same period. These gains are impressive, but

—the rate of participation in the labor force of Negro women and younger people is much higher than among whites;

—60% of the Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than $4,000 annually, compared with 28% of the white families;*

—white families are abandoning the lower income brackets at a much faster rate than Negroes (a decline of 63% for whites and 33% for Negroes);

—Negroes are reaching the higher income brackets at a slower rate than whites.

Moreover, about 75% of the Negro families in the United States have incomes less than the median income of $5,981 for white families (see Table 10).

Beginning in 1940, the income of Negroes grew at unprecedented rates. It was marked by a growth of approximately 700% in aggregate personal income between 1939 and 1961, an income which is now estimated to be well over $22 billion per year, 5% of the personal income of the nation. In direct contrast to the situation before 1940, when Negroes as income recipients, or consumers, commanded little or no respect in the national and regional economy, they have since 1945 attracted serious competitive attention in the market places of the nation. The power of the Negro market has meaning in the area of race relations, as a "new" force underlying efforts on the part of Negroes

*See also the more detailed Tables 21, 22, 23, and 24 in the Appendix.

TABLE 8. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES BY COLOR FOR UNITED STATES, 1945-1961

Total Money Income Level	1961		1945		Percent Increase or Decrease in Ratio Over 1945	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Per Cent	100	100	100	100		
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	75.5	90.1	—63.3	—33.1
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	16.8	6.1	+33.3	+223.0
$6,000 and Over	49.9	20.1	7.7	3.8	+548.0	+429.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Consumers Income, Series P-60, No. 2, March 2, 1948 and No. 38, August 28, 1962.

to eliminate discrimination and segregation and obtain better employment in retail trade, industry, and finance.

But, *Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.*

In 1939, for example, the median wage and salary income of Negro males was $460, the equivalent of 41% that of white males. Between then and 1955, Negro men substantially gained. Since 1955, Negro males have barely held on to those gains, losing, as Table 9 shows, 3.5 percentage points between 1955 and 1957 and gaining only one point between 1955 and 1960. As of 1960, the wage and salary income of Negro males was still only three-fifths that of white males, just about the same as in 1955 when progress toward closing the income gap between Negroes and whites began to level off.

Similar developments occurred regarding family income. As shown in Table 10, Negro families and unrelated individuals gained 19% on white families and individuals between 1940 and 1954, moving from a ratio of 37% to 56%. Since the beginning of 1955, the percentage relationship has just barely held its own, dropping 5.3 points between 1954 and 1959, reversing itself in 1960 and again reaching 56%, and dropping again in 1961 to 52%.

Two characteristics stand out. On the one hand, relative growth in wage and salary income of Negroes since 1940 has been greater than that of whites; on the other hand, the absolute, or *dollar,* difference has widened considerably.

White males have stretched the "dollar gap" between their earnings and that of Negroes over three times since 1939. White families similarly have increased the differential between their employment income and that of Negro families.

People spend and save dollars. It is this dollar difference that counts. Pronouncements regarding economic progress which are confined to acceleration concepts and percentage change obscure the real predica-

TABLE 9. MEDIAN WAGE AND SALARY INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR AND SEX FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1939-1960

Color and Sex	Year						Percent Change 1939-1960	
	1960	1958	1957	1955	1954	1939		
White								
Male	$5,137	$4,569	$4,396	$3,986	$3,754	$1,112	+461	
Female	2,537	2,364	2,240	2,065	2,046	676	+375	
Nonwhite								
Male	3,075	2,652	2,436	2,342	2,131	460	+668	
Female	1,276	1,055	1,019	894	914	246	+518	
Pecent Nonwhite of White							Percent Change in Ratio	
Male	59.8	58.0	55.4	58.8	56.8	41.3	+44.8	
Female	50.2	44.6	45.5	43.3	44.7	38.7	+29.7	
Dollar Differences Between White and Nonwhite							Increase 1939-1960	
Male	—$2,062	—$1,917	—$1,960	—$1,644	—$1,623	—$652	+$1,410	+216 percent
Female	—$1,261	—$1,307	—$1,221	—$1,171	—$1,132	—$430	+$1,221	+193 percent

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-60, No. 37, January 17, 1962; Table 37, No. 33, January 15, 1960. No. 32, September 22, 1957, No. 23, November 1956; Table 11, No. 19, October 1955; Table 11.

TABLE 10. MEDIAN WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF PRIMARY FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR, 1940-1961

Families and Individuals	*1961*	*1960*	*1959*	*1958*	*1957*	*1956*	*1955*	*1954*	*1953*	*1950*	*1940*
White	$5,570	$5,424	$5,252	$4,882	$4,831	$4,685	$4,331	$4,150	$4,201	$3,390	$1,325
Nonwhite	2,908	3,058	2,672	2,437	2,536	2,429	2,418	2,333	2,357	1,671	489
Dollar Difference Between Whites and Nonwhites	−2,662	−2,336	−2,580	−2,445	−2,295	−2,256	−2,113	−1,817	−1,944	−1,519	− 836
Nonwhite Income as a Percent of White	52.2	56.3	50.9	49.9	52.5	51.8	55.8	56.2	56.1	49.3	37.0
Percent Change in Ratio	1950-1960		1940-1960		1957-1959		1953-1957		1950-1953		1940-1950
	+14.1		+52.2		−3.0		−6.4		+13.8		+33.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1962.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 27, No. 33, January 15, 1960, No. 37, January 17, 1962, No. 38, August 28, 1962, No. 27, Table 15 No. 39, Table 22 dated February 28, 1963.

ment—*Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites*. The "dollar gap" trend shown in Tables 9 and 10 means very simply that earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes.

This is explained in two ways. First, earnings of Negroes have been low over a long period of time. Thus, a smaller gain yields a striking percentage increase. The second explanation is more serious. Notwithstanding their real gains, Negroes are not finding enough jobs in areas where wages and salaries tend to be higher and to increase faster.

Whites are acquiring the highest paying jobs in the higher occupational classifications. The benefits of general economic expansion and technology, therefore, have only "trickled down" to the Negroes, putting more of them into wage and salary jobs. These benefits automatically produced high acceleration in income change, but were restricted tightly to lower occupational classifications.

Thus, despite the unprecedented growth of income among Negroes and the percentage gains made, the fact remains that income progress of Negroes has leveled off. The percent of Negro families in lower income brackets is twice as high as whites, and the differential in earnings of whites and Negroes continues to widen, largely offsetting percentage gains. Accordingly, it is still difficult for Negroes to purchase health, education, and the amenities of life on the same level as other members of the population.

Southern Negroes at the Bottom of Economic Ladder

The individual income of Negroes in the South is only two-fifths that of comparable whites. In other regions, the income of Negro citizens is about three-fourths and that of whites (see Table 11).

The table also shows that southern Negroes have incomes of about two-fifths that of non-southern Ne-

TABLE 11. MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1950-1960

	1960				*1950*			
Region	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*
Northeast	$3,304	$2,441	−$ 863	73.9	$2,246	$1,622	−$584	72.2
North Central	3,090	2,263	− 827	73.2	2,143	1,652	− 491	77.1
South*	2,473	995	− 1,478	40.2	1,647	739	− 908	44.9
West	3,298	2,474	− 824	75.0	2,114	1,445	− 669	68.9

SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF OTHER REGIONS

	1960		*1950*	
Northeast	74.8	40.8	73.3	45.6
North Central	80.0	44.2	76.9	44.7
West	74.9	40.2	77.9	51.1

*Includes Maryland, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.
SOURCE: 1960, U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103.
1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 175 and Table 97.

groes (females in the South, incidentally, do slightly better). On the other hand, white persons in the South have incomes close to four-fifths that of white persons in the non-South.

The family income situation is slightly better for Negroes. But here, also, the non-southern Negro family enjoys an income at least 50% greater than that of its southern counterpart (see Table 12 and, for more detail, Table 13).

Table 14 shows that in 1960 there was $1,522 separating the median incomes of whites and non-white persons in this country; in 1950, the difference had been only $1,080. Negroes had fallen farther behind. In the South, the 1960 median income of Negroes was $1,478 below that of whites; in 1950, the difference had been only $908. Negroes had fallen farther behind.

In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers (see Table 15). In each of the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male *workers;* and a negative change in the income of all *persons* (see Table 14) ranging from a low 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 increased sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

It seems clear that Negroes in the South have not kept pace with the income progress of the region, and that little change is occurring in their income position visa-vis non-southern Negroes.

One may conclude, therefore, that unless greater efforts are vigorously applied to absorb Negroes into the industrial-commercial life of the urban South these trends will continue. They suggest that, in the ab-

TABLE 12. MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference White and Nonwhite
Northeast	$6,318	$4,371	69.2	—$1,947
North Central	5,994	4,371	72.0	—$1,674
South*	5,009	2,322	46.4	—$2,687
West	6,444	4,937	76.6	—$1,507
Percent South of:				
Northeast	79.3	53.4		
North Central	83.6	53.8		
West	77.7	47.0		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*South includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 13. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960		Pecent Nonwhite of White	1950		Pecent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White	Nonwhite		White	Nonwhite		Increase or Decrease	Ratio
Alabama	$4,764	$2,009	41.8	$2,056	$ 882	43.0	+127.7	—2.7
Arkansas	3,678	1,636	44.4	1,571	726	46.2	+225	—3.8
Florida	5,147	2,798	54.4	2,323	1,444	49.2	+244.5	+1.5
Georgia	5,027	2,188	43.5	2,159	909	42.1	+240.7	+3.3
Kentucky	4,193	2,570	61.3	1,856	1,110	59.8	+231.5	+2.5
Louisiana	5,288	2,238	42.0	2,434	1,023	42.0	+218.7	No Change
Mississippi	4,209	1,444	34.3	1,614	601	37.2	+240	—7.7
North Carolina	4,588	1,992	43.4	2,215	1,056	47.6	+188.6	—8.8
South Carolina	4,893	1,699	34.7	2,391	790	33.0	+215	+5.1
Tennessee	4,333	2,292	52.9	1,946	1,106	56.8	+207.2	—6.5
Virginia	5,522	2,780	50.3	2,519	1,233	48.9	+225	+2.9
United States	5,424	3,058	56.3					
South*	5,009	2,332	46.4					

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary Detailed.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 14. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER FOR ELEVEN STATES, SOUTH, AND UNITED STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change: Nonwhite Increase	Percent Change: Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites
Alabama	$2,371	$ 866	36.5	$1,455	$616	42.3	+48.6	−13.7
Arkansas	1,788	712	39.8	1,117	487	43.6	+46.2	− 7.8
Florida	2,628	1,352	51.5	1,737	847	48.8	+59.6	− 6.2
Georgia	2,470	927	37.5	1,515	610	40.3	+52.0	− 6.9
Kentucky	2,081	1,129	54.3	1,411	862	61.1	+31.0	−11.1
Louisiana	2,799	1,001	35.8	1,767	774	43.8	+29.3	−18.2
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,236	439	35.5	+47.1	− 9.0
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.5
South Carolina	2,447	742	30.3	1,684	525	31.9	+41.3	− 5.0
Tennessee	2,117	982	46.4	1,374	799	58.6	+22.9	−20.8
Virginia	2,765	1,247	45.1	1,880	919	48.9	+35.7	− 7.8
South*	2,473	995	40.2	1,647	739	44.9	+34.6	−10.6
United States	3,024	1,502	49.7	2,053	973	47.4		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 15. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	1960 Nonwhite as Percent of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	1950 Nonwhite as Percent of White	Percent: Nonwhite Increase	Percent: Change in Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites 1950-1960
Alabama	$3,367	$1,417	42.0	$1.809	$ 956	52.8	+48	−20
Arkansas	2,486	993	39.9	1,423	759	53.3	+30.8	−25.1
Florida	3,743	2,073	55.4	2,239	1,185	52.9	+74.5	+ 4.8
Georgia	3,374	1,489	44.1	1,870	919	49.1	+62.0	−10.0
Kentucky	2,928	1,764	60.3	1,701	1,199	70.4	+47.1	−14.4
Louisiana	4,001	1,565	39.1	2,228	997	44.8	+57.0	−14.4
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,462	605	41.4	+41.1	−21.9
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.6
South Carolina	3,195	1,135	35.5	2,043	801	39.2	+41.7	− 9.4
Tennessee	2,932	1,598	54.5	1,685	1,142	67.8	+39.9	−19.4
Virginia	3,734	1,906	51.0	2,255	1,221	54.1	+36.1	− 5.5

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

sence of better economic opportunity, loss through the migration of Negro manpower will continue.

Employment, Occupations, and Manpower Utilization

Four other factors exert a marked influence on the position of Negroes in the non-agriculture labor market. They are:

—technology;

—the degree of competition from whites;

—the quality and kind of education received as part of manpower development; and

—public policy regarding the elimination of racial discrimination in education, employment, and occupations.

The last factor is assuming a more important function as a result of court decisions to desegregate education and increases in "fair employment practices" programs at local, state, and federal levels.

Change in technology and manpower requirements and the changing patterns of industry expansion suggest that Negroes can no longer depend upon the forces of national economic expansion and technology to gen-

erate improvements in employment opportunity. Technology alone has drastically changed the kind of manpower needed by manufacturing industries. The need for unskilled workers has declined, whereas the demand for workers with skills and training has increased. This trend, coupled with a relatively slow pace of manpower development among Negroes, places them in an unfavorable position when it comes to supplying persons with skills who can compete favorably in today's labor markets.

Between 1947 and 1961, the number of employees in mining, manufacturing, contract construction, and agriculture decreased, while the number of employees absorbed by wholesaling and retailing, insurance, finance, the so-called services, and government increased. *Noteworthy is the fact that the industries with a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes.* Actually, the source of improvement in the economic status of Negroes during past years has been their movement out of agriculture into mining, manufacturing, and construction where they found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives. These are the industries which since 1957 have had either declining employment or relatively little growth in employment. Excluding government, the areas of growth in employment are not the areas in which Negroes have traditionally found employment.

The second general development involves a shift in employment from plant to office in manufacturing industries. Between 1950 and 1961, the number of persons employed in manufacturing increased by more than one million while the number of production workers declined by almost one-half million. This means that increases in manufacturing employment were in nonplant and non-production jobs, a shift, in other words, to office work and white collar jobs, areas of employment which have never absorbed many Negroes.

Increased use of labor saving devices—"automation"—means that employment opportunity in semi-skilled and unskilled work will continue to decline. It will, therefore, become increasingly difficult for Negroes to attain higher or even retain previous levels of employment in those occupations and industries which they had penetrated during the 1940's and 1950's.

Unemployment among Negroes today amounts to more than 10%, twice that of whites. In heavily industrialized areas such as Chicago and Detroit, the differential is even more striking. *Furthermore, the duration of unemployment is longer for Negroes than for whites.*

In September 1958 the average duration of unemployment for Negroes was 17.8 weeks and for white workers 13.3 weeks. The average length of unemployment in September 1962 for Negroes was 18.0 weeks while that for whites had dropped to 13.0 weeks. Negroes accounted for about one-fourth of all the long term unemployed, but for only about 11% of the labor force. About 29% of the very long term unemployed in September 1962 were Negroes compared with 21% in September 1961. Long term joblessness among Negroes results from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and inadequate manpower development.

Since 1940, white collar employment among Negro males has gone up 144% and blue collar skilled and semi-skilled employment by 101% in contrast to 31% and 14% among whites in the respective groups. In the same period, Negro females employed in white collar positions increased by 169% and in blue collar positions by 132% in comparison with a white increase of 18% in white collar jobs and a decline of 23% in the number represented in blue collar occupations.

TABLE 16. NONWHITE EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, BY SEX, APRIL 1940 AND APRIL 1960

Major Occupation Group	Nonwhite Men as Percent of All Men		Increase or Decrease in Percent	Nonwhite Women as Percent of All Women		Increase or Decrease in Percent
	1940	1960	1940-1960	1940	1960	1940-1960
Total Employed	9.0	9.3		13.9	12.6	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	3.1	3.5	+0.5	4.6	5.6	+ 1.0
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors except Farm	1.5	1.9	+0.4	2.8	4.8	+ 2.0
Clerical and Kindred Workers	1.6	6.7	+5.1	0.7	3.8	+ 2.1
Sales Workers	1.4	3.0	+1.6	1.1	2.4	+ 1.3
Craftsmen, Foreman, and Kindred Workers	2.7	4.4	+1.7	2.3	8.0	+ 5.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers	6.1	11.6	+5.5	5.0	12.4	+ 7.4
Laborers, except farm and Mine	21.2	27.6	+6.4	*	*	
Service workers, except Private Household	17.4	21.1	+3.7	13.1	19.2	+ 6.1
Private Household	(1)	(1)		46.5	47.5	+ 1.0
Farmers and Farm Managers	13.1	8.6	—4.5	30.2	16.4	—13.8
Farm Laborers and Foremen	22.5	23.6	+1.1	62.9	22.6	—40.3

*Not Available.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

These percentage gains are impressive, but the fact remains that Negroes have penetrated only to a limited extent job categories above semi-skilled levels.

For example (see Table 16), Negro females make up 74% of the total females employed, but they comprise almost one-half, 48%, of all the domestic servants in the economy and only 2% of all the sales workers; this is not substantially different from the situation in 1940. Negro males comprise slightly in excess of 9% of the employed males in the economy, but they are only 2% of the total number of men employed as nonfarm managers, proprietors, and officials, only four-tenths of a percentage point better than the situation in 1940. Yet they are 28% of the laborers.

Table 17 shows similar data for the South only. *There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. Those industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market.*

It has already been suggested that regional differences in employment account in large measure for differences between the income of Negroes in the South and in the rest of the nation, as well as for high rates of migration by Negroes from southern states. Indeed, in none of the major industry categories shown in Table 17 do Negroes in the South keep pace with Negroes in the non-South. Study the last column of Table 18. In every category except "government" Negroes had a smaller share of the jobs in 1960 than in 1950 in the South. Of course there were fewer Negroes living in the South in 1960. But this is a chicken and the egg question. Fewer jobs because of fewer people? Or did people leave because jobs were not there?

But the fact is, Negroes make up only slightly less of the southern labor force today, 19%, than they did a decade ago, when they were 21% of the labor force. In each area of industry employment, the decline in Negro employment exceeds the decline in the Negro labor force.

Table 19 shows how Negroes are represented in various job categories. These tables reveal important contrasts between the percent of the total labor force and the percent of occupations held by Negroes.

We see, for example, in Table 19 that

—in the non-South, 6% of the employed Negroes are in professional and technical positions;

—of all professional and technical positions, Negroes hold only 3%;

—in the South, the percentages are 5 and 9.

We also see that Negroes of the South have almost all the household jobs and nearly half of the laborers jobs, both on and off the farm. We see that very few of the clerical and sales jobs are held by Negroes either in or out of the South. In the non-South, however, a good percentage of employed Negroes (10%) are in clerical spots, whereas only 3% of the employed Negroes in the South are so employed.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH* BY COLOR AND SEX AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1950-1960 (PERCENT)

	White				Nonwhite			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Occupation Group	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	36.9	30.9	59.8	58.8	8.3	5.8	13.2	10.6
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	10.0	6.8	14.0	13.3	2.9	2.0	7.5	6.2
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, Nonfarm	12.6	11.4	4.7	5.4	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2
Clerical and Related Workers	6.6	5.8	31.5	29.3	2.9	1.6	3.6	2.2
Sales Workers	7.7	6.9	9.6	10.8	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0
BLUE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	39.7	36.7	18.6	20.6	30.8	24.6	9.0	9.6
Craftsmen, Foremen (Skilled)	20.5	18.3	1.2	1.3	8.6	6.3	0.4	0.3
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	19.2	18.4	17.0	19.3	22.2	18.3	8.6	9.3
UNSKILLED LABOR AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	9.8	9.8	15.1	13.8	36.3	34.3	66.4	64.0
Laborers (Unskilled) Except Farm and Mine	5.2	5.7	0.4	0.5	22.9	23.3	0.9	1.6
Service Workers Except Household	4.0	3.5	11.3	10.4	12.6	10.1	20.8	17.7
Private Household Workers	0.6	0.6	3.4	29.3	0.8	0.9	44.7	44.7
FARM OCCUPATIONS	10.2	21.5	1.7	3.8	18.6	33.8	5.9	13.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	7.2	15.5	0.7	0.9	7.2	19.3	1.0	2.5
Farm Laborers and Foremen	3.0	6.0	1.0	2.9	11.4	14.5	4.9	11.4
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	4.0	1.3	5.2	2.9	5.9	1.3	5.6	1.7

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce.

1950 U. S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics 216158.

U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics—216103.

In sum, it appears that penertation of higher echelons of the occupational scale by Negroes has been relatively limited, and much more so in the South than outside the region. Negroes have entered the mainstream of industrial and civil employment in non-southern communities to a greater degree than in the South. In so doing, they have filled jobs which make possible upgrading, training opportunity, and increased earning power on the basis of personal job qualifications. In the South, Negroes have not shared equitably in the rapid industrial expansion of the past two decades.

TABLE 18. NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY, 1950-1960, UNITED STATES, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH

	United States			Non-South			South*		
	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60
Agriculture	15.6	14.2	− 8.9	2.8	2.8	0.	30.8	30.1	− 2.3
Mining	4.5	3.2	−28.9	3.5	2.1	−40.0	8.4	5.1	−39.2
Construction	5.5	8.5	+54.5	5.6	5.4	− 3.6	17.7	16.9	− 4.5
Manufacturing	6.5	6.8	+ 4.6	4.7	5.4	+14.9	16.4	12.9	−21.3
Transportation	7.6	7.7	+ 1.3	5.2	5.9	+ 1.3	16.1	13.9	−13.7
Trade	6.3	7.0	+11.1	4.2	5.2	+23.8	13.2	12.8	− 3.0
Finance	4.6	4.2	− 4.3	3.8	3.7	− 2.6	9.1	6.6	−21.4
Service	17.1	16.9	− 1.2	11.6	12.1	+ 4.3	36.0	32.4	−10.4
Government	7.9	10.0	+26.5	5.8	8.4	+44.8	10.8	11.6	+ 7.4

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics Table 16. *Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics Table 103.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES AND NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH, 1960

	Non-South		South*	
	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite
Total Employed	6.6	100.00	19.2	100.00
Professional and Technical	3.4	6.0	9.2	4.8
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	2.0	2.5	2.9	1.3
Clerical	4.4	10.1	5.0	3.2
Sales	2.1	2.3	2.8	1.0
Craftsmen, Foremen	3.7	7.7	8.1	5.3
Operatives	7.9	22.2	17.8	16.8
Private Household Workers	30.4	9.0	79.8	18.3
Service Workers	13.3	17.2	37.4	15.9
Farm Laborers	6.0	1.5	47.4	8.8
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.5	0.8	17.9	4.7
Laborers	14.5	9.7	47.6	14.1
Not Reported	14.6	11.1	24.0	5.8

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103 by State.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

IV

What Price Discrimination?

An attempt has been made to show the position of Negroes in the economy of the nation and the South. Emerging from the presentation are several implications, a few of which will be dealt with as a conclusion to this report.

Education

Employment determines income; the level of income is related to the kind of job one is able to obtain; and jobs are related to education and training. Thus, to a great degree, the ability of Negroes to pass from poverty and deprivation to parity with the rest of the population depends not only upon removing barriers to employment and occupational mobility. It also depends upon better education through increased school desegregation and upon rapid adjustments and improvements in the process of Negro manpower development (see Table 20).

Not all present underemployment of Negroes can be attributed to discriminatory employment practices; limited opportunities are sometimes available to Negroes for which few exhibit any interest or can qualify. Nevertheless, Negroes face a two-pronged problem: discrimination in employment on one hand and, on the other, an inadequate flow of manpower to meet such limited opportunities as there are. This inadequacy is a cumulative product of segregation in education and manpower development and utilization. This is nowhere more true than in vocational and technical training.

Generally, vocational training available to Negroes is limited mainly to those occupations in which they have traditionally found employment: in the industrial trades, some of which are becoming obsolete, and in those areas where Negroes provide services to Negroes, such as barbering. Technical courses in electronics and tool design, the apprenticeable trades such as plumbing, steamfitting, and sheet metal work, and courses in blueprint reading and welding, are usually not available to Negroes.

Contrast between programs to develop white and Negro manpower can be seen by the course offerings of three southern metropolitan school systems: Atlanta, Houston, and Nashville.

TABLE 20. ANNUAL AVERAGE INCOME OF MALES 25 YEARS AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, 1939-1958

Year of School Completed	Annual Average Income			
	1939	1946	1949	1958
Elementary:	$1,036	$2,041	$2,394	$3,096
Less Than 8 Years	*	1,738	2,062	2,551
8 Years	*	2,327	2,829	3,769
High School:				
1 to 3 Years	1,379	2,449	3,226	4,618
4 Years	1,661	2,939	3,784	5,567
College:				
1 to 3 Years	1,931	3,654	4,423	6,966
4 Years or More	2,607	4,527	8,490	9,206

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1962.*

Houston

In the only vocational and technical high school in the Houston Independent School System, an all white school, full three year courses are offered in: air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automobile mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, radio and television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro schools.

Negroes are offered two years of training in commercial cooking and baking, cleaning and

pressing, and trade dressmaking, courses which are not taught in white schools.

Nashville

The only vocational and technical high school in Nashville is an all-white institution. Full courses are offered in commercial art, drafting, auto mechanics, electricity, general clerical, industrial chemistry, machine shop, refrigeration, secretarial training, and office machines; adult evening courses are taught in such areas as sheet metal layout, pipe-fitting, machine shop, welding, aircraft blueprint reading, electronics for office machines, and advanced projection.

Courses offered to Negroes (in only one of the four high schools) throughout the county are auto mechanics, commerce, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and woodworking. Evening courses are taught in sewing, millinery, auto mechanics, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and electronics.

Atlanta

The white vocational and technical school in Atlanta is the Smith-Hughes School.* Courses are offered in electronics, tool and die design, instrumentation, machine shop, refrigeration and air conditioning, electricity, iron-working, steam-fitting, plumbing, sheet metal, tool and die making, blueprint reading and drafting, gas fitting, and welding.

Negroes are offered at Carver Vocational School radio and television, industrial sewing, commercial cooking, short order cooking, shoe repairing, auto mechanics, tailoring, bricklaying, drycleaning, practical nursing, and catering.

The contrasts are obvious. Ninety percent of the Negro youth and 80% of the white youth do not go to college. Vocational and technical training at pre-college levels is a real concern. Neglecting the education of the majority of youth who do not go to college will reflect itself most seriously among Negroes, the group most vulnerable to unemployment and automation, because of the imbalance in job development and preparation. We do not need poor quality vocational and technical training programs which serve as dumping grounds for problem students, nor programs that prepare Negro youth for "traditional Negro jobs." We need vocational programs that give sound background in mathematics, science, and other academic subjects, as well as developing marketable skills.

Jobs for laborers and unskilled workers will undoubtedly be considerably reduced by 1970. On the other hand, the economy may well demand, according to some estimates,

—80% more managers
—25% more clerical personnel
—25% more sales personnel
—25% more banking, finance, and insurance personnel
—more blueprint readers, computer operators, metallurgical technicians, machine tool operators, industrial chemists, key punch and machine operators, and other highly skilled people.

But

—no increase is expected in the demand for laborers, and the demand for semi-skilled workers is not expected to rise above 15%.

Restricted vocational and technical training for Negroes is justified by southern school boards on the grounds that jobs in the crafts and technical areas as well as in sales, clerical, and other white collar positions are not generally open to Negroes; therefore, training would be costly and useless. This argument is invalid on its face. School systems have the moral and legal obligation to give all persons the best training and education possible. Moreover, changes in employment opportunity for Negroes in industry, commerce, and government further invalidate the position. President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 forbidding racial discrimination in federal employment as well as in industries having government contracts has opened new areas of employment opportunity for Negroes. Negroes themselves are using economic and political pressures to achieve improvement in job opportunity. Rapid adjustments in the education of Negroes to meet the demands of new employment opportunity are both urgent and necessary.

Costs of Discrimination

The President's Council of Economic Advisers asserted in 1962 that losses to the economy through racial discrimination result from two factors: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully. The Council estimated that the nation's economy is losing between $13 billion and $17 billion per year in national income and product as result of these two factors.

Fifty percent of the nation's Negroes are concentrated in the South, and the South receives approximately 20% of the nation's total income. A conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination.

The South can no longer afford the luxury of wast-

*This school was desegregated on January 28, 1963, but only a token number of Negroes has been accepted for training.

ing a valuable human resource. It cannot continue to deny itself better markets for goods and services by failing to provide a climate of equal economic opportunity for all its citizens. It is equally clear that the nation can ill afford to lose $17 billion per year in income and product. To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower. For the nation as a whole, the continuing struggle of the cold war makes the full use of America's human resources imperative.

Race Relations and Economic Growth

Despite the relatively low income per person of Negroes, there are twice as many with income as there were a decade or so ago. Negroes have moved ahead educationally. More of them are concentrated in the cities. They are acquiring greater political strength in the urban areas, and they are more sensitive to their role in the politics and market place of the city and the state.

Political strength and purchasing power among urban Negroes can scarcely be ignored by government officials, city planners, business, and industry. With a new industrial-urban orientation, Negroes will increasingly apply political and economic pressures to bring about changes in southern race relations, to step up the momentum of school desegregation, to obtain better employment opportunity, and to obtain access to public facilities.

Rapid racial adjustments by the "new South" are vitally important to the economic health of the region. Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth. *Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region.* Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region —these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South.

Public Policy

Clearly involved in the whole question of improving the economic position of Negroes is the influence of public policy on school desegregation, employment opportunity, and the elimination of segregation in housing and public places.

Low income Negroes and whites in large numbers are relocating themselves in the urban centers of the South just as they are in the North. Without extraordinary economic expansion and rapid improvement in the distribution of income, without swift changes in southern race relations, it is apparent that in the next decade the bulk of southern poverty will complete its shift from the country to the city.

Negro poverty will take its place in the urban slums of the South as a substitute for the traditional rural poverty—which, at least, was relatively self-sufficient. This concentration of low-income people in urban areas raises critical questions for southern city planners and officials.

The national expansion of the economy and technology, which began 20 years ago to alter the position of Negroes cannot be relied upon exclusively to bring about the level of improvement necessary in the future. Public policy will have to play an increased role. This means the expansion and strengthening of programs at local, state,* and federal levels to promote "fair employment practices"; the expansion of minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment programs; more extensive and inclusive programs of adult education and adult training and retraining programs. All these policies and programs must be advanced along with school desegregation. They will serve to reinforce change generated by normal economic forces.

That Negroes need improved economic opportunity is clear. That poverty among Negroes is being transferred from the rural South to the urban South is equally clear. Welfare dependency in urban areas will not solve the problem. Basically, the solution rests with full opportunity for the development of manpower potential and for employment and occupational mobility.

Employers, government officials, southern educators, southern school boards, and local communities must recognize what continued failure to meet the demands of Negro manpower development will mean. Not only will uneducated and inexperienced Negro manpower continue to contribute to labor surpluses, the very heart of the South's problem, but also the drain on urban economies in supporting undeveloped manpower will continue to impede the progress of both southern and national economic growth.

*On March 17, 1963 Kentucky Governor Bert Combs signed a code of fair practices, making Kentucky the first southern state to adopt such a measure. The code prohibits discrimination in employment and job opportunity, financial assistance, icensing, training programs, parks, and hospitals.

APPENDIX

TABLE 21. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND SOUTH* BY COLOR, 1954-1961

	1961				1954			
	United States		South		United States		South	
Family Income Level	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	38.7	80.0	44.1	78.2	53.9	87.0
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	23.3	13.0	28.7	14.5	24.8	8.7
$6,000 and Over	49.7	20.1	37.9	7.0	27.2	7.4	31.3	4.3
Percent of Change in Distribution Ratio 1954-1961								
Under $4,000	−37.1	−23.0	−28.2	− 8.0				
$4,000-$5,999	−18.4	+35.8	− 6.0	+51.1				
$6,000 and Over	+82.7	171.6	+21.0	+62.8				

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Consumers Income* Series P-60, No. 20, December 1955 Table 2 and No. 37, January 17, 1962 Table 16 P-60, No. 39, February 28, 1963 Table 18.

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1960

	U.S.	*Ala.*	*Ark.*	*Fla.*	*Ga.*	*Ky.*	*La.*	*Miss.*	*N. C.*	*S. C.*	*Tenn.*	*Va.*
Under $2,000												
Nonwhite	32.4	49.9	61.1	32.1	45.9	39.8	45.1	66.2	50.2	57.7	44.3	35.5
White	11.0	18.9	26.4	13.6	15.3	25.1	14.6	22.0	17.3	14.0	22.4	7.8
$2,000-$2,999												
Nonwhite	15.5	17.9	18.4	22.3	21.8	17.9	20.7	16.7	19.9	19.3	19.5	18.6
White	7.6	10.7	14.6	10.5	10.4	11.6	9.6	12.4	11.5	10.5	11.8	5.9
$3,000-$3,999												
Nonwhite	13.5	12.4	9.5	18.7	13.0	15.1	13.3	8.0	12.8	10.4	14.3	15.6
White	9.1	11.4	13.4	12.0	11.8	11.1	10.8	13.0	13.6	13.7	12.0	8.1
$4,000-$4,999												
Nonwhite	11.4	8.4	4.8	11.6	7.7	11.6	8.5	4.2	7.3	5.5	9.3	11.5
White	10.9	11.7	11.5	12.1	12.2	11.3	11.6	12.2	13.0	13.2	11.4	10.2
$5,000 and Over												
Nonwhite	27.2	11.4	6.1	15.1	11.6	15.6	12.2	5.0	9.6	7.0	12.6	18.8
White	61.4	47.2	34.3	51.9	50.2	40.8	53.5	40.3	44.7	48.6	42.5	68.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 65.

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY FAMILIES FOR FIFTEEN SELECTED CITIES BY COLOR, 1960

City	Under $2,000		$2,000-$3,999		$4,000-$4,999		$5,000 and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Atlanta	8.8	22.5	16.4	40.8	10.0	11.5	64.8	22.1
Birmingham	8.0	22.6	16.0	34.1	11.7	12.4	64.2	20.9
Charleston, S. C.	11.1	42.9	20.5	33.2	11.5	10.2	56.9	13.7
Dallas	7.0	26.7	13.7	40.3	9.9	13.7	69.4	19.3
Durham	8.0	30.2	18.3	42.3	13.1	11.6	60.6	15.9
Houston	7.2	24.9	12.9	36.0	9.9	14.4	70.0	24.7
Jackson, Miss.	5.7	34.2	13.3	44.5	10.9	9.7	70.0	11.6
Little Rock	8.8	31.7	18.7	42.1	11.3	9.8	61.2	16.4
Louisville	9.9	29.5	17.0	31.1	13.5	16.2	59.6	23.2
Memphis	7.5	22.5	24.0	43.0	12.3	15.2	48.4	19.3
Nashville	15.6	32.8	27.0	39.2	13.8	10.9	43.6	17.1
New Orleans	8.8	32.0	18.0	37.0	12.0	12.2	61.1	20.6
Oklahoma City	9.4	28.0	16.7	30.4	11.9	14.7	62.0	26.9
Richmond	6.9	25.4	14.7	35.2	11.2	13.5	67.1	26.0
Norfolk	16.4	30.3	15.4	34.9	10.0	13.6	58.2	21.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.*

TABLE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME FOR UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

	Under $2.000				$2,000-$2,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
United States	38.0	48.8	58.2	77.4	11.7	21.2	14.8	15.8
Alabama	44.3	62.3	78.5	88.5	13.6	18.3	11.0	9.3
Arkansas	53.3	71.2	83.8	93.4	14.4	14.3	9.5	5.0
Florida	40.7	55.7	65.3	88.8	13.9	18.9	19.0	9.4
Georgia	42.1	62.0	76.0	93.5	15.1	18.9	13.6	5.2
Kentucky	48.7	64.1	69.2	84.2	12.9	18.2	13.2	12.4
Louisiana	40.2	54.8	73.8	89.3	12.0	18.2	12.8	8.2
Mississippi	49.6	69.2	86.5	96.1	14.7	14.4	8.2	3.1
North Carolina	44.1	61.9	74.8	90.1	17.3	21.2	12.9	7.9
South Carolina	41.9	59.0	80.7	94.8	17.3	22.9	11.8	4.2
Tennessee	48.0	65.0	72.2	87.7	14.5	16.8	13.7	9.9
Virginia	39.7	52.7	65.8	84.4	13.1	20.6	15.0	12.6

	$3,000-$3,999				$4,000-$4,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
United States	11.4	15.5	10.9	5.1	10.6	6.6	7.9	0.9
Alabama	11.8	10.4	6.8	1.4	9.2	4.1	3.9	0.3
Arkansas	10.9	7.5	3.8	1.0	7.1	3.1	1.8	0.3
Florida	12.2	12.3	9.3	1.2	9.6	5.2	3.7	0.3
Georgia	13.3	9.8	5.8	0.8	9.5	3.8	2.7	0.3
Kentucky	11.0	9.6	8.4	2.6	8.8	3.8	5.3	0.4
Louisiana	11.4	12.6	6.6	1.9	9.8	6.4	3.7	0.3
Mississippi	11.5	8.3	3.0	0.5	7.8	3.5	1.4	0.1
North Carolina	14.8	8.9	6.0	1.3	9.1	3.4	2.8	0.3
South Carolina	15.7	10.2	4.5	0.7	9.2	3.5	1.7	0.1
Tennessee	11.5	9.6	7.5	1.7	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Virginia	12.2	13.4	9.5	2.2	10.4	5.3	5.9	0.4

	$5,000 and Over			
	White		Nonwhite	
United States	29.3	8.0	8.1	0.7
Alabama	21.2	5.2	2.6	0.2
Arkansas	14.3	4.1	1.3	0.3
Florida	23.6	7.8	2.6	0.3
Georgia	20.0	5.4	2.0	0.3
Kentucky	18.3	4.4	3.8	0.4
Louisiana	26.8	8.0	3.0	0.5
Mississippi	16.3	4.6	0.9	0.0
North Carolina	14.7	4.6	1.5	0.3
South Carolina	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Tennessee	17.8	4.9	2.6	0.3
Virginia	24.6	7.7	3.9	0.4

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

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by Vivian W. Henderson

ALVIN E. FRIEDMAN TRADERS AND COUNCIL ATLANTA, GA. 10

CIVIL RIGHTS and UNION RIGHTS

They go together

Mr. Mitchell: The following statement represents the position of Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Mr. A. Philip Randolph, president of the American Negro Labor Council; the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Mr. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

We support H.R. 77 and urge swift action to repeal Section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

The simple truth is that the slogan "Right to Work" is nothing more than the old phrase "open shop" which the powerful industrialists of America used in the early days of the 20th century to prevent trade union organization. At that time the open shop was the ideological weapon which was used to justify violence and terror in the attack against trade unionism, and which for a period resulted in a kind of industrial barbarism associated with the tragic names of Ludlow, Colo.; Homestead, Pa.; Harlan County, Ky.; and the infamous 1938 Memorial Day massacre of steelworkers in Chicago when Negro citizens as well as white workers lost their lives. The issue then was the right of unions to exist and function in American society and the right of workers to secure collective-bargaining agents of their own choosing.

Much time has passed. Trade unionism is now an established institution in American life, but there is still a sizable group of recalcitrant employers who persist in their efforts to destroy unionism or to make it entirely ineffective. They refurbished the old discredited "open shop" concept and, employing the techniques of Madison Avenue hucksters, are now selling the new slogan "Right To Work."

Do these laws provide American workers with any guarantee of employment? They do not. Do any of these right-to-work laws embody a code of fair employment practices? They do not. Do these laws attempt to determine fair wages, provide decent hours of labor or other terms and conditions of employment? They do not. Do they provide for equitable distribution of work or guarantee that layoffs shall be in inverse order of seniority? They do not. Do they provide for vacations with pay, disability benefits, and retirement pensions? They do not.

What, then, do they do? In their commonest form they prohibit any kind of union security. They make it impossible for a labor-management agreement to provide for any form of union security.

The need to develop a firm and secure economic base within the Negro community is of the greatest importance, not for Negroes alone but for the stability and order of the American community. The growing disparity in economic status between Negro and white workers and the vulnerability of colored wage earners to long-term economic distress are clearly indicated by the cruel facts on unemployment and economic distribution. We believe that Negro workers, as do other Americans, need a strong, vigorous, and democratic labor movement.

On the other hand, we have worked with the leaders of the AFL-CIO and its civil rights department, and with the leaders of many affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO, on civil rights matters. They have marched with us in Washington, D. C., and in Montgomery, Ala. They fought valiantly for what is now Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and we freely acknowledge that without their help that Title would not have been included in the law.

We know after many long years of experience that so-called right-to-work laws do not give Negro workers the right to work. These laws are of no value in ending discrimination. We shall proceed, as we have in the past, in our efforts to eliminate discrimination by some employers and by certain labor unions, but we also wish to assist in helping to build a truly democratic American labor movement that is based upon the principles of racial and economic justice.

The NAACP welcomes the support of organized labor in the battle for full civil rights for all American citizens and is proud of its long years of cooperation with trade union organizations. We join with them in urging the repeal of Section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act because we believe that such action is in the best interests of all wage earners as well as in the interest of our country.

Rep. Glenn Andrews, who asked the following question is a Goldwater Republican from Alabama with a consistent record of opposing all civil rights legislation. His district includes Selma. Thus the "mutual astonishment" of Mitchell at Andrews' sudden concern for Negro rights.

Mr. Andrews: Mr. Mitchell, I am frankly astonished that you, Dr. King, Mr. Randolph, and a group of your young people should be committed to the repeal of 14(b).

Mr. Mitchell: I do not know whether I could answer your question in a word but if you would indulge me to preface my reply by saying that our astonishment is mutual, I am equally astonished that you are defending the right of the colored people and I am happy that you are in that position, Mr. Andrews, and because we need all the help we can get.

I would say that I fear you have misunderstood the history of the American labor movement in relation to the colored people. This organization, the AFL-CIO and the constituent unions represent people who have worked with us for desegregation of public schools. They have assisted us in passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which has brought desegregation to the Senate of Alabama and they have helped us in trying to improve working conditions.

I would say that we are allies. We have not had from the employers as an organized group the kind of assistance in making America a better place for colored and white people as well as everyone else that we have had from organized labor groups.

Now I would say if anybody has a bona fide amendment or language which has a true purpose of correcting discrimination and which is really going to do the job, of course, all of us support it.

I am past the stage in my life when I am deceived by things that are done up in pretty ribbons and fancy paper because all too often when we open the box there is nothing inside.

WE IN THE AFL-CIO have always contended that union rights and civil rights go hand in hand.

For 20 years the backers of so-called "right-to-work" laws have been peddling the false notion that wiping out the union shop would increase job openings for Negroes.

This has been very selective peddling. They didn't (and still don't) use the argument among white southerners, whose votes put most of the present "right-to-work" laws on the books. (There is still a South Carolina statute forbidding integrated work forces in textile mills.)

But they did and still do peddle this poison among Negroes and other minorities, despite the fact that practically all racial discrimination, past or present, has been originated and enforced by employers. And practically all anti-discrimination provisions, by law or by contract, have been originated by unions.

As Clarence Mitchell, speaking for four major civil rights organizations—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Negro Labor Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality—makes clear in these pages, civil rights and union rights go hand in hand.

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

George Meany
President

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17 17

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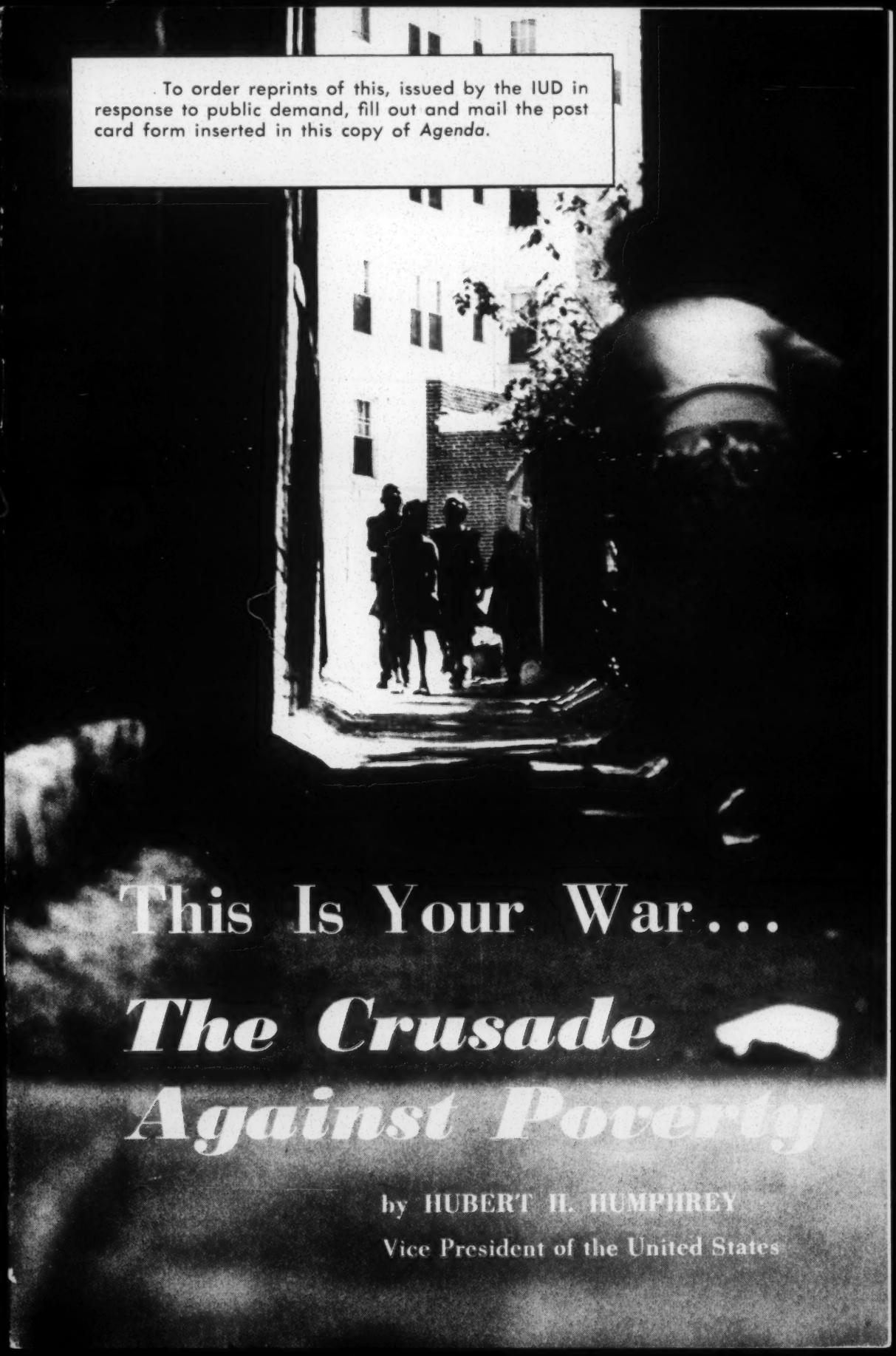


This Is Your War . . .

The Crusade Against Poverty

by HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT AND SEVERANCE BENEFITS

When garment shops go out of business workers pay the heavy price in unemployment and the end of earnings. They may have given years of loyal service; their skills may have helped to build the business and its profits. Yet, when that business ends and through no fault of their own they are left without jobs, all of the long years and the precious skills have meant nothing.

By October 1960, responsible employers in the garment industry had joined with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in recognizing that the problem of what happens to workers when their shops closed permanently was one of special importance to the continued welfare of the garment industry and its workers. The National Supplementary Unemployment-Severance Benefit Fund was then established and is now embodied in the agreements between the union and the employers.

For eligible workers left unemployed through the permanent closing of their shops, it provides two kinds of benefits: one is a lump sum benefit for the worker severed from his job by the closing; the other is a weekly unemployment benefit which is paid in addition to the unemployment insurance benefit received from the government. Those who meet the eligibility requirements may receive either a lump-sum severance benefit or the supplementary unemployment benefit or both and in amounts depending on average weekly earnings and length of employment by the firm going out of business. Here are the highlights of this benefit plan. A complete set of the rules and regulations of the fund is available at your local union severance department.

You May Receive a Lump-Sum Severance Benefit If—

1. Your employer made contributions to the fund for at least 8 quarters, and

2. Your employer has been declared terminated according to the rules and regulations of the fund by the board of trustees of the fund, and

3. You were in the permanent employ of the terminated employer at the time of termination, and

4. You have received wages from the terminated employer for at least 2 quarters before the termination quarter.

You May Receive BOTH a Lump-Sum Severance Benefit and Weekly Supplementary Unemployment Benefits If—

1. You are eligible to receive the lump-sum severance benefit, and

2. You are out of work, and

3. You have received a state unemployment benefit for a full week of unemployment—or you were ineligible to receive such benefit because:

   a) Such a week is a waiting week under the state system, or

   b) You did not have sufficient employment or earnings required for eligibility under the state system, or

   c) You had exhausted your state system unemployment benefits,

HOW TO APPLY FOR BENEFITS

1. If your shop permanently goes out of business get in touch with your local union severance department. The department will arrange for you to fill out the application necessary to determine if you are eligible to receive the benefit.

2. Then, when you are told to report to the local union severance department, bring with you your union book.

3. Also, bring your unemployment insurance book or card if you are receiving unemployment insurance benefits. Or bring your last unemployment insurance record and the application card that was issued to you by the state employment office when you registered there for work.

4. Also, bring all decisions and rulings issued by the state employment office relating to your claim and referring to eligibility, disqualification, suspension, etc.

5. Also, bring any information that would show you were employed by the employer at the time he terminated his business: for example—payroll envelopes or W2 (withholding tax) forms.

VERIFICATION

In order to make sure that you receive the correct amount of benefit if you are eligible, information is gathered from federal and state government agencies and other sources. This often takes a long time so that even if you are found to be eligible to receive the benefits you may have to wait several months after the closing of the shop for your first check.

DECISION AND APPEAL

Your application will be reviewed by a local benefits committee and its recommendations will then be forwarded to the administrator of the fund by your local union severance department. His decision is final and binding unless it is appealed. A worker may file such an appeal with the appeals committee of the fund. The appeal must be made in writing within 15 days after the written notice of the administrator's decision is mailed to the applicant. Your local union severance department will help you prepare the appeal.

Prepared by the Supplementary Unemployment-Severance Benefits Fund, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

or

d) You were eligible for and claiming benefits under a state disability benefits law, or under a disability benefits plan established under the terms of a union agreement, and

4. You registered with and reported to a state employment office.

5. But you may NOT be eligible if

a) You failed or refused to accept employment deemed suitable, or

b) You received retirement benefits from the ILGWU National Retirement Fund.

You May Receive ONLY Weekly Supplementary Unemployment Benefits If—

You were out of work because your employer terminated but—

1. You then return and continue to work at the same premises with a different firm but where any of the previous owners or management personnel of your previous employer are connected with the different firm, or

2. You then return and continue to work at the same premises with a different firm but on the same or similar product, or

3. You then return and continue to work at different premises with a different firm but where any of the owners or management personnel of your previous employer are connected with the different firm and where you continue to work on the same or similar product.

4. Where in conjunction with the termination of your employer the union has arranged for your reemployment at an establishment related to the firm of your original employer.

How Much Severance Benefit?

The amount of your severance benefit is related to your average weekly wage and the number of consecutive years you were employed by the terminated employer.

An employee who has completed the following consecutive years of continuous employment with a terminated employer shall be entitled to receive the following severance benefit if his average weekly wage is:

	under $55.00	$55.00 to $64.99	$65.00 to $74.99	$75.00 to $84.99	$85.00 to $94.99	$95.00 and over
½ year but less than 2 years	$ 12.50	$ 15.00	$ 17.50	$ 20.00	$ 22.50	$ 25.00
2 years	25.00	30.00	35.00	40.00	45.00	50.00
2¼ years	29.17	35.00	40.83	46.67	52.50	58.33
2½ years	33.34	40.00	46.66	53.34	60.00	66.66
2¾ or 3 years	37.50	45.00	52.50	60.00	67.50	75.00
3¼ years	41.67	50.00	58.33	66.67	75.00	83.33
3½ years	45.84	55.00	64.16	73.34	82.50	91.66
3¾ or 4 years	50.00	60.00	70.00	80.00	90.00	100.00
4¼ years	54.17	65.00	75.83	86.67	97.50	108.33
4½ years	58.34	70.00	81.66	93.34	105.00	116.66
4¾ or 5 years	62.50	75.00	87.50	100.00	112.50	125.00
5¼ years	66.67	80.00	93.33	106.67	120.00	133.33
5½ years	70.84	85.00	99.16	113.34	127.50	141.66
5¾ or 6 years	75.00	90.00	105.00	120.00	135.00	150.00
6¼ years	79.17	95.00	110.83	126.67	142.50	158.33
6½ years	83.34	100.00	116.66	133.34	150.00	166.66
6¾ or 7 years	87.50	105.00	122.50	140.00	157.50	175.00
7¼ years	91.67	110.00	128.33	146.67	165.00	183.33
7½ years	95.84	115.00	134.16	153.34	172.50	191.66
7¾ or 8 years	100.00	120.00	140.00	160.00	180.00	200.00
8¼ years	104.17	125.00	145.83	166.67	187.50	208.33
8½ years	108.34	130.00	151.66	173.34	195.00	216.66
8¾ or 9 years	112.50	135.00	157.50	180.00	202.50	225.00
9¼ years	116.67	140.00	163.33	186.67	210.00	233.33
9½ years	120.84	145.00	169.16	193.34	217.50	241.66
9¾ or 10 years	125.00	150.00	175.00	200.00	225.00	250.00
10¼ years	129.17	155.00	180.83	206.67	232.50	258.33
10½ years	133.34	160.00	186.66	213.34	240.00	266.66
10¾ or 11 years	137.50	165.00	192.50	220.00	247.50	275.00
11¼ years	141.67	170.00	198.33	226.67	255.00	283.33
11½ years	145.84	175.00	204.16	233.34	262.50	291.66
11¾ or 12 years	150.00	180.00	210.00	240.00	270.00	300.00
12¼ years	154.17	185.00	215.83	246.67	277.50	308.33
12½ years	158.34	190.00	221.66	253.34	285.00	316.66
12¾ or 13 years	162.50	195.00	227.50	260.00	292.50	325.00
13¼ years	166.67	200.00	233.33	266.67	300.00	333.33
13½ years	170.84	205.00	239.16	273.34	307.50	341.66
13¾ or 14 years	175.00	210.00	245.00	280.00	315.00	350.00
14¼ years	179.17	215.00	250.83	286.67	322.50	358.33
14½ years	183.34	220.00	256.66	293.34	330.00	366.66
14¾ or 15 years	187.50	225.00	262.50	300.00	337.50	375.00
15¼ years	191.67	230.00	268.33	306.67	345.00	383.33
15½ years	195.84	235.00	274.16	313.34	352.50	391.66
15¾ or 16 years	200.00	240.00	280.00	320.00	360.00	400.00

How Much Supplementary Unemployment Benefit?

The amount of your supplementary benefit is related to your average weekly wage.

An employee whose average weekly wage was:	shall be entitled to receive a weekly supplementary unemployment benefit of:
under $55.00	$12.50
from $55.00 to $64.99	15.00
from $65.00 to $74.99	17.50
from $75.00 to $84.99	20.00
from $85.00 to $94.99	22.50
$95.00 and over	25.00

How Long Are Benefits Paid?

Benefits are paid for weeks of unemployment during the 52 weeks following the date of shop termination. The maximum number of weeks for which you may receive supplementary benefits is determined as follows:

An employee who has completed the following consecutive years of continuous employment with a terminated employer:	shall be entitled to receive a weekly supplementary unemployment benefit up to a maximum of:
½ year but less than 2 years	3 weeks
2 years	6 weeks
2¼ years	7 weeks
2½ years	8 weeks
2¾ or 3 years	9 weeks
3¼ years	10 weeks
3½ years	11 weeks
3¾ or 4 years	12 weeks
4¼ years	13 weeks
4½ years	14 weeks
4¾ or 5 years	15 weeks
5¼ years	16 weeks
5½ years	17 weeks
5¾ or 6 years	18 weeks
6¼ years	19 weeks
6½ years	20 weeks
6¾ or 7 years	21 weeks
7¼ years	22 weeks
7½ years	23 weeks
7¾ or 8 years	24 weeks
8¼ years	25 weeks
8½ years	26 weeks
8¾ or 9 years	27 weeks
9¼ years	28 weeks
9½ years	29 weeks
9¾ or 10 years	30 weeks
10¼ years	31 weeks
10½ years	32 weeks
10¾ or 11 years	33 weeks
11¼ years	34 weeks
11½ years	35 weeks
11¾ or 12 years	36 weeks
12¼ years	37 weeks
12½ years	38 weeks
12¾ or 13 years	39 weeks
13¼ years	40 weeks
13½ years	41 weeks
13¾ or 14 years	42 weeks
14¼ years	43 weeks
14½ years	44 weeks
14¾ or 15 years	45 weeks
15¼ years	46 weeks
15½ years	47 weeks
15¾ or 16 years	48 weeks

Benefits for Extended Unemployment

If your employer terminated on or after May 1, 1963, and you had been credited with at least nine (9) years of continuous employment then:

(a) For each benefit payment after the 26th week you are eligible to receive an "extended" benefit of 50% of your regular supplementary unemployment benefit until your eligibility is exhausted, and in addition:

(b) If you were continuously unemployed for one (1) year following the date the shop was terminated, you are eligible to receive an amount equivalent to the severance benefit previously authorized.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THIS ADDRESS is Dr. Thompson's side of a debate on integration with Attorney Felix LaPeyre of the Citizens Council of South Louisiana held in August, 1960, at St. Louis Cathedral School in New Orleans. College students of the school arranged the debate which attracted a big audience of both segregation and integration partisans and extensive publicity. The Southern Regional Council regards Dr. Thompson's "The Case for Integration" as a clear and explicit statement of Negro aims and an excellent expression by a man long and fervently attached to American ideals.

THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION

by

DANIEL C. THOMPSON

Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

INTRODUCTION

THE FOUNDERS of our Republic attempted to translate the principles of personal freedom and equality, as enunciated by our Judaeo-Christian tradition, into practical, political reality. According to them the ultimate reason for the institution of a state is to secure the equal rights of every citizen. They would have regarded as unChristian and undemocratic any attempt on the part of a government to guarantee any group of citizens rights and privileges withheld from any other group.

Because equal citizenship is the most essential element of our Republic

and the most sacred tradition in American society, leaders in American life have always recognized the fundamental importance of equal educational opportunities. This is so because it is a long established fact that whenever any group has access to superior educational opportunities, that group will also have the best opportunities to achieve high economic, social, and political status. Consequently, in order to keep a race or nation perpetually enslaved or oppressed, the oppressor must withhold from them educational equality. This is such a well known principle that Negro and white liberals have always argued that equal educational opportunities are absolutely essential if we are to achieve the democratic goals to which our nation is dedicated.

THE INTEGRATIONISTS' ARGUMENT

The segregationists use many arguments in order to rationalize the inequalities which have always existed in the educational opportunities in the United States. I shall point up several of their fallacies and attempt to give what seems to me to be the integrationists' point of view.

The Question of States Rights The main argument of the states righters is legalistic. According to them, the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States upholds the right of every state to set up any educational system it sees fit or to abolish at will any system it has.

Several things about the state righters' argument render it untenable. In the first place, segregationists who do most of the talking about states rights never mention them except when they try to find some legal justification for racial discrimination. The truth is, they are often precisely those who would depend heavily upon the federal government for economic support. They never invoke the states rights position when money is needed for highways, bridges, dams, price support, drought relief, or welfare.

Second, it overlooks entirely the fact that every American citizen, no matter in which state he resides, is first and foremost a citizen of the United States and as such is guaranteed by our federal government all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto. Moreover, the federal courts have persistently held that it is illegal for a local or state government to withhold from any citizen rights and privileges accorded by it to other citizens of equal qualification. This is a logical requirement, because the federal government recognizes equal citizenship responsibilities. Thus, during times of war or any other national crisis any citizen, in any state, may be called upon to perform whatever duty the federal government sees fit to impose upon him.

A third fallacy inherent in the states righters' argument is the tendency to overlook the fact that each state is an integral part of the union. This has

been a well established legal fact since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States which required every commonwealth, or state, to give up its individual sovereignty to the federal government. Consequently, no state can make any law that is in contradiction to federal constitutional law. This principle was dramatically validated by our Civil War, bitterly fought to establish the facts that a state may not secede from the Union and that sovereignty in the United States is centered in the federal government. Recently, on March 20, 1961 the United States Supreme Court held that the "Doctrine of Interposition" is "without substance."

To deny the supremacy of the federal government is a shortsighted and dangerous teaching. It overlooks years of fruitful cooperation among the several states which has made the United States the most prosperous, powerful, and respected nation in the world. This could not have been done if every state had remained sovereign.

The Question of Southern Tradition A second frequently heard argument on the part of the segregationists is that racial integration will destroy "sacred southern traditions." It might be pointed out that all traditions are not necessarily sacred. One could hardly call scalping, cannibalism, slavery, lynching, the disfranchisement of women, polygamy, the lily-white primary, sutteeism, and war "sacred"; yet each of these has been regarded as "sacred" at some time in history.

All thinking people know that when any tradition becomes outworn and inimical to the welfare of a race or nation, that tradition must be set aside and relegated to the memoirs of the passing generations and to the pages of history. Racial segregation is such a tradition. Respected Americans from every walk of life have borne testimony to the fact that racial segregation, as it exists in the United States, and particularly in the South, causes domestic disunity and endangers our international strength and prestige. This is so because throughout the world racism is a thoroughly discredited political ideology. Therefore, either the United States must give substance to its avowed belief in the principles of democracy or risk alienating its traditional allies and incurring the distrust of freedom-seeking emergent nations.

The Question of Time There are those who readily agree that segregation is an evil that sooner or later must be removed from our national life, but they insist that the time is not yet right.

First, some insist that Negroes are not yet ready for freedom and the responsibilities of full citizenship. Fair-minded people know that this is an overstatement; yet they will agree that no race, nation, or people can ever be altogether *ready* for freedom until they have first *received* freedom. The

integrationists would like to remind the South that for almost 100 years the segregationists have argued that Negroes are not yet ready to receive the benefits of first-class citizenship. Yet these same segregationists have done everything in their power, legally, extra-legally, and often illegally, to prevent Negroes from attaining the education which they know to be the prerequisite of effective citizenship. Thus, even now in some southern states, such as Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, there is not a single school in which Negro physicians, engineers or administrative experts may be trained. These are precisely the areas in which we will need a much larger number of highly trained persons, if we are to continue our leadership in the world of nations. There are in the whole South not more than 500 Negro engineers instead of the 30,000 or more this section of the United States should, in fact, produce.

Furthermore, it is regrettable that in the South where we have had recurring racial crisis for almost 100 years the political, economic and social leaders of the South flatly refuse, over and over again, to draw upon the leadership resources in the Negro community, even when the problem in question primarily affects Negroes. Thus, insofar as community, state and national affairs are concerned, segregationists would prevent Negroes from ever getting ready to participate fully in the citizenship process.

It must be pointed out, however, that despite limited opportunities and all kinds of legal barriers, Negro leaders are proud of the fact that among them some have managed to become as well prepared to assume even the most exacting demands of full citizenship as have any other people. Therefore, all but the blind, the misguided or the grossly uninformed must realize by now that unless Negroes are given the opportunity to enjoy equal freedom and assume responsibilities of citizenship incumbent upon every other citizen, our Republic "cannot long endure."

Are Negroes, then, ready for the integration for which they fight? The answer is twofold. Many are ready; many must be made ready. This is the real challenge to our educational system.

Second, some insist that white people are not yet ready. To some extent this could be true, because segregationists have done everything in their power to prevent white people from coming to know Negro people. They have confiscated books, ostracized leading citizens who dared to tell the truth about Negroes, passed numerous laws designed to prevent Negro and white people from getting to know one another and have brought pressure to bear upon all forms of mass media in an effort to prevent them from presenting Negroes in any role except that of servant or criminal. As a result, Negroes and whites tend to see each other in terms of stereotypes that foster suspicion, fear, distrust and hate. Therefore, whites, like Negroes, will never be ready for the

assumption of full, responsible citizenship until they, too, are allowed freedom of human association unrestricted by laws and so-called "sacred" traditions.

The Question of Communist Inspiration One of the most objectionable suggestions made by segregationists is that the Negro's fight for freedom and equality is Communist inspired. They tend to overlook the fact that the very foundation of our government presupposes freedom and equality for all people. To deny this borders on treason, because every one of our legal documents, from the Mayflower Compact to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, has as its central theme the essential equality of all citizens. Not only that, but America's defense of individual dignity and freedom has been the bulwark by which we have distinguished our country from every other nation in history. It would take hours, perhaps days, to quote all of the statements in defense of freedom and equality made by outstanding Americans from Thomas Jefferson to John F. Kennedy. The fact is, all leading American citizens, even the segregationists, have expressed a willingness to sacrifice everything on the altar of freedom and equality. Why then must an American citizen read Karl Marx or the speeches of Nikita Khrushchev in order to get the idea that freedom is a good thing and equality essential to human dignity!

The Question of Necessity Most segregationists would escape the challenge of a democratic education by pointing out that the only responsibility a society has is to provide "equal" education. They insist that this equality can take place on a segregated basis. They overlook the fact that even in 1896, when we were predominantly agrarian and when distance separated us from most other nations, there were leading Americans who said that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was undemocratic and an evil. Now that we are predominantly urban, and playing with intercontinental ballistic missiles with the same ease with which children play with toys, such a doctrine is not only unworkable domestically, but is unrealistic and dangerous in the world of nations.

There are many serious objections to the "separate but equal" doctrine. We need cite only three:

First, the South has made little or no attempt to make educational opportunities for Negroes equal to that provided for whites. The truth is, segregationists did not even give lip service to this doctrine until the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision was imminent.

Second, segregation, which presupposes inferiority, often has caused it, Negro children brought up in a segregated system of education have great

difficulty in overcoming the "badge" of inferiority implied by such a system.

Third, it gives a false sense of superiority to the segregating group. Psychologists and psychiatrists are still not sure which group of children is most damaged by the system of segregation perpetuated in the South. Where Negro children are likely to develop feelings of inferiority, white children are often infected with delusions of grandeur. This feeling gives rise to the unmodest, unreligious ond undemocratic statements that otherwise intelligent white people frequently make when they say unashamedly that they belong to a "superior race."

The Question of Mental Ability It has never been proven that any one race is inherently superior to any other race. Of course, there have been many "logical" arguments for and against the superior race theory. Some segregationists still feign a belief in this pseudo-scientific racist "doctrine" in order to justify their prejudices and validate their anti-Negro, anti-democratic contentions. They have parroted this "doctrine" for so long and their arguments for white supremacy are worn so thin that they hardly convince even their most loyal and emotionally disturbed followers. In fact, the Negroes' achievements over the past two decades in many fields—including the most mentally exacting occupations—have been so notable that even the arch segregationist, Herman Talmadge of Georgia, admitted on a nationwide broadcast that *he* no longer believed that Negroes, as a race, are mentally inferior to whites.

It is generally agreed among reputable psychologists and sociologists that at the present time there is no "culture free" intelligence test in use. This means that "intelligence" tests measure not only "native" ability, but also learning. Examples of this are legion. The following are typical:

Rural children consistently make lower scores on "intelligence" tests than do children reared in cities.

Children selected at random from higher income or professional families as a rule make a considerably better showing on "intelligence" tests than do children who are economically and culturally deprived.

United States children, who have been trained to compete, always make higher scores than children from relatively non-competitive cultures such as we find in non-industrial societies.

Among twins, even identical twins, who are reared apart, we find that those reared in culturally "favorable" homes score much higher on "intelligence" tests than their counterparts who are reared in culturally "unfavorable" homes.

Northern whites consistently make higher "intelligence" scores than do southern whites.

Northern Negroes have always done markedly better on "intelligence" tests than have southern Negroes.

Negro soldiers from New York made higher average scores on the Army Alpha test than did white soldiers from certain southern states.

Perhaps the soundest conclusion on this issue was that of Dr. Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, one of the most respected psychologists in the world. He says that "there can be no doubt that an improvement in environment, with everything that this implies, can do a great deal to raise the intelligence-test scores."

Negroes, then, who have the largest proportion of their people in impoverished social and cultural environments, can be expected to make considerably lower scores, as a group, than members of the white race. Yet in both races we have both idiots and geniuses.

The Question of Academic Standards Because the South has traditionally provided inferior academic opportunities for Negro children, some Negro children are behind white children in academic development. Nobody denies this. As a matter of fact, this is the main reason why segregated education must go. The great fallacy in the segregationists' argument is this: They insist that because some Negro children do not measure up to the level of achievement of some white children, Negro children must continue to be subjected to lower educational standards. This is, of course, circular reasoning. There will always be inferior academic products so long as we tolerate inferior or segregated educational systems.

The basic consideration should not be a question of race, but of academic planning, because Negro parents are as anxious as are white parents that their children receive the best education available. This might mean the setting up of three school systems: one for superior students, one for mediocre or average students and one for slow learners. Or it might mean three different groupings within a single grade within the same school. But, whatever the system, it should have nothing to do with race.

Evidence bears out one definite fact: segregationists are not primarily interested in preserving academic standards. For example, if that were so, then they would have no objections to the enrollment of the several Negro students now qaulified for the Benjamin Franklin School for superior students in New Orleans.

The Question of Moral Standards Some segregationists attempt to frighten white parents by predicting that, when Negro children are permitted to attend schools with white children, moral standards will be lowered as a result. Negro leaders readily admit that juvenile delinquency is a serious problem in the Negro community, but they resent the suggestion that Negro youth have a monopoly in this regard. Every informed citizen knows that juvenile delinquency is a national problem of the first magnitude. It is not confined

to any one section of the United States or to any one race. "Blackboard jungles" are not peculiar to the Negro community.

The Question of Health Standards It is likely that children who are born and reared in impoverished homes may have, on the whole, more days of sickness than do children from more fortunate environments. If this is so, then the problem of health should not be confused with that of segregation, because illness is a ubiquitous problem not confined to any racial group.

No parent wants his child to be exposed to contagious diseases. When children become infected with contagious diseases, we must necessarily find some way to isolate them, whether they are Negro or white. It is just as unfair to allow a Negro student to become infected by a Negro student as it is to allow a white student to become infected by Negro students. The problem is not one of race but of health regulations. These two issues must not be confused. Negro parents, therefore, join wholeheartedly with white parents in encouraging school officials to take every necessary precaution to prevent any child, regardless of race, from needless exposure to contagious diseases.

The Question of Negro-White Student Ratio One vocal member of the Orleans Parish School Board insists that, if integration of the public schools of New Orleans becomes a reality, every school in the city will eventually have more Negro students than white students enrolled. This statement is obviously intended to frighten white parents into believing that eventually they will have to send their children to "Negro schools."

I am sure that this distinguished citizen knows that this is a gross exaggeration. However, if this eventuality does become a reality, integrationists insist that the principle of equal educational opportunities not be compromised, and that white students who attend a school where the majority are Negroes not suffer academically. Besides, there is every reason to believe that white students have as much ability to adjust to new social situations as do Negro students. And, over the years, Negro students have attended, without noticeable ill effects, schools where they have often been outnumbered by white students a thousand to one. So, if we sincerely desire to equalize educational opportunities for our youth, it will make little difference whether the majority in a given school is made up of whites or Negroes.

The Question of Violence Segregationists seem to delight in frightening parents into believing that racial integration in our schools must necessarily lead to violence. This has been their most unfair and demagogic argument. This argument has been used to discourage desegregation in interstate transportation, street cars and buses, recreational facilities and even professional

societies. *The truth is, violence has never occurred except when a few white segregationists have deliberately inspired it.* This was certainly the case when public schools were desegregated in New Orleans on November 14, 1960.

In the first place, five- and six-year olds hardly feel so strongly about "sacred" southern traditions that they are willing to become bloody about them.

In the second place, this argument is unfair to the ethical and moral teachings of our churches and parents. It suggests that little real effort has been made to instill in our youth the love for fellow men and the impracticality of violence which Jesus Christ demonstrated in both His teachings and death.

A third indication that this argument is fallacious is that one of the most heroic pages in the history of our country is the story of the bravery, courage and tolerance manifested by Negro children in their fight for freedom during the last six years. Some of them have been spit upon, insulted, beaten and jailed, but they did not retaliate. There is reason to believe that there is the same potential courage, tolerance and morality among white youth.

The Question of the Legality of the May 17, 1954 United States Supreme Court Decision On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court in *Brown v. Topeka* unanimously decided that segregation in public education deprives Negroes of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. Furthermore, the Justices quoted with approval a lower court holding:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the education and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.

Segregationists are loud in denunciation of this decision. Most of them insist that it is not the "Law of the Land." Some even advocate open defiance. Public officials have been known to encourage white people to defy all court orders designed to implement this decision. They have lauded the "character and courage" of those who participate in riots calculated to frustrate federal court integration orders. Even the most "liberal" elected officials representing the South advocate the use of all "legal" means to circumvent this decision. Indeed, this was the intent of the "Southern Manifesto," signed by 96 southern congressmen, and has been the theme, in recent years, in all southern legislatures, where hundreds of anti-integration laws have been passed.

Segregationists give many reasons for defying the 1954 decision. Some of their denunciations are pretty farfetched. They claim that the 14th Amendment itself is unconstitutional because it has not been properly ratified; that *Brown v. Topeka* was a "political decision"; that it was more legislative than judicial; that it was Communist-inspired and, above all, that psychological and sociological interpretations overshadowed strictly legal precedents.

The integrationists do not minimize the "psychological and sociological" overtones of this decision. Indeed, they contend that *all* laws should be based upon such facts, that when any law is devoid of humanistic and scientific considerations it is likely to be unjust or, at best, sterile. All laws in a democratic society should reflect the enlightened national social consciousness. Only in this way can a government ensure the psychic health of individual citizens and the general welfare. This is precisely the basis upon which new laws are justified and old laws are modified or repealed. This is the genius of the flexible constitution under which our government operates: Orderly changes can be made when they are deemed necessary and right without total revolution.

The cardinal principle of Americanism is this: *Laws in themselves are not sacred, but are designed to protect sacred principles—freedom, equality and individual dignity*. Therefore, laws may be repealed when necessary, but these principles must be preserved at all costs.

Although segregationists deny the propriety of the court's consideration of psychological and sociological principles when civil rights of Negroes are concerned, they quickly invoke them when their own privileges are challenged. For example, in each of the questions raised in this paper, except the question of "states rights," the basic arguments against racial integration presented by the white supremacists are inherently psychological and sociological. The segregationists are caught in a strange dilemma, dramatically highlighted in a statement made by Attorney Wade Heaton. In his argument begging the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to preserve segregation in the public schools of East Baton Rouge and St. Helena Parishes and in the six Louisiana trade schools, he pleaded that the court should "take into consideration psychological and sociological" factors.

The Question of Interracial Marriage It is not easy to understand or analyze the emotional content which the concept of interracial marriage has for white supremacists. There are, however, some suggestive explanations:

1. Some scholars hold that there are white people who actually believe in the myths of "racial purity" and "racial superiority." These beliefs persist despite the fact that racial "mixing" has been going on for thousands of years, and all races are "mixed." There is no "pure" race. Furthermore, there is no

scientific evidence that biological or cultural ill effects have accrued from it.

2. Another plausible explanation is that white supremacists have ironically "over-advertised" the virility of the Negro man. Their own fabricated image of a super-sexed Negro male has been so thoroughly propagandized that, like a Frankenstein monster, it functions to threaten the security of its white creators. Thus, it is not uncommon for apparently logical white men to fall victims to an obviously illogical system of contradictions. On the one hand, they argue that the "big, black, burly Negro" is little more than a "beast," and completely undesirable. On the other hand, they hold, just as strongly, that if white women are allowed to come into social contact with Negro men, a dangerously large number of them will willingly choose Negro mates in preference to white mates.

3. Because southern white men have historically exploited the Negro female, some scholars have suggested that white males have developed an unconscious sense of guilt. They reason that this guilt feeling has become the center of a fear complex in which some white men actually imagine that somehow the Negro male will get revenge by marrying their daughters.

Whatever may be the explanation, white supremacists tend to react violently and illogically when interracial marriage is discussed. All of the unfounded fears associated with race relations come to focus in this concept. Their avowed fear that there will be wholesale marriages between Negro men and white women is so real to them that it is used to defend the most drastic measures to keep Negroes in their so-called "place." It is the basis upon which they justify economic discrimination, inadequate housing, the barring of Negroes from public-supported facilities, discrimination in public transportation, inequalities in educational opportunities, disfranchisement and the withholding of the right to equal communication facilities.

Perhaps the basic fact overlooked is this: according to Western tradition, particularly in the United States, every individual is free to choose his own mate. Therefore, when an individual is willing to risk the inconveniences and social ostracism that may be attendant upon interracial marriage, he has the right to do so. Nevertheless, this fact is clear: So long as race is regarded as an important value, as it is today in our society, there will continue to be very little cause for alarm over the number of interracial marriages that will take place. Conversely, when race ceases to have this enhanced social value or to carry special privileges and special disadvantages, then it will really make little difference whether one marries a Negro or white person of his own choosing.

WHAT, THEREFORE, IS THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION? Stated simply, it is this: *No people, regardless of race, can develop their fullest potentials in social isolation.* All great civilizations, all rich cultures and all

truly great men have achieved their greatness as a result of maximum exposure to the cultures and achievements of other peoples and individuals. They have developed at the "crossroads" of history, where varied traditions, customs and ideas are blended.

The system of racial segregation in American society is specifically designed to isolate Negroes from contacts with other racial groups. This racial apartheid restricts the social, cultural and psychological development of Negroes. Yet even a superficial knowledge of southern history reveals that white people also suffer. Their humanistic outlook and psychological development have been blunted by the doctrine and practices of social separation. This is convincingly evidenced by southern traditions that condone oppressive legislation, differential administration of justice and outright mob rule.

CONCLUSION

The Negro realizes that if he is to develop to full measure his several talents, it is necessary that he, like members of other racial groups, have an opportunity to grow in all directions, unrestricted by so-called "sacred" southern traditions, "black codes" or psychological restraints. In other words, he must be able to enter the main stream of world culture with the same protection, opportunities and incentives as other free individuals with whom he must inevitably compete. He knows full well that with the transcendence of geographical barriers, he is, whether he desires it or not, a citizen of the world. He claims, therefore, the heritage bequeathed to men everywhere—the right to "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." Not only does the Negro need freedom in order to develop his fullest potential, but his talents are desperately needed by our country today in its struggle for political, economic and ideological leadership in the world of nations. The fact was given focus in 1954 when the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously held that education "is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the Armed Forces . . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship."

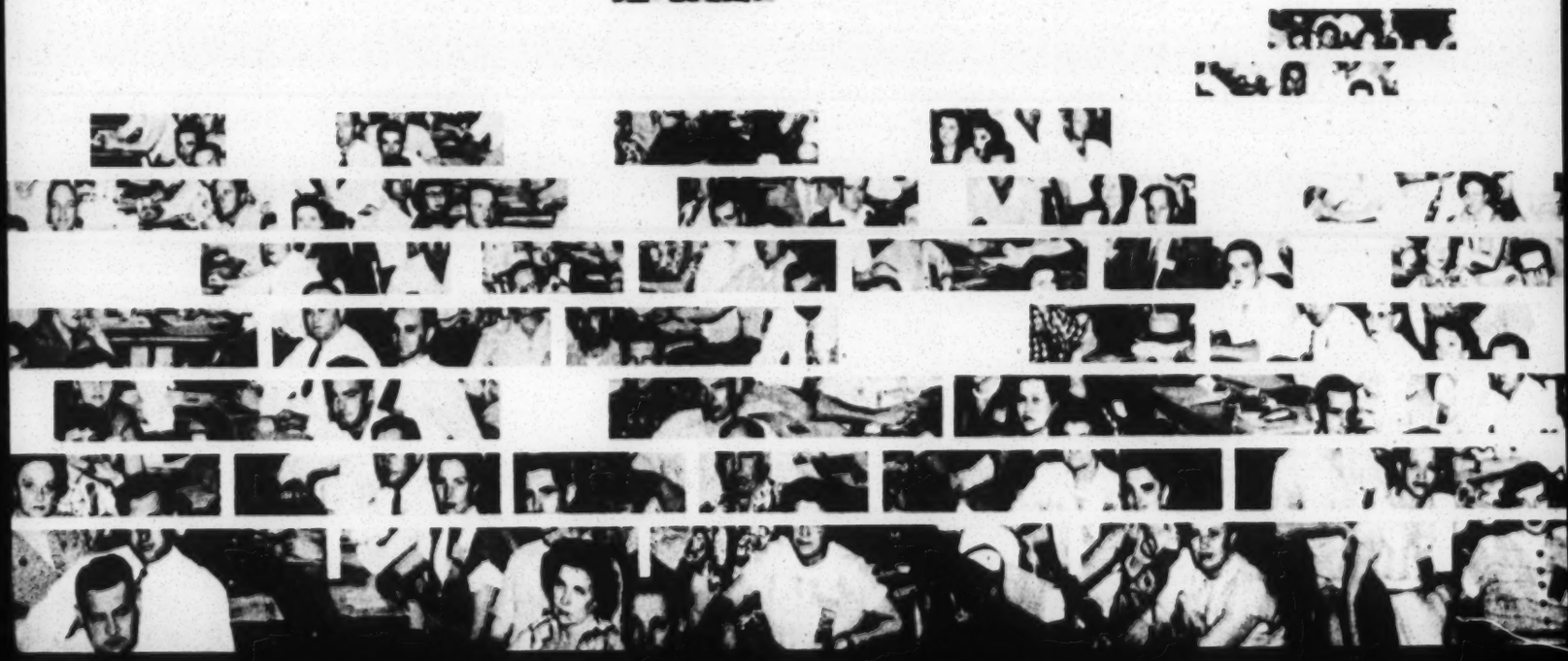
When, therefore, is the time to end oppression, degradation, segregation, discrimination and the withholding of inalienable rights? History, sound government and conscience all testify that *THE TIME IS NOW*. Justice is not a commodity whose attainment can be postponed. Right cannot be silenced by expediency. Evil cannot be given the sanction of legitimacy. And, finally, one sure fact of history should guide the United States and each individual citizen in whatever deliberations are undertaken: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

1961, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia

GUIDE TO GOOD STEWARDSHIP • INFORMATION ON

ORGANIZING

TRAINING



CWA EDUCATION DEPT.

WORKBOOK № 3

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Article XIII, Section 8, Part (e) of the CWA constitution mandates each local to establish and maintain an organizing committee. This is obligatory for each local.

WHO IS YOUR ORGANIZING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN?

Name _____ Department _____ Location _____

COMMITTEE MEMBERS _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE?

_____

_____

_____

_____

THE NONMEMBER FILE

NOTES

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

FORM H-15-4-7-52

Potential Membership Record Card—CWA

NON-MEMBER RECORD

Name _____ Local Number _____

Address _____

Phone No.: _____ WORK LOCATION _____

Job Title _____ SERVICE DATE _____

DEPARTMENT _____

DATE	UNION REP.	REMARKS

YOUR RIGHTS

Federal Labor Management Law specifically gives you the right to organize into a Union. It also gives you the right to operate the union without interference from the employer. These rights are further enforced by your CWA contract. Because of the law and the contract, we have the machinery through which to organize. We can:

1. Appoint stewards as required to carry on organizing activities.
2. Talk union on the job on the same terms as you would talk about anything else, provided that we do not interfere with the work operation or violate accepted company rules.
3. Pass out handbills to people whom our Union represents.
4. Use bulletin boards for organizing activities within the limits permitted by our contract.
5. Sign up nonmembers on nonwork time, on company property, in nonwork areas, provided that we do not interfere with work operations.

These are our rights and when properly exercised, make it possible for us to carry out our Union obligation to sign the nonmembers into CWA.

How to analyze the nonmember's attitude

1. Get his or her background.
2. Get his or her relationship with the Union and fellow workers.
3. Get his or her relationship with the Company.

Based on this information we can fit the facts together and analyze for ourselves the nonmember's attitude. From this analysis we can then devise a proper approach for each individual in an attempt to change their attitude.

APPROACH

Based on facts about the individual's personality and should be personal, friendly and courteous.

There should be no arguments with nonmembers. No matter what reception may be obtained from any individual nonmember, the Union representative should remain friendly. What we want to do is contact as many nonmembers as possible and urge them to sign. Many will sign just because we have contacted them. If any want to discuss the matter, take time out for friendly discussion.

SAMPLE CASE

Betty Jones is an operator. She has been with the Company for one year. She worked for the Company five years ago for a short period. She said, "I didn't belong to the Union then; why should I belong now?" She goes on to tell you that she doesn't see any point in paying dues, that you don't get anything for your money, and besides she came to work to make money to help support her family and she would rather spend the money on something for her family than on Union dues. She says, "I don't have anything against the Union, some of my best friends are members," and that her husband is a member of another Union. "But I don't see any reason why I should join, and besides my immediate supervisor is very nice to me, and also that all the girls seem to like me."

1. What is her background? _____

2. What is her relationship with the Union (fellow workers)? _____

3. What is her relationship with the Company? _____

APPROACH _____

REAL CASE

HOW TO ANALYZE THE NONMEMBER'S ATTITUDE

1. What is his or her background?

2. What is his or her relationship with the Union (fellow workers)?

3. What is his or her relationship with the Company?

APPROACH

REAL CASE

1. What is his or her background?

2. What is his or her relationship with the Union (fellow workers)?

3. What is his or her relationship with the Company?

APPROACH

STEWARD'S SYSTEM

The basic machinery for signing up the nonmember is and must be the steward system. There are, however, special situations in which other methods must be employed. These special methods must be viewed as supplementary to the steward system and not a substitute for it.

Sign-up days

House calls

Social contacts

NOTES

THE COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP Local .....

I, ... First Name (Print) ..... Middle Name (Print) ..... Last Name (Print)

Address ..... Street ..... City ..... Tel. No. .....

Employed By ..... Give Name of Company ..... At ..... City and State

As ..... Give Present Title ..... Date Employed ..... Dept. .....

Do hereby apply for membership in *THE COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA*, and agree to abide by its Constitution and the By-Laws of the Local.

Signed ..... Full name of Applicant

Attest ..... on ..... Month-Day ..... 19 ..... Year

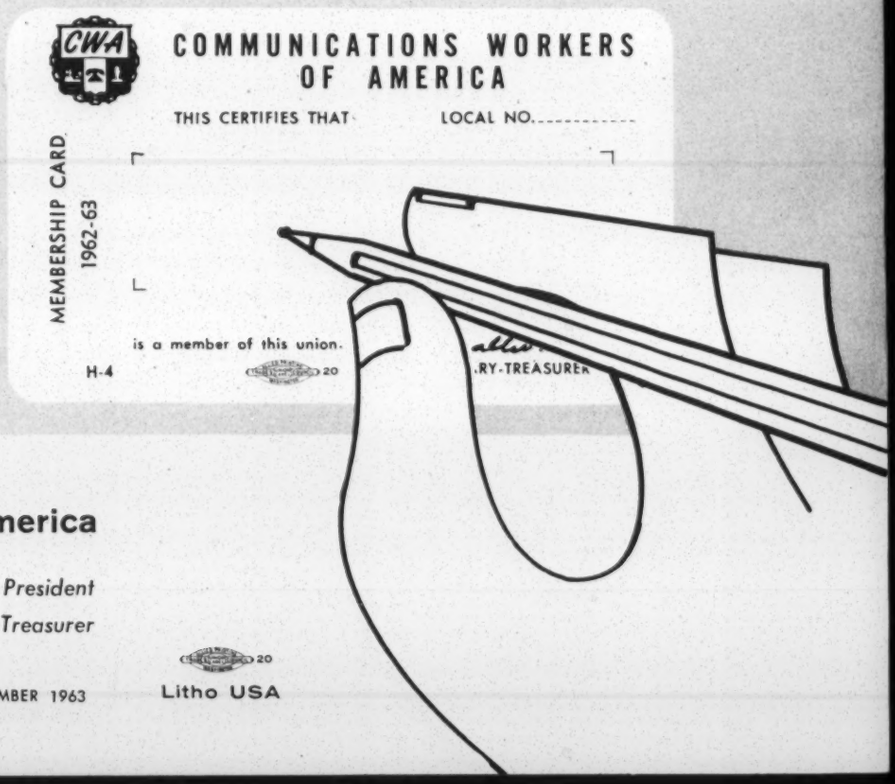
H7 ORG.—8 56

ORGANIZING GUIDES

1. **Keep a record of the nonmembers in your group.**
2. **New employees should be contacted immediately upon coming to work.**
3. **Contact each nonmember as often as possible.**
4. **Be friendly and courteous.** Never argue, but discuss ways he or she should join.
5. **Be informed about CWA.** If a person asks you a question that you cannot answer, do not try to bluff. Be honest and say you don't know, but then make it your business to get the answer and report back to the person.
6. **Talk the Union up on the Job.** Have an adequate supply of CWA literature.
7. **Follow up your contacts.** If a person wants to think it over, go back for his or her decision.
8. **Seek assistance.** Pass your problem nonmembers on to the Organizing Committee or local officers for further contact.
9. **Examine all anti-union attitudes.** Use the analyzing technique you have been trained in and develop a proper approach for each individual nonmember.
10. **To organize effectively** you must be well informed about CWA and **believe in CWA.** Remember that your personal convictions are the most effective way of convincing other employees to become members.

Tell them why you belong, and what CWA means to you!

Help yourself and your fellow workers by building CWA
Sign the nonmember today!



Communications Workers of America

J.A. Beirne, *International President*
W.A. Smallwood, *Secretary-Treasurer*

SEPTEMBER 1963
20
Litho USA

*"It is time NOW . . ."**

some questions and answers on the civil rights bill

* "We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time NOW to write the next chapter—and to write it in the books of law." —

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *in an address to a joint session of Congress, 11/27/63*

Statistical Report 1962 - 63

ANNUAL

July 1, 1962 - June 30, 1963

Number of persons trained at Dorchester----------395

Number of classes conducted----------366

Number of persons in classes----------5,623

Number of persons registered----------17,575
(Students & others influenced by teachers)

WORKSHOPS

June 18 - 22, 1962	30 Students
August 6 - 10	56 Students
September 17 - 21	36 Students
November 5 - 9	56 Students
January 14 - 18, 1963	34 Students
February 18 - 22	47 Students
March 18 - 22	30 Students
April 22 - 27	49 Students
June 17 - 21	57 Students
	395

REFRESHER

September 14 - 16	14 Students
November 2 - 4	20 Students
January 11 - 13	46 Students
	80

Number of States Included:

10

Number of counties:

125 +

Number of counties per state		Number of schools per state
Alabama	13	60
Arkansas	1	1
Georgia	43	102
Louisiana	7	17
Mississippi	9	59
North Carolina	7	24
South Carolina	39	89
Tennessee	3	7
Texas	1	3
Virginia	2	4
	125	366

Participants PER State (Workshop)

Alabama	52
Arkansas	4
Georgia	84
Louisiana	37
Mississippi	81
North Carolina	29
South Carolina	83
Tennessee	4
Texas	1
Virginia	20
	395

OTHER ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY TEACHERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

5 NAACP Membership Campaigns

151 Voter Registration Organization and canvassing, providing transportation, assurance, etc.

7 PTA

4	Masonic and other Lodge and Fraternal Organizations & Social Clubs
3	Conferences with local officials (elected) on rights of minorities and needs of Negro citizens
2	Assisting voters at the polls
18	Social Welfare activities: securing food for needy children, setting up office, taking expectant mothers to clinics, doning blood, visiting jails, help attain social security help mothers secure birth certificates
30	Organizing and/or work with civic groups; adult, youth, women's groups, political organizations, etc., voters leagues
3	Getting library open after schools, on Saturdays and during summer
10	Individual contacts, educational problems: organizing kindergarten, better educational facilities committee
2	Job opportunities
3	Helping SNCC efforts, sit-ins, non-violent workshops
7	Work with Human Relation organizations
14	Making speeches
3	Distributing voter registration and citizenship school material
4	Working with Justice Department to secure registration rights for Negroes
1	Banking
1	ARA
1	Agricultural Workshop
1	Radio Announcements
2	4-H Club
1	Making applications
4	Opened recreation center
1	Civil Defense
3	Home Demonstration

1	Writing letters to Federal Judge seeking registration rights for Negroes
1	Worked on Candidate selection committee
10	Helped to secure street lights, improved roads, traffic signals, telephones, roads, sewage
1	March of Dimes drive
1	Securing hospital services
1	Organized investigating committees
1	Organized county improvement association
1	Conducted classes in "Second step Political Education", (Negro History, health, housing, law, citizenship)
1	Publicizing registration day in local churches
1	Leading freedom songs
7	Organize and attend Mass meetings
1	Organized Boy's club
11	Organized prayer meetings from church to church, organized and worked with church groups
1	Organized Cultural Activities Group
1	Fund raising for Freedom
2	Credit Unions
5	Discussion Groups
9	Participated in Racial Demonstrations
2	Better service from welfare and police dept.
1	Taught by role-playing
1	Organized Community Co-op Store
2	Helping domestic labour get better pay
3	Rung Freedom telephone
2	Block parties
1	Acted as Marriage Counsellor
2	Went to jail

1 Clean community

1 Teach public manners

356

PAGINATION INCORRECT

SEMI-ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT

June 1963 - November 1963

Number of persons trained at Dorchester. 226

Number of states represented. 11

Number of classes conducted after training. 277
(Breakdown into counties follows)

Number of persons registered. 9,575
(Students and others influenced by Citizenship Training)

Number of persons in classes. 3,692

NUMBER TRAINED AT FIVE-DAY WORKSHOP

DATES	STUDENTS
June 17 - 21, 1963	57
August 19 - 23	65
September 16 - 20	36
November 18 - 22	68
	226

NUMBER ATTENDING REFRESHER COURSE

DATES	STUDENTS
August 16 - 18, 1963	52

STATES INCLUDED

Alabama	Mississippi
Arkansas	North Carolina
Florida	South Carolina
Georgia	Tennessee
Louisiana	Texas

Virginia

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS PER STATE

Alabama	25
Arkansas	5
Florida	5
Georgia	46
Louisiana	10
Mississippi	41
North Carolina	11
South Carolina	55
Tennessee	8
Texas	5
Virginia	15
	226

NUMBER OF CLASSES CONDUCTED (STATE & COUNTY)

STATE & COUNTY	CLASSES
Alabama	
Calhoun	1
Chacton	2
Dallas	2
Elmore	1
Etowah	5
Jefferson	6
Montgomery	3
Perry	4
	24
Arkansas	
Pine Bluff	2
Florida	
Palm Beach	1
Georgia	
Bibb	2
Chatham	15
Clinch	5
DeKalb	1

Dougherty	3
Emanuel	14
Fulton	4
Lee	1
Liberty	1
Muscogee	1
Richmond	1
Sumter	1
Tatnall	11
Telfair	3
Wheeler	6
	72

Louisiana

Cadale	3
Caddo	7
Calcasieu	1
Iberville	2
Jackson	1
Orleun	1
	16

Mississippi

Bolivar	4
Coahoma	3
Forrest	2
Holmes	4
Leake	2
Leflore	34
Marshall	1
Washington	2
	52

North Carolina

Craven	3
Jones	1
Martin	1
	5

South Carolina

Aiken	2
Abbeyville	1
Bamberg	2
Beaufort	5
Calhoun	2
Charleston	7
Chester	1
Dillon	1
Edgefield	1
Fairfield	5
Greenville	2
Hampton	5
Jasper	6

Lexington	2
McCormick	4
Newberry	11
Orangeburg	2
Richland	8
Sumter	8
Union	1
	76

Tennessee

Franklin	2
Hamilton	1
Madison	2
	5

Texas

Waskon	1
Harrison	2
	3

Virginia

Danville	3
Dinwiddie	3
Pittsylvania	13
Prince Edwards	2
	21

OTHER ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY TEACHERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

2 Red Cross Blood Donors

1 March of Dimes Drive Participant

147 Voter Registration

4 Conference with Local Officials

2 Organizing Community Clubs

12 Transport People to Court House

2 Assist at Court House

1 Active in NAACP

2 Assist in Trift Sale

8 Attending Mass Meetings

3 Civic League Organizations

10 Recruit for Citizenship Workshops

2 Assist in Securing Negroes to Work at Polls

2 Negotiated for Negro Workers in All-White Shirt Factory

1 Teaching Bible School

2 Letter Writing to Officials of City for Better Conditions

4 Participated in Discussion Groups on Problems of Community

1 Canvassed Military Base for Registration of Military Personnel

3 Organized Club of Citizenship School Graduates

3 Petitioned and Obtaines Better Roads

6 Canvassed to Get Streets Paves, Better Lights, etc.

1 Petitioned for Improved Sewage

2 Registering High School Students as Voting Age is Reached

1 Baby-Sitting while Parents Vote

6 Encouraging People to Pay Poll Tax

5 Aiding the Poor and Distributing Clothing

4 Influencing Negroes to Demand More Money on Jobs

10 Community Improvement

1 Health-Welfare Organization

2 Telephoning for Community Meetings

3 PTA

2 Aiding Handicapped Persons

2 Discouraging School Dropouts

1 Participant in Fund Raising Drive to Aid Students in College

1 Assist People Obtain Welfare Aid

1 Citizenship Class Aided in Administration of Salk Vaccine

2 Instrumental in Encouraging the Hiring of Negro Clerks

31 Participated in Demonstrations for Civil Rights

1 Organized Youth Group of NAACP, Junior Group of Boy Scouts, Brownies

1 Distributing Freedom Literature

1 Formed Quilting Clubs to Help Economic Situation of Community

2 Church Speeches for Freedom

ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT

June 1963 - June 1964

Number of persons trained 502

Number of states represented.....12

Number of classes conducted after training.....413

Number of persons in classes 6,581

Number of persons registered.....25,962
(Students and others influenced by Citizenship Training)

NUMBER TRAINED AT FIVE-DAY WORKSHOP

Dates	Students
June 17 - 21, 1963	57
August 19 - 23	65
September 16 - 20	36
November 18 - 22	68
January 6 - 10, 1964 (Penn Center)	43
February 17 - 21	63
March 23 - 27	46
April 27 - May 1	36
June 15 - 19 (Bricks)	42
June 22 - 26	46
	502

NUMBER ATTENDING REFRESHER COURSE

Dates	Students
August 16 - 18, 1963	52
January 3 - 5, 1964	35
	87

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS PER STATE

Alabama	44
Arkansas	8
Florida	7
Georgia	75
Louisiana	32
Mississippi	82
North Carolina	64
South Carolina	132
Tennessee	21
Texas	6
Vermont	11
Virginia	20
	502

NUMBER OF CLASSES CONDUCTED (STATE & COUNTY)

State & County	Classes
Alabama	
Calhoun	2
Dallas	4
Etowah	7
Jefferson	9
Montgomery	4
Perry	7
	33

Arkansas

Clark	4

Georgia

Bibb	3
Chatham	20
Dougherty	4
Emanuel	18
Jefferson	2
Lee	2
Muscogee	2
Richmond	2
Tatnall	13
Telfair	5
	71

Louisiana

Caddo	5
Calcasieu	3
Rosedale	1
Rapides	1
	10

Mississippi

Bolivar	7
Coahoma	4
Forrest	6
Holmes	7
Leakes	3
Leflore	43
Madison	1
Oklibbeha	1
Sunflower	1
Washington	4
	77

North Carolina

Bertie	1
Craven	4
Onslow	1
	6

South Carolina

Aiken	3
Allendale	2
Beaufort	7
Berkeley	1
Calhoun	3
Charleston	4
Craven	1
Dorchester	2
Edgefield	2
Fairfield	3
Georgetown	1
Greenwood	2
Greenville	8
Hampton	6
Jasper	10
Kelton	1
Lexington	5
Newberry	21
Orangeburg	3
Richland	15
Saluda	3
Sumter	10
Union	3
	116

Tennessee

Davidson	1
Franklin	3
Hamilton	3
Haywood	4
	11

Texas

Smith	2

Virginia

Danville	5
Dinwiddie	4
Pittsylvania	15
Prince Edwards	3
	27

OTHER ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY TEACHERS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

106 Voter Registration

12 Transporting People to the Courthouse

6 Recruiting for Citizenship Classes

4 Financial Support to Civil Rights Organizations

2 Organizing Singing Groups

2 Informing People of Community of Legal Rights (i.e. Unlawful Arrest)

3 Awakening of Awareness of Good Citizenship

15 Helping Elderly People Get Social Security

12 Helping Widows & Disables Persons Receive Pensions & Welfare Aid

2 Seeking the Help of Businessmen to Encourage Better Business Transactions

4 Encouraging Ministers & Teachers to Participate in Civil Rights Struggle

6 Instructions on Civil Rights Bill

4 Encouraging Negroes to Seek Better Jobs

1 Assisting in School Desegregation

2 Assisting in Tutorial Program

3 Teaching Illiterates to Sign Own Checks

1 Setting up Committee to Implement Civil Rights Bill

1 Sponsoring Educational Trips

6 Community Work

2 Natipnal Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

6 Work in Mississippi Freedom Registration

1 Seeking Police Protection for Community

8 Seeking Better Roads and Streets for Community

4 Mobilizing Community for Integregation

13 Public Addresses

5 Parents Teachers Association (PTA)

9 Community Clean-Up Drives

4 Recreation for Teens

2 Volunteer Hospital Work

25 Participation in Demonstrations

3 Organizing Citizenship Clubs

2 Discouraging School Drop-Outs

1 Encouraging Military to Participate in Civil Rights Movements

3 Working in Mississippi Summer Project

2 Attending Classes in Mississippi Summer Project

1 Bail Bond Solicitor

1 Deputy Registrar in Freedom Registration

6 Work in Food & Clothing Project for COFO in Mississippi

1 Help Elect Persons for Public Office

9 Attending Precinct Meetings

15 Negotiate with City Officials

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, 1964

This historic bill was signed into law on July 2, 1964. The eleven titles are listed below. Find more information on each one and discuss it. How does your community measure up?

TITLE 1 Protection Of Voting Rights

11 Relief Against Discrimination Of Places Of Public Accommodations

111 Desegregation Of Public Facilities

1V Desegregation Of Public Education

V Commission On Civil Rights

V1 Nondiscrimination In Federally Assisted Programs

V11 Equal Employment Opportunity

V111 Registration And Voting Statistics

1X Removal Proceedings In Civil Rights Cases

X Establishment Of Community Relations Service

X1 Miscellaneous: Financing, Serverability, Preemption

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE

1965

1. Name_____
Last First Middle

2. Address_____
Street, RFD, etc. City County State

3. Sex - Male ( ) Female ( ) Age_____

4. Number of years completed in school (Circle One) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College (Circle One) 1 2 3 4

5. Can you read? Yes ( ) No ( )

6. Can you write? Yes ( ) No ( )

7. Voting Questions:

(a) Are you registered? Yes ( ) No ( ) If not, why?_____

_____

(b) Have you ever voted? Yes ( ) No ( ) If not, why?_____

_____

8. Are you working? Yes ( ) No ( )

9. Where are you working?_____
City & State

10. What type of work do you do?_____

11. How much money do you earn? Day $_____Week $_____

12. Are you married? Yes ( ) No ( )

13. If you have children, how many?_____

14. How many sisters and brothers do you have? Sisters_____Brothers_____

15. How many of your sisters and brothers have left your home area?_____

Where did they go?_____

Why do you think they left?_____

16. How many of your children have left home?_____

Where did they go_____

Why do you think they left?_____

17. If you are not working, but have a family, how do you support your family?_____

_____

18. Problems:

(a) In what way do you believe Negro people could be helped to become first-class American citizens?_____

_____

(b) What would be most helpful? (Check four of the most important ones in order 1, 2, 3, 4):

(1) Guaranteed-minimum wage by government _____

(2) Adult-literacy classes _____

(3) Pre-kindergarten-preparatory schools _____

(4) Adult-retraining schools _____

(5) Medical clinics _____

(6) Federal registrars - poll watchers _____

(7) Legal help and lawyers provided to communities upon request _____

(8) Child-care clinics for working mothers _____

(9) Economic aid to provide school children with clothes, spending money, etc. _____

19. Who are the strong Negro leaders in your community? (You don't have to mention them by name - check) Ministers____Teachers____Businessmen____Local People____ Other_____

20. What conditions seem to bother you the most?_____

_____

_____

_____

21. How can these conditions be changed?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Has the workshop been helpful to you? Yes ( ) No ( ) Esplain_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. How can the workshop be improved?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1945

From the Offices of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)
SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE (R-N.J.)
SENATOR HUGH SCOTT (R-PA.)

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY AMs
DECEMBER 31, 1965

3 REPUBLICAN SENATORS URGE PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON HOUSING DISCRIMINATIONS

Three Republican Senators today called upon President Johnson to issue a new Executive Order Against Discimination which would broaden its impact to all Federally-assisted housing. At the same time, they deplored reported Adminstration plans to send to Congress a bill to broaden the 1962 Executive Order Against Discrimination in Housing, instead of issuing a new executive order. They called the reported request for legislation "wholly unnecessary" and said it would "needlessly delay" an effective Federal policy against racial prejudice in housing.

The three Senators -- Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York, Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey and Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania -- issued this statement:

"We are deeply concerned about the recent published reports that Attorney General Katzenbach has recommended to the President that he should not issue an Executive Order expanding the coverage of the 1962 Executive Order Against Discrimination in Housing, and that the Administration is now considering instead sending a bill to Congress for this purpose. In our view, such legislation is wholly unnecessary since the President has constitutional power to amend the Executive Order already in effect. A request to Congress for such legislation would needlessly delay the development of an effective Federal policy against racial discimination in housing.

"Despite all our efforts up to now, racial ghettos continue undeniably to be a higher corrosive influence in our cities and towns and are to a significant extent the result of a racially disciminatory housing market. President Kennedy's 1962 Housing Order was a valuable first step forward, but because it covered only FHA-and VA-financed housing, built or contracted for after November 20, 1962, it presently reaches only approximately twenty-five percent of the Nation's Federally-assisted housing supply and only about eighteen percent of the total new housing supply; the remainder includes a large percentage of conventional mortgages issued by lending institutions whose deposits are guaranteed by United States Government agencies.

"A newly expanded housing order would have a significant impact only if it covered all housing assisted by the Federal Government, including housing conventionally financed through lending institutions whose accounts are guaranteed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation or which are supervised by the Federal Home Loan Bank System. Such a broadened order should also cover all Federally-aided housing built or contracted prior to the November 20, 1962 cut-off date in the present Order.

"The constitutional basis for reaching all Federal funding and support in housing by Executive Order is the same as in the case of the existing Executive Order. The moral and constitutional bases for doing so are an integral part of the great civil rights reform of the last decade. It would be tragic to delay further the effectiveness of the Federal anti-discrimination policy in housing."

##########

Freedom Information Service
Box 366, Edwards, Miss.

MISSISSIPPI POWER STRUCTURE -- THE POWER OF THE DIXIECRATS

Introduction: Let's see what we have learned so far. We know that Negroes and whites live differently in both the South and the North and that Negroes are not given equal treatment in housing, education, etc. We know that although it seems that white people have better schools, for instance, that they pay for it by learning lies, and by learning to "hate" and be afraid. We know that we are misled by these lies too--that the myths have taught us to believe that we are inferior and dumb and that we have made no contributions to our society.

Now we want to find out why the schools tell these lies and find out who is helped by these lies.

Idea: That the myths serve a purpose by:
1. Keeping Negroes down and teaching whites to feel superior.
2. Providing an excuse for race relations in this country.

Question: Why do the schools tell these lies?
Who hears and believes them? What do they believe?
How does it make them feel to believe these things?
Do the lies give them excuses? What kinds of excuses do the lies provide:
If a white man kills a Negro?
If a policeman beats a Negro for demonstrating?
If a policeman beats a white demonstrator?
If a Negro is refused the vote?
If Negroes try to integrate a school?
If Negroes are paid less money for the same work?
If white workers want to start a union?

Now who profits by these lies? Let's start here in your town.

Idea: That same people profit by the telling of myths (make money, gain power, build up their egos, etc.).

Ask students about plantations near where they live; about factories near where they live.

Question: Who makes money when Negroes are paid less than white people?

Example: A cotton farmer's profit is the price he gets for his cotton minus what he pays for labor. Does the farmer make more money if the workers he hires are Negro? Why? Is it profitable for the farmer to keep Negro labor cheap? How does he do it? Do the myths help him do it? How?

Example: Why does northern industry come to Mississippi? They come from the North because Mississippi has cheaper labor and they can make more money. Why does Mississippi have cheaper labor? Because there are no unions? Because then there are white workers in Mississippi who are told

that unions believe in integration. Where there are no unions, the workers are paid less and the businessman makes more money. Do the myths help to keep the salaries low for whites too? (Caution: many unions maintain segregationist practices.)

QUESTION: Why don't white people want the Negro to vote?

Example: The same farmer is able to pay Negroes less money than white people are paid because the state laws of Mississippi support segregation and inequality. Who makes these laws? How do they get their jobs? Who elects them? What would happen to these men and these laws if Negroes voted? Would you vote for a man who made laws that paid you less? Does the farmer vote for them? Does the business man? Do white workers? Why?

Idea: That poor whites suffer from the myths, too.

QUESTIONS: If there was a union, the white workers would make more money too. Why, then, do they vote for policicians who are against unions? Are they more afraid of something else? Why are they so afraid of integration? What have the myths and lies that they have learned done to them? Who profits by this? The rich farmer? The rich businessman? How?

Idea: That the police work for the power structure and enforce the status quo.

Example: The following is an excerpt from one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's press conferences in 1938, when he unsuccessfully attempted to purge Southern reactionaries from the Democratic Party. Roosevelt described the experience of union organizers in a Southern town in a way that makes one think of the Movement today:

> They got in town about ten o'clock in the morning. They had a list of eight or ten of the operators. They were going to see them at the noon hour.
>
> So they went to the factory and they asked, "Where is so and so? Where can I find so and so?"
>
> They were engaged in asking questions, when one of the mill police tapped him on the shoulder and showed his badge and said, "Come with me."
>
> He said, "We have not done anything; we are outside and on the street and just asking to see some fellows."
>
> "Oh, we know; come with me."
>
> They were taken to the police station and locked up in a cell on the charge of vagrancy. Both of them had, oh, fifteen or twenty dollars apiece in their clothes.
>
> They said, "We are not vagrants; we come down here from such and such a city."
>
> "But you are organizers."
>
> "Of course we are organizers."
>
> "Well, you are in a bad place."

They were kept in jail until five o'clock, just before dark, and the judge came in and said, "What are you doing here?"

"We are down here to try to start an organization of the textile workers of this mill."

"That is what you think," he said, "Ten dollars fine and out of town before six o'clock, and do not come back."

They did not know what they were fined for, but they paid the fine, and as they went out of the courtroom, one of the marshalls, or policemen, went up to them and said, "Which way are you boys going"? They said, "We have got to get out of town and we thought we would go to such and such a town, ten miles away."

They rode with him and he said, "This is where I turn off." They went about a quarter of a mile out of a clump of bushes came some men with blackjacks and they got the worst beating up that any two people could get without getting killed.

QUESTION: Who helps to keep the Negro from voting and the union from starting? Who helps the farmer and businessman make money by enforcing the segregation laws? Who pays the police? Who gives them their orders? Why? What would happen to a policeman who didn't obey orders? Why do the police follow orders? Important to bring out:

1. for pay
2. for illicit gains in graft, etc.
3. because they have learned the myths too, and "hate" "fear".

What is a power structure? That is the name we give to groups of men who make the myths, who profit from them like the farmer and the businessman, who pay the police and give them their orders, who make the laws and decide what laws they want, who make decisions about who gets paid and how much they get, about who votes and who doesn't vote, about what is taught in the schools, and what gets printed in the newspapers, etc.

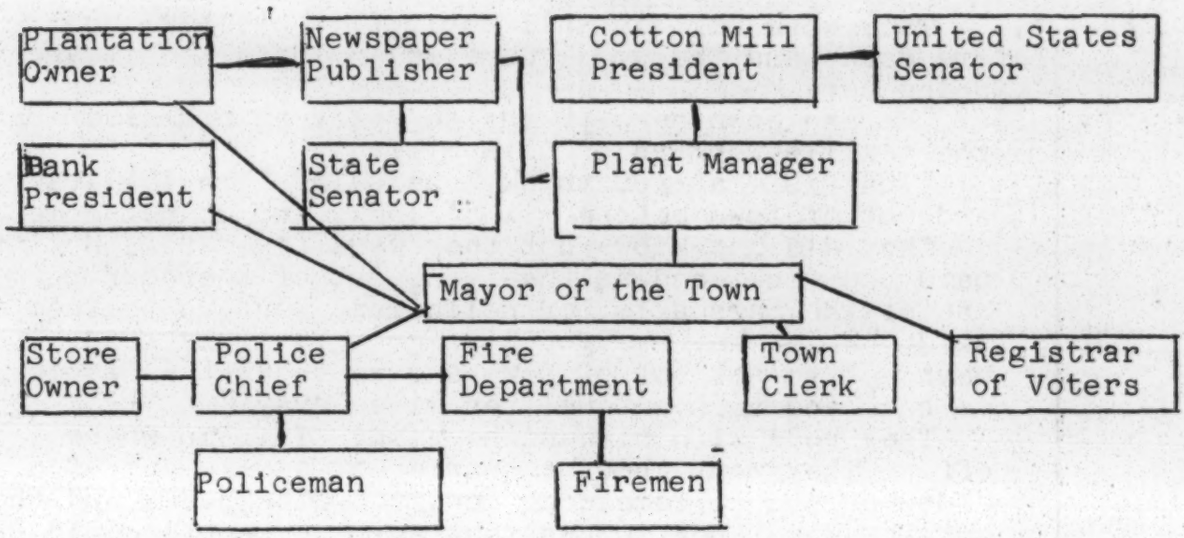
Can you name some of these men in your town? (Suggestion: look for the mayor, big plantation owners, businessmen, plant managers, mill owners, etc.)

Suggestion: With the information you get from either students, parents or COFO staff research, construct an organizational chart of the power structure on the blackboard or large paper.

Show how a decision made on the upper level gets passed down through the chain of command and finally carried out.

Dramatize if possible.

Example: A Negro tries to register. The registrar of voters fails him, and calls the Mayor. The next day the plantation owner fires him and orders him off the land, and his name is published in the newspaper. The bank forecloses on his car, and the store refuses him any more credit and



the county welfare department says he must get three references from white people before he is eligible for relief. His wife is fired from her job as a cook for a white family. When they move in with relatives, the house is shot up one night and the Negro man arrested on "suspicion."

Idea: That the Power Structure is a connecting and interlocking series of groups that goes from local towns and cities up the highest levels of the national government.

Case study: The Power of the Dixiecrats

We have seen that there is what we call a power structure in this town--a small group of men that make the decisions in this town--they run it, they decide when schools are built and what is taught. They decide, as much as they can, who votes and who doesn't, they decide who gets a loan from the bank, they make the laws. In every other town and county of this state, there are other men who do the same things--who make the plans and decide what will happen for all the rest of us. They decide who will run for the United States Congress, they decide who will run for the Mississippi Legislature; they pay for the campaigns, they decide what laws will be made, and they help to make the myths that all learn.

Southern representatives in Congress, acting on behalf of the Southern power structure, obstruct progress not only in the South but in the whole nation. Because of the one-party system in the South these representatives serve in the House and Senate over and over again. Their seniority enables them to become chairmen of key committees. Example: Senator Eastland of Mississippi is the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee influences the appointment of judges to the Federal courts in which civil rights demonstrators are tried.

(Reprinted from the COFO Freedom School Citizenship Curriculum, Summer 1964.)

Natchez Political Handbook

By Alexander Shimkin

QUITE A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE REGISTERED TO VOTE. NOW WE MUST KNOW HOW TO BEST USE THOSE BALLOTS. WE ALSO MUST BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS AT ALL LEVELS. LET US TAKE A LOOK AT THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE THAT AFFECTS US.

The Federal Government and Mississippi

The federal government is important in several ways:

1. Congress provides almost all the funds for welfare services in the state.

2. The federal courts decide on most of the cases involving demonstrations (such as picketing and parading without a permit), school desegregation, and voting. They also decide how the state will be divided up for purposes of representation.

3. The Justice Department is supposed to bring the cases to the federal courts whenever federal laws are involved. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is supposed to investigate crimes to see if civil rights are involved. The attorney general sends federal voter registrars into counties where he thinks they are needed.

4. The Office of Economic Opportunity manages the funds for the poverty program.

Over 75 per cent of the money the state gets for welfare programs like aid to dependent children and old age assistance comes from the federal government. The funds are given out by the U.S. Congress. School districts also receive federal funds, but first they must sign a compliance pledge which says they promise to desegregate their schools. Under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, school districts must sign these pledges to continue receiving money from the federal government. However, only token integration has followed these pledges in many places.

THE PEOPLE WHO REPRESENT MISSISSIPPI DON'T REPRESENT US!!!!!!

The U.S. Congress includes two Senators from Mississippi and five Congressmen. The two Senators are James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis. The city of Natchez is in the 3rd Congressional District, which also includes Jackson, McComb and Vicksburg. John Bell Williams is the Congressman from the 3rd district. He is an extreme conservative and segregationist and has opposed all welfare, poverty, labor and civil rights programs.

Williams has been in the House of Representatives since 1946 and has been very active in blocking HOME RULE for the District of Columbia--which has a Negro majority. Thus by getting rid of him, Negroes in other parts of the country can also be freed. Next year Senator Eastland and Rep. Williams come up for re-election. BOTH ARE ENEMIES OF BLACK PEOPLE AND POOR PEOPLE AND SHOULD BE DEFEATED AND REPLACED BY GOOD CANDIDATES.

* * *

Judge Cox is the federal judge for the Southern District of Mississippi. He is very conservative and has only half-heartedly supported the law. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in next above Judge Cox. Fortunately the judges on this court are much better. The president appoints judges to please the Senators. That is why J.P. Coleman, a former governor of Mississippi, was appointed to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals this year although he is a segregationist.

But the federal courts have time and again (after people have been arrested) upheld the right of people to march two by two on the sidewalk, to picket, to hand out leaflets and so forth. Therefore it is clear that the various laws and ordinances forbidding this or saying that you must have a permit are no good and no attention should be paid to them--EVEN IF YOU HAVE TO GO TO JAIL TO GET THEM THROWN OUT.

* * *

The attorney general of the United States is Nicholas Katzenbach. He has been rather slow appointing federal registrars to Mississippi, although he did send a letter to all registrars saying that illiterate people should be registered. John Doar is head of the Civil Rights Division and and Wiley Branton is in charge of voting rights. Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the attorney general has the power to send a federal registrar into a county to register people if he (the attorney general) receives 20 complaints and judges it necessary.

The State Government

The government of Mississippi is very old-fashioned and complicated. Therefore we will talk about only three officials, two agencies and the legislature.

The governor of Mississippi is Paul B. Johnson. He is a lawyer from Hattiesburg and was Ross Barnett's lieutenant governor. The governor is elected through the Democratic primary. However, the Republican Party has become much stronger and this may change. The first primary is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in August every four years. The last election was in 1963 so the next one will be in 1967. If no candidate gets a majority in the first election, then a second primary is held three weeks later. The general election is held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November and is just a courtesy vote.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON IS A RACIST WHO WAS ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF DEFIANCE OF FEDERAL AUTHORITY. LATELY HE HAS TRIED TO PROJECT A "MODERATE" LAW-ABIDING IMAGE WHILE DOING EVERYTHING IN HIS POWER TO KEEP NEGROES DOWN. The lieutenant governor is Carroll Gartin. The other important official is Joseph T. Patterson who is the attorney general. Patterson recently sent a letter to all county registrars telling them <u>not</u> to register illiterate people under the 1965 Mississippi voting legislation. He did this to keep Negroes from becoming registered voters.

* * *

The most important agency of the state is the Agriculture and Industry Board. Almost all the important industry in the state is owned by stockholders in the North. Therefore it is necessary to attract Northern companies by various schemes. The A.& I. Board is responsible for this. Local communities can issue bonds to build factories and lease them to Northern industry upon approval of the Board and the voters. THE BOARD HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE STATE, WHICH IS TO KEEP WAGES LOW, KEEP UNIONS OUT AND GIVE ALL SORTS OF TAX BREAKS TO INDUSTRY. Important businessmen and state officials make up the Board.

* * *

The legislature of Mississippi consists of a Senate with 52 members and a House of 122. The members are elected for four year terms at the same time as the governor. The legislature meets in regular session in even-numbered years from January until about June. Each House is the judge of the qualifications and election of its

members. A member of the House must be 21, a registered voter, and have lived in the state four years and in his county two years. A member of the Senate must have been a registered voter for four years and a member of the district from which he was elected for two years. Natchez has one representative all to itself. He is John R. Junkin. Adams County has one from outside of Natchez. He is Adrian Lee. Adams County also elects Senator Marion Smith. Although all are supposed to be Democrats, at least two (Smith and Lee) actively supported Goldwater in 1964.

* * *

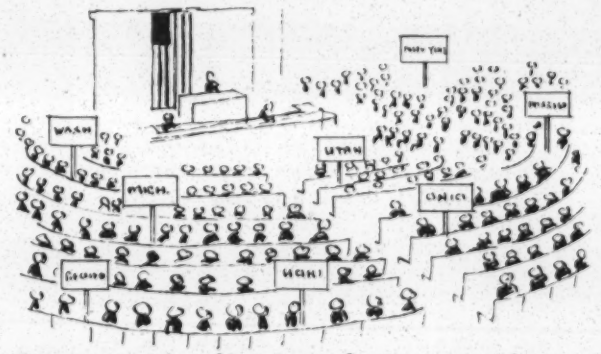
The Mississippi legislature is very confusing. Many members are only there for one term, and in recent years the only activity has been fighting integration. A great many legislators are members of the Citizens' Council, including the presiding officer of the Senate, Senator Yarbrough. The governor may call a special session to consider only such matter as he specifies in his proclamation calling for the session. A special session was held this year to get around the 1965 Voting Rights Act. It resulted in the six-question form for voter registration. No one said they were in favor of Negroes voting; rather it was a question what would be the best way to keep Negroes from voting. All bills must be referred to a committee of each House and returned from there with a recommendation in writing before they can be passed into law. There are many committees. State legislators are mostly lawyers or farmers and the present lot is pretty hopeless. The legislature is only in session about a quarter of the time, so the governor and other state officers run things the rest of the time, both through the laws and through the medium of addresses and press conferences which are very important in forming public opinion.

THE GOVERNOR HAS CHARGE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD AND ALSO OF THE 475-MAN HIGHWAY PATROL, WHICH HE USES TO TRY TO STOP DEMONSTRATIONS WHEN HE FEELS IT IS NECESSARY.

Party Organization in Mississippi

Many states have their party organization only by custom. In Mississippi the law is rather definite about the matter. The party organization is important because it is the means by which delegates to the presidential convention are selected. It judges whether candidates have qualified to run in the primaries and whether they have won. It also adopts statements of principle or party platforms which are supposed to be followed by party members.

In Presidential election years, the whole apparatus is involved. The lowest level is the precinct convention. The electors of each precinct meet at 10 a.m. at the usual voting place on the date fixed by the state executive committee or chairman. They elect delegates to the county convention by secret ballot. The county executive committee fixes the mumber of delegates to be elected to the county convention.



Democratic National Convention

The county convention meets at the county seat on a day fixed by the state executive committee or chairman to select a county executive committee and elect delegates to the state convention. The 1964 county convention elected 25 delegates to the state convention.

State Convention

(Although in theory ordinary people are allowed to participate, let's look who went from Adams County: The chancery clerk, sheriff, circuit clerk, tax assessor, four members of the board of supervisors, the J.P. for the 4th district, the state senator and two state representatives, the city attorney, an alderman, five attorneys, the director of the Natchez-Adams Co. Port Commission, a cattleman, a doctor, an insurance man and a businessman. All were white men.)

District Caucuses

Delegates to the state convention hold district caucuses by congressional district either before or during the state convention. The delegates elect the party's state executive committee and the congressional district delegates to the national convention.

County Conventions

The state convention meets at the Capitol on a date fixed by the state executive committee or chairman to select delegates to the party's national convention, adopt a platform, nominate presidential electors and elect a national committeeman and committeewoman to represent Mississippi in national party affairs.

Precinct Meetings

The county executive committee consists of three members from each supervisors district of which there are five in each county. The committee may also add three at large if it wants to. In the regular Democratic Party, this organization does not have much importance outside of elections.

In order to be a candidate, you file with the committee at least 60 days before the date of the first primary (except in municipal election, where you file 30 days before) and pay a filing fee fixed by the party committee. When only one candidate has filed for the primary within the time limit, the party executive committee may declare the nominee elected without a primary.

* * *

NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI IN 1964 WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN THIS PROCESS. THEREFORE AT ATLANTIC CITY AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, THEY CHALLENGED THE REGULAR DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT NEGROES WERE NOT ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE. THE WHOLE SYSTEM, IF FACT, IS DESIGNED FOR WHITES ONLY. HOWEVER, IN 1968 THE DELEGATION FROM MISSISSIPPI MUST HAVE SOME NEGROES. At the 1964 presidential convention in Atlantic City, only a handful of delegates supported President Johnson. During the campaign, local attorney Fred C. Berger argued for LBJ by saying Goldwater was an integrationist. In November, the vote was 5,900 for Goldwater and 1,093 for Johnson.

Local Government

The government of Adams County is basically controlled by five supervisors. There is one supervisor elected from each beat or district of the county. The supervisors must own $300 in real property (like a house and land). They set local taxes, are in charge of road maintenance and repair, appoint certain officials, and pass various rules. The powers of the supervisors are very wide, but supervisors are not very well known to the community. The board members usually are in office for many years. They are elected at the same time as the governor.

Manchester Guardian
"Well what do you know, it does say something about Race, Color or Creed."

IT WOULD BE VERY GOOD IF ONE OR TWO NEGROES COULD BE ELECTED SUPERVISORS. THE BOARD MEETS AT THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE ON THE FIRST MONDAY OF EVERY MONTH. IT MIGHT BE A GOOD IDEA TO ATTEND THE MEETING SOMETIME. The sheriff is the chief officer of the board. He collects taxes and also enforces the law. Sheriffs can only serve one term of office. They are usually very rich. Some have incomes of over $50,000 a year. The sheriffs want to change the law so they can stay in office for as long as they can.

Each beat also elects a constable and a J.P. The constable ranks as a deputy sheriff and is the lowest law enforcement officer in the county system.

* * *

The municipal or city government of Natchez is the one which we know best. Basically it consists of a mayor and six aldermen. Mayor Nosser was elected last year (1964) for a four year term in a very close race. He received 2,097 votes to 1,819 for John T. Green. The vote was as follows:

	Nosser	Green
1st Ward	273	185
2nd Ward	361	189
3rd Ward	265	222
4th Ward	336	320
5th Ward	421	420
6th Ward	441	483

NOSSER WON THE ELECTION WITH THE HELP OF NEGRO VOTERS. WHAT DID NEGROES GET IN RETURN? YOU CAN ANSWER THAT YOURSELF!!!

The aldermen and their jobs are as follows:

1st - Randall Ferguson, salesman for Armstrong Tire Company
2nd - Otis C. Montgomery, owner of J.N. Ratliff & Son Monuments
3rd - Ralph Sayers, retired
4th - Thomas J. Reed, industrial relations manager for Johns-Manville Corp.
5th - Louis Willard, Natchez Gravel Corp.
6th - Hall Wilson, Wilson and O'Farrell realtors

They can be said to represent the business interests of the city.

* * *

In the municipal separate district type of educational organization, the governing authorities of the city appoint the trustees. R. Brent Forman is the chairman of the Board of Education. He is also a dirctor of City Bank and Trust Company. The school board accepted the loss of federal funds rather than desegregate. The matter is in the courts.

* * *

The Chief of Police is elected. However, the policemen in the department are under civil service. This has both advantages and disadvantages. While it is harder for racist police to be removed, it <u>should</u> make them more professional.

Discussion Questions

This is only a bare outline of the government of Mississippi. As Negroes begin to have the power of the vote, we must ask how to use it, and how to participate. Only whites who are at least in public segregationists hold public positions. Although "moderate" whites want compliance with the law in order to obtain federal funds and to attract more Northern industry to Mississippi, few Mississippians have taken a firm stand for equality. Because of the emergence of the Negro vote and of the popularity in Mississippi of Goldwater Republicanism, the future of the Democratic Party in the state is an open question.

What should Negroes do?

RUN THEIR OWN CANDIDATES?

FORM A COALITION? WITH WHOM?

USE A SWING VOTE?

Prepared by:
Freedom Information Service
Box 366
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

WHILE LIVING AT DORCHESTER

FOR WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

1. THE SCLC OFFICE IS THE LAST ROOM ON THE LEFT OF THE FIRST FLOOR IT WILL BE OPEN 8:00 AM UNTIL 10:30 PM EVERYDAY.

2. IN-COMING AND OUT-GOING MAIL MAY BE LEFT AND PICKED UP IN THE SCLC OFFICE. STAMPS MAY BE PURCHASED FROM THIS OFFICE ALSO. THE OFFICE IS OPEN FOR THESE SERVICES FROM 4:00 PM UNTIL 6:00 PM EACH DAY. MAIL GOES OUT IN THE AFTERNOON AND COMES IN, IN THE MORNING.

3. KITCHEN DUTY IS HANDLED ON A ROTATING VOLUNTEER BASIS.

4. WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS ARE REQUESTED TO REMAIN ON THE CENTER'S GROUNDS. BOUNDARIES WILL BE ANNOUNCED, AND YOUR COOPERATION IS REQUESTED. PLEASE CLEAR WITH THE TEACHER IN CHARGE WHEN YOU NEED TO LEAVE THE GROUNDS AT ANY-TIME. A BOX IS LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE WHERE, BETWEEN 8:00 AM AND 12:00 NOON, YOU CAN PUT WRITTEN REQUESTS FOR WHATEVER ITEMS (TOOTHPASTE, KLEENEX, ETC.) YOU WANT FROM TOWN.

5. LOST AND FOUND ITEMS ARE LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE.

6. FIRST AID KITS ARE LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE, ON THE FIRST FLOOR.

7. LAUNDRY: IRONING BOARDS AND IRONS ARE LOCATED ON THE FIRST FLOOR.

8. WHEN LEAVING THE CENTER, PLEASE STRIP YOUR BEDS, FOLD YOUR BLANKET, AND LEAVE YOUR USED SHEETS ON THE FLOOR NEAR THE DOOR OF YOUR ROOM.

9. PLUMBING IS VERY SENSITIVE, AND CAN TAKE ONLY TOILET TISSUE.

10. THE UPSTAIRS IS USED FOR SLEEPING QUARTERS. PLEASE KEEP DOWNSTAIRS CONVER-SATIONS AFTER 10:30 PM AT A LOW VOLUME.

11. ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES ARE NOT ALLOWED ON THE CENTER'S PREMISES.

12. SHOOTING FIREARMS AND EXPLODING FIREWORKS ARE NOT PERMISSIBLE ON THE CENTER'S GROUNDS.

13. WORKSHOPS ARE SCHEDULED AND PLANNED FOR ADULTS. CHILDREN DO NOT ATTEND WORKSHOP SESSIONS. THEY ARE WELCOME, HOWEVER, AT EVENING PROGRAMS.

14. VISITORS AT DORCHESTER FOLLOW THE DAILY WORKSHOP SCHEDULE AND ARE ASKED TO OBSERVE THE REGULATIONS WHICH APPLY TO WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF TEACHERS AND SUPERVISORS

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TEACHER ARE:

1. To teach the class;
2. To decide (with the help of the supervisor) what kinds and what quantities of educational material are needed;
3. To assist his students in the community activities which will be carried on throughout the year;
4. To assist the supervisor in recruiting (if necessary).

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SUPERVISOR ARE:

1. To recruit students for classes;
2. To arrange places for schools to meet;
3. To organize the schools in his area;
4. To help the teacher decide upon material and equipment, and the quantities needed;
5. To advise teachers on class programs and community activities;
6. To visit classes and supervise the work of teachers;
7. To coordinate the work of the area;
8. To plan the time of the year with the teacher (seasons when students are least busy on jobs).

The supervisor will be expected to attend, with the teachers in his area, a one-week training workshop and a weekend refresher workshop, the latter being scheduled within a reasonable length of time after his Citizenship Schools are underway.

HELPFUL HINTS IN TEACHING CITIZENSHIP CLASS

1. Read carefully material you received at workshop entitled: Suggestions for Teachers:

2. The following materials can be used for lessons in Reading and Citizenship:

   a. Your voter registration form.
      Members learn words from this form, meanings, spelling, etc., as well as how to fill them out.

   b. The Citizenship School Workbook
      Use as a guide in reading and writing lessons.

   c. Why Vote pamphlet
      Use in basic political education lessons.

   d. Newspapers
      Have members bring papers to class.
      Select articles to read and evaluate.
      Have class decide whether article is fairly written or gives a prejudiced view.
      Help class learn to determine editorial policy: (Is the paper generally prejudiced? What and where is the editorial page?)

   e. Magazine articles of importance

   f. The Constitution
      Study amendments relevant to the present condition and work of our people: 14th Amendment, 1st Amendment, the 15th Amendment. Make copies for class or order from S.C.L.C. Citizenship School Staff.

   g. Pamphlets and brochures from social service agencies:
      Tax office
      Social Security Office
      Public Health Department: Have class find out what free services are available and where and when.
      (These offices will provide staff to come to your class for a talk on their department.)

   h. Government
      Get structure of government and those in office from properplace, probably the Court House.

Citizenship Education Program
Workshop Material

Identify the following famous Negroes in one sentence or more:

A. W.E.B. DuBois

B. Ralph J. Bunche

C. Daniel Hale Williams

D. Charles Richard Drew

E. Harriett Tubman

LIST OF FILMS*

	Time Needed for Showing	No.	Rental Price	Page in Catalog
A CITIZEN PARTICIPATES	25 Min.	8672	$4.00	34
A CITIZEN MAKES A DECISION	18 Min.	8789	3.50	34
CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP	15 Min.	9673	5.00	33
DISCUSSION IN DEMOCRACY	10 Min.	5637	2.00	43
UNTO THYSELF BE TRUE	20 Min.	4742	6.00	146
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN	22 Min.	8643	4.00	151
VOTING PROCEDURES	14 Min.	9623	3.00	148
OUR TOWN IS THE WORLD	11 Min.	7719	2.00	106
THE HOUSE I LIVE IN	10 Min.	1764	1.50	69
÷ GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS	30 Min.			
÷ KNOCK ON EVERY DOOR	23 Min.			
÷ MISSISSIPPI STORY	30 Min.			
÷ THE NASHVILLE SIT-IN STORY	50 Min.			

* These films may be rented from the:

Film Division
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

÷ We own these films and you may reserve them by requesting them two weeks in advance of the date on which you wish to show them.

Citizenship Education Material
Negro History

In order to appreciate ourselves and look hopefully to the future we need to know and understand our past. To love our country and feel at home we must know and appreciate the fact that we helped to build it.

As a beginning let us come to know a few of the many people of color who made significant contributions to the development of America. This is merely an introduction to some of them. Every Citizenship SchoolTeacher and student will want to pursue them further using school and public libraries and any other source they can find.

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

W.E.B. DuBois was born three years after the Civil War on February 23, 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He became a great Negro educator being the first of his race to earn the doctoral degree. He attended Fisk University in Nashville, Howard University studied in Europe and worked at Atlanta University. Dr.DuBois studied intensely about Africa and the slave trade; criticized Booker T. Washington; fought to outlaw discrimination in public places; fought for an anti-lynch law and to wipe out illiteracy; and campaigned for civil rights. Dr. DuBois along with being a great scholar wrote many books of renown and with great implications for the race problem in America. Some of them are listed here:

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America
The Philadelphia Negro
The Soul of Black Folk
John Brown
The Quest of the Silver Fleece
The Negro
Dark Warter
The Gift of Black Folk
Black Reconstruction
Color and Democracy
In Battle For Peace
The Black Flame
Black Folk Then and Now

RALPH J. BUNCHE

Dr. Bunche was born in Detroit, Michigan on August 7, 1904 of very poor parents. His parents died by the time he was twelve years old and his grandmother was responsible for his upbringing. She instilled within him a philosophy that has proved invaluable for his life's work. "Your color has nothing to do with your worth," she counseled, "You are potentially as good as anyone. How good you may prove to be will have no relation to your color, but what is in your heart and head."

Ralph Bunche was an excellent student graduating with high honors from high school, the University of California and Harvard. Dr. Bunche as a college student and teacher participated in picketing, boycotts and demonstrations for Negro equality. He gained renown as a historian. Working with the United Nations, Ralph Bunche made a name for himself as a peacemaker especially when he effected the Arab-Jewish Armistice. He also served as peacemaker for the U. N. in the Congo Crisis. He holds a position for the United States in the U. N. as Under-Secretary for special political affairs.

DANIEL HALE WILLIAMS

Dr. Williams was born in Pennsylvania in 1856. He worked and lived on steamships and became a barber where he talked with many famous persons including doctors. Daniel Hale's father had impressed upon him the importance of an education. He finally knew that his deepest hope was to become a doctor. He studied very hard attending Chicago Medical College.

Dr. Williams became famous as a surgeon performing his first operation on a kitchen table. He gained greatest fame after operating on the heart of a man who had been stabbed. Medical journals reported that this was the first successful operation of its kind. Dr. Williams made another notable contribution to medicine and the country when he established Provident Hospital especially in order to provide training and experience for Negro doctors and nurses. He died in 1926.

CHARLES RICHARD DREW

Dr. Charles Drew made an outstanding contribution to the field of medicine through his discovery of blood plasma. He was born in Washington, D.C. in 1904 and studied medicine at McGill University in Canada. Later he became very much interested in blood typing and transfusion and worked night and day in order to perfect the preservation of blood. For this work Dr. Drew became known as the "father of blood plasma,"

and Columbia University awarded him the doctorate degree in 1940.

The world benefited from Dr. Drew's discovery of ways to give blood to patients who needed it when the blood was several days old. Dr. Drew lost his job when he took a stand against some white citizens position that Negro and white blood should be separated. There was no scientific basis for this, he contended. Dr. Drew died from injuries received in an automobile accident near Burlington, N.C. was enroute to a doctors' conference at Tuskeegee Institute. It is reported that had it not been for segregated medical facilities Dr. Drew would have survived.

FIVE-DAY TRAINING SESSION

MONDAY

6:30 - 7:30 P.M. ---------- Dinner
8:00 - 10:00 P.M. ---------- Orientation
(1) Singing
(2) Introductions
(3) Nature of the Movement

TUESDAY

9:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M. ---------- Negro History
The Teaching of Writing

2:00 - 4:00 P.M. ---------- First Night of Class
Record Keeping

4:00 - 6:00 P.M. ---------- Recreation (Free Time)

6:00 P.M. ---------- Dinner

8:00 - 10:00 P.M. ---------- The Constitution
Problem Solving

WEDNESDAY

9:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M. ---------- The Teaching of Reading

2:00 - 4:00 P.M. ---------- Recruiting

4:00 - 6:00 P.M. ---------- Recreation (Free Time)

8:00 - 10:00 P.M. ---------- Organizing for Closing Session (15 Min)
Address & Discussion (Topic of Interest)

THURSDAY

9:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON ---------- Banking
Consumer Education

1:00 - 6:00 P.M. ---------- Field Trip

8:00 - 10:00 P.M. ---------- Film & Discussion

FRIDAY

9:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M. ---------- New Trends in Politics
Federally Assisted Programs

2:00 - 4:00 P.M. ---------- Review

4:00 - 5:00 P.M. ---------- Preparation for Closing

7:00 - 9:00 P.M. ---------- Closing Banquet

HELPFUL HINTS IN TEACHING CITIZENSHIP CLASS

1. Read carefully material you received at workshop entitled: Suggestions for Teachers:

2. The following materials can be used for lessons in Reading and Citizenship:

   a. Your voter registration form.
   Members learn words from this form, meanings, spelling, etc., as well as how to fill them out.

   b. The Citizenship School Workbook
   Use as a guide in reading and writing lessons.

   c. Why Vote pamphlet
   Use in basic political education lessons.

   d. Newspapers
   Have members bring papers to class.
   Select articles to read and evaluate.
   Have class decide whether article is fairly written or gives a prejudiced view.
   Help class learn to determine editorial policy: (Is the paper generally prejudiced? What and where is the editorial page?)

   e. Magazine articles of importance

   f. The Constitution
   Study amendments relevant to the present condition and work of our people: 14th Amendment, 1st Amendment, the 15th Amendment. Make copies for class or order from S.C.L.C. Citizenship School Staff.

   g. Pamphlets and brochures from social service agencies:
   Tax office
   Social Security Office
   Public Health Department: Have class find out what free services are available and where and when.
   (These offices will provide staff to come to your class for a talk on their department.)

   h. Government
   Get structure of government and those in office from properplace, probably the Court House.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF TEACHERS AND SUPERVISORS

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TEACHER ARE:

1. To teach the class;
2. To decide (with the help of the supervisor) what kinds and what quantities of educational material are needed;
3. To assist his students in the community activities which will be carried on throughout the year;
4. To assist the supervisor in recruiting (if necessary).

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SUPERVISOR ARE:

1. To recruit students for classes;
2. To arrange places for schools to meet;
3. To organize the schools in his area;
4. To help the teacher decide upon material and equipment, and the quantities needed;
5. To advise teachers on class programs and community activities;
6. To visit classes and supervise the work of teachers;
7. To coordinate the work of the area;
8. To plan the time of the year with the teacher (seasons when students are least busy on jobs).

The supervisor will be expected to attend, with the teachers in his area, a one-week training workshop and a weekend refresher workshop, the latter being scheduled within a reasonable length of time after his Citizenship Schools are underway.

SELECTION OF TEACHERS FOR CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

Persons selected as teachers can be ministers, business men or women, teachers, beauticians, or college students by profession. If persons with the following qualifications cannot be found within a community, someone with these qualifications should be selected from a near-by area who can go in to teach classes.

The teacher must be:

1. A man or woman 21 years of age or more who has had some high school education, or a college student;
2. A person who is able to read well aloud;
3. One who is able to write legibly on the blackboard.

The teacher must know or be able to find out:

1. The location of the registration board;
2. Days and hours that the board is open for registration;
3. Who are the local officials that are elected to office;
4. Time of year for elections;
5. Health services available;
6. Location of the social security office;
7. Location of the welfare department.

PRECINCT CONVENTIONS

What is a precinct?
It is the smallest political unit.
Everyone lives in a precinct.

What is a precinct convention?
A precinct convention is a meeting in the precinct.

Who can go?
Any registered voter. People who are not registered can go, although they may not be allowed to come in the meeting.

When is a precinct convention held?
A precinct convention is held every two years.

Where is it held?
It is held at the place where you vote.

What do people do at a precinct convention?
They elect delegates to go to other meetings. These delegates go to a county meeting where they elect other delegates to go to a District and a State Convention. These people select delegates to go to a National Convention where they decide who will run for President of the United States.

Who runs the precinct convention?
A temporary chairman opens the meeting and then the people select a chairman to run the meeting.

Why are we going to these meetings?
We are going to these meetings to show we want to be full citizens. The people who run these meetings have been the same people who keep Negroes from being able to vote. We want to see democracy work for all the people.

Will the people running the meeting let us in to their meeting?
We don't know. But we want to show that we want to go, even if they won't let us in.

What should we do after the meeting?
We should call S.C.L.C. and let them know what happened at the meeting so they can help us tell everyone that Negroes want to be free.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL OR WRITE:

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-1420

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING

The best teacher does not tell-but asks.
Ask questions of the class, even though you may have the answer already.
This makes the students more interested if they are helped to think through a situation.

The Art of Questioning:

1. Kind of words used in stating the question.

2. The purpose of the question.

   a. Should it lead to an answer of facts?

   b. Do you want a comparision?

   c. Do you need a description?

   d. Should the answer be an analysis?

   e. Will a mystery be solved?

   f. Will it lead to a polite ending?

   g. Will it suggest a challenge?

   h. Will a projection into the future be the thing needed at this time?

Select a Topic For The Evening: (This may be a subject of interest, a community problem or situation, a candidate for public office, a recent newspaper article, a TV Show)

How To Lead a Discussion:

1. Motivation (pictures, known experiences etc. always help from participating group.)

2. Introduction (title, clarification of words in the participants frame of thinking, use of authorities, unsolved thinking)

3. Procedure (toss out challenging statements or questions, put small groups to work)

4. Expect outcomes (write on blackboard at end of group discussions or draw out outline of outcomes from entire group)

5. Follow-up (watch for bench-mark facts as session progresses).

USE OF WORDS

Take a meaningful word for a reading lesson.

Help class pronounce it (use sound chart)

Help class learn to spell it.

Discuss its meaning and uses - use dictionary last.

Example:

1. Citizen

   What makes a citizen?

   Who is a citizen?

   What does dictionary say?

   What does 14th Amendment say?

   (Have someone read difinition and some one read 14th Amendment)

   DISCUSS

2. Legislature

   What is it?

   Do we have one in our state?

   How are the members selected?

   From what area do they come?

   When do they meet? Where?

   What do they do?

   Do you know any names,

   What positions do they take?

LETTER WRITING

1. Discuss reasons for knowing how to write a letter.

   (Take care of business matters, stay in touch with friends, etc.)

   ---It is more effective if your letter says exactly what you mean and if it looks good.

2. Make teachers aware of where the five parts are placed.

   a. business letter

   b. friendly letter

3. Have pupils bring in letter showing forms used.

   a. discuss these.

   b. get students reactions.

   c. turn to authorities in English as a last resort.

   d. observe punctuation in both forms.

   e. write a letter that you have been wanting to write.

LESSON PLAN

CONSUMER EDUCATION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this lesson is to prepare the trainees to help their class members develop attitudes and habits which will insure that they will spend their money in the most beneficial and economical manner.

THE METHOD

The method used will be that of question and discussion with the leader raising questions whose answers will define the terms consumer, income, overspending, budget, credit, compensation, "Madison Avenue," and others which help us to look objectively at the average American's preoccupation with material things and their consumption. Some attention will be given to the various income levels: national average, national average for whites, national average for Negroes, and average for the southern white and the southern Negro. Contrasting the image of affluence and the resulting furor made by the advertisers who compete for the consumer's patronage unceasingly with the low income of the Southerners with whom the trainees will work, we see a great need for consumer education. The discussion which will be highly informal and unstructured because of its appeal (according to our past experiences) should produce the following learnings:

1. Ability to prepare a budget (See sample)

2. Awareness of factors which influence the amount of a family's income

   a. education

   b. job opportunities

   c. trends and conditions of the national economy

   d. automation and cybernation

3. Awareness of negative influences which relate to spending

   a. special "sales" and other advertising tricks, schemes and techniques

   b. keeping up with the Jones

   c. materialistic outlook and philosophy

4. Awareness of resources which aim to alleviate conditions of poverty

   a. Economic Opportunity Programs

   b. Civil Rights Act - Titles Vl and Vll

   c. public and private social welfare agencies

   d. discount buying

e. enlightened shopping methods

1) nutritious vs "economical" foods

2) supermarket vs corner grocery

3) clearance vs special purchase sales

4) bank loans vs loan sharks (suggested resources open when bank discriminates)

5. Suggested treatment of related family problems

a. family planning - birth control

b. allowances for children, teaching of thrift, budgeting appropriate values regarding money

c. savings - suggest keeping at least one month's income

d. debts - try not to owe more than one month's income

The following is sample monthly budget for family with income of $250.00:

		$ 250.00
Rent	$ 50.00 *	
Food	80.00 *	
Clothing		
Utilities		
Medicines		
Insurance		
Allowances for children		
Travel		
Entertainment		
Savings		
Charities		
Miscellaneous		
TOTAL	$250.00	$250.00

* Our suggested figures. For other items, we suggest no amount, but leave it to the individual "family" to complete the allocations up to the total amount of $250.00.

RESOURCE MATERIALS

Books - Michael Harrington's The Other America

Magazines - "Changing Times" "Consumer Reports"

Films

Materials interpreting services of various discou houses or concerns

LESSON PLAN

BANKING

PURPOSE

The purpose of this lesson is to prepare the trainees to teach simple banking techniques and practices.

THE METHOD

A. Question - Discussion

The teacher starts by asking the group to recall memories of experiences they have had with money and banking to give reasons why they feel it important to teach banking in the classes which they will set up. At the end of this session, the following reasons will have been identified or crystallized:

1. To make practical use of numbers
2. To promote safety in handling of money
3. To encourage business-like handling of affairs
4. To encourage and support independence in handling money
5. To enable people to build credit ratings
6. To familiarize people with the services a bank offers in a community

B. Theory and Practice

The next part of the class will be concerned with the reading of short stories about using a bank - "Depositing Money In The Bank" and "Writing A Check". (Enclosed copies)

1. Depositing money in the bank

The method used asks that the story be read over completely to the class. Then the story is read by the trainees sentence by sentence in rotation order by a person next to the former reader taking his turn when it is time for their table to read again, and so forth. Attention is given to audibility of the reader, to all groups keeping up with the story, and to seeing that the story is understood. Once it is determined that all people understand the story, all questions are answered, we will proceed to test our learnings by reconstructing the story. This calls for completing the sentences which contain blank spaces at the bottom of the pages. The rotation-participation technique is used here again. Lessons drawn from this work include:

a. writing practice

b. reading

c. word study

d. procedure for depositing money in the bank

Following this work the trainees actually fill out a deposit slip using data suggested by the teacher - the amount of currency is given, the amount of silver is given and it is suggested that they also "deposit" the amount of their first month's operational expense check from the Citizenship Program. The work will be checked and necessary corrections will be made when errors are found.

2. Writing a check

The same procedure as that for depositing money. Reading the story, testing our learnings through completing sentences by filling blank spaces with correct information taken from the stories, and this time actually writing a check is used in this part of the lesson. Students complete a blank check for practice.

C. Materials

1. Questions from the people regarding banking. (These may be taken up a day before the lesson in order to build around the needs of the trainees.)

2. Sample deposit slips and blank checks

3. Mimeographed stories on making deposits and writing checks

4. Sample savings deposit and withdrawals forms from a variety of banks

5. Bank managers and other resource people who may visit classes

6. Films, pamphlets, and related brochures

DEPOSITING MONEY IN THE BANK

When I get a check I put it in the bank.

I make a deposit slip.

I write my name on the deposit slip.

I write my address on the slip, too.

I then write the date on the deposit slip.

Next I write the bank named on the check.

Then I write the amount of the check.

If I have two checks I write the bank named on each.

I write the amount of money named in each check.

I then write the total amount of both checks.

Then I endorse each check.

I write my name on the back of the check to endorse it.

Every check must be endorsed.

I keep my_____in the bank.

I deposit the money in the_____.

First I write my_____on the deposit slip.

My address is the place where I_____.

I then write the_____named on each check.

Next I write_____date on the slip.

I also write the_____of each check.

Then I _____the total.

I then_____the check.

WRITING A CHECK

Sometimes I need to get some money from the bank.

I get a blank check at the desk in the bank.

Then I write a check for the money.

I write the month, the day of the month, and the year.

Then I write the name of the person who gets the check

Then I write the amount of the check in figures.

Next I spell out the amount of the check.

Then I sign my name at the bottom of the check.

Sometimes I write a check at home.

Sometimes Mary writes checks.

Mary signes her name to the checks she writes.

I sign my name to the ones I write.

Sometimes I get my money out of the _____.

I _____ a check for the money I need.

I get a _____ check at the desk in the bank.

I write the _____ on the check.

I write the amount of _____ in figures.

I also spell out the _____ of money.

Then I _____ my name.

CLIP RECEIPTS HERE

E X P E N S E V O U C H E R

MONTH ENDING		AMOUNT

I certify that the expenses itemized above are actual expenses incurred.

SIGNATURE _____

DATE RECEIVED _____ DATE PAID _____

SIGNATURE OF STAFF MEMBER AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURE _____

LIST OF FILMS*

	Time Needed for Showing	No.	Rental Price	Page in Catalog
A CITIZEN PARTICIPATES	25 Min.	8672	$4.00	34
A CITIZEN MAKES A DECISION	18 Min.	8789	3.50	34
CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP	15 Min.	9673	5.00	33
DISCUSSION IN DEMOCRACY	10 Min.	5637	2.00	43
UNTO THYSELF BE TRUE	20 Min.	4742	6.00	146
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN	22 Min.	8643	4.00	151
VOTING PROCEDURES	14 Min.	9623	3.00	148
OUR TOWN IS THE WORLD	11 Min.	7719	2.00	106
THE HOUSE I LIVE IN	10 Min.	1764	1.50	69
÷ GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS	30 Min.			
÷ KNOCK ON EVERY DOOR	23 Min.			
÷ MISSISSIPPI STORY	30 Min.			
÷ THE NASHVILLE SIT-IN STORY	50 Min.			

* These films may be rented from the:

Film Division
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

÷ We own these films and you may reserve them by requesting them two weeks in advance of the date on which you wish to show them.

SELECTION OF TEACHERS FOR CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS

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1. The location of the registration board;
2. Days and hours that the board is open for registration;
3. Who are the local officials that are elected to office;
4. Time of year for elections;
5. Health services available;
6. Location of the social security office;
7. Location of the welfare department.

Citizenship Education Program
Workshop Material

Identify the following famous Negroes in one sentence or more:

A. W.E.B. DuBois

B. Ralph J. Bunche

C. Daniel Hale Williams

D. Charles Richard Drew

E. Harriett Tubman

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM
WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

COUNTY STATISTICS

ALABAMA

Autauga	1
Calhoun	3
Dallas	30
Elmore	30
Elmore - Tallapousa	2
Etowah	15
Hale	3
Jefferson	18
Lamar	1
Madison	8
Mobile	18
Montgomery	12
Perry	5
Talladega	2
Tuscaloosa	4
Wilcox	26

*Boligee - Forklord - Alberta - Minter - Chunchula - Elmore - Toxey - Lower -

FLORIDA

Columbia	1
Dade	6
Escambia	1
Palm Beach	1
Putman	1
St. Johns	11

GEORGIA

Baldwin	1
Bibb	9
Bullock	2
Burke	8
Candler	1
Carroll	1
Chatham	35
Clarke	1
Clinch	1
Colquitt	1
Dougherty	35
Emmanuel	14
Evans	3
Fulton-DeKalb	48
Greene	4

GEORGIA (cont'd)

Henry	1
Houston	4
Jasper	2
Jefferson Davis	2
Jefferson	2
Lee	6
Liberty	21
Lowndes	1
Muscogee	3
Peach	3
Richmond	6
Sumter	3
Taliaferro	2
Tatnall	26
Telfair	2
Terrell	1
Toombs	1
Trentleh	1
Trolggs - Wilkinson	1
Ware	2
Wheeler	7
Wilkes	1

*Ft. Benning - Manassas - Conley - Herndon - Richmond Hill - Jacksonville - Salters - Garnett - Walthamville - Midway - Garfield

KENTUCKY

Harlan	1

LOUISIANA

Bossier - Caddo	25
Caddo	5
Caleasieu	3
Iberia	4
Iberville	12
Jackson	2
Orleans	14
Rapides	7

*Keithville - Lisbon

MISSISSIPPI

Adams	1
Bolivar	41

MISSISSIPPI (cont'd)

Clarke	1
Coahoma	18
Forrest	14
Harrison	4
Hinds	11
Holmes	17
Lauderdale	3
Leake	1
Leflore	70
Madison	8
Marshall	9
Okkibbeha	1
Okkibbeha - Webster	2
Panola	1
Sunflower	12
Tallahatchie	3
Warren	1
Washington	5

*Coila - Jameston - Indenator - Baseville - Hillhouse -

NORTH CAROLINA

Bertie	2
Chowan	11
Craven	5
Davidson	1
Edgecombe - Nash	1
Guilford	1
Halifax	1
Halifax - Darren	1
Jones	3
Mecklenburg	2
Onslow	1
Pasguatank	2
Perguimans	1
Union	20

*Chilletok - Pendleton - Garysburg -

SOUTH CAROLINA

Abberville	1
Aiken	5
Allendale	3
Anderson	1
Bamberg	7
Barnwell	6
Beaufort	1
Beaufort - Hampton	4

SOUTH CAROLINA (cont'd)

Charleston	33
Chester	1
Colleton	1
Dillon	1
Dorchester	9
Edgefield	3
Fairfield	5
Florence	4
Greenwood	3
Hampton	3
Horry	1
Jasper	18
Kershaw	2
Lee	5
Lexington	1
Lexington - Saluda	1
Marion	3
McCormick	2
Newberry	18
Orangeburg	4
Richland	47
Saluda	2
Sumter	8
Union	5
Williamsburg	5

*Frogmore - Blair - Clarks Hill - Garnett - Hopkins - Pineland - Sheldon - Ft. Motte - West Cole - Dalzell - Hilton Head - Huger - Luray - Salters - Cola - Kelton - Burton - Ligoff - Eastover - Wadmalsa Island - Upson - Muhetta - State Park - Gadsden - Little Mountain - Richburg - Charleston Heights - Wallston - Mileg - Monroe - Meggett - Pamaria -

TENNESSEE

Bedford	1
Davidson	3
Fayette	2
Franklin	2
Hamilton	4
Haywood	11
Knox	1
Madison	1
Shelby	1

VIRGINIA

Appomatox - Prince Edward	3
Dinwiddie	13
Henrico	3
Lancaster	1
Norfolk	1
Pittsylvania	15
Prince Edward	2
Prince George	5
York	3

*Cullen - Meherrin - Church Road - Ivon - Ford - Rice -

WHILE LIVING AT DORCHESTER

FOR WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

1. THE SCLC OFFICE IS THE LAST ROOM ON THE LEFT OF THE FIRST FLOOR IT WILL BE OPEN 8:00 AM UNTIL 10:30 PM EVERYDAY.

2. IN-COMING AND OUT-GOING MAIL MAY BE LEFT AND PICKED UP IN THE SCLC OFFICE. STAMPS MAY BE PURCHASED FROM THIS OFFICE ALSO. THE OFFICE IS OPEN FOR THESE SERVICES FROM 4:00 PM UNTIL 6:00 PM EACH DAY. MAIL GOES OUT IN THE AFTERNOON AND COMES IN, IN THE MORNING.

3. KITCHEN DUTY IS HANDLED ON A ROTATING VOLUNTEER BASIS.

4. WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS ARE REQUESTED TO REMAIN ON THE CENTER'S GROUNDS. BOUNDARIES WILL BE ANNOUNCED, AND YOUR COOPERATION IS REQUESTED. PLEASE CLEAR WITH THE TEACHER IN CHARGE WHEN YOU NEED TO LEAVE THE GROUNDS AT ANY-TIME. A BOX IS LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE WHERE, BETWEEN 8:00 AM AND 12:00 NOON, YOU CAN PUT WRITTEN REQUESTS FOR WHATEVER ITEMS (TOOTHPASTE, KLEENEX, ETC.) YOU WANT FROM TOWN.

5. LOST AND FOUND ITEMS ARE LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE.

6. FIRST AID KITS ARE LOCATED IN THE SCLC OFFICE, ON THE FIRST FLOOR.

7. LAUNDRY: IRONING BOARDS AND IRONS ARE LOCATED ON THE FIRST FLOOR.

8. WHEN LEAVING THE CENTER, PLEASE STRIP YOUR BEDS, FOLD YOUR BLANKET, AND LEAVE YOUR USED SHEETS ON THE FLOOR NEAR THE DOOR OF YOUR ROOM.

9. PLUMBING IS VERY SENSITIVE, AND CAN TAKE ONLY TOILET TISSUE.

10. THE UPSTAIRS IS USED FOR SLEEPING QUARTERS. PLEASE KEEP DOWNSTAIRS CONVER-SATIONS AFTER 10:30 PM AT A LOW VOLUME.

11. ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES ARE NOT ALLOWED ON THE CENTER'S PREMISES.

12. SHOOTING FIREARMS AND EXPLODING FIREWORKS ARE NOT PERMISSIBLE ON THE CENTER'S GROUNDS.

13. WORKSHOPS ARE SCHEDULED AND PLANNED FOR ADULTS. CHILDREN DO NOT ATTEND WORKSHOP SESSIONS. THEY ARE WELCOME, HOWEVER, AT EVENING PROGRAMS.

14. VISITORS AT DORCHESTER FOLLOW THE DAILY WORKSHOP SCHEDULE AND ARE ASKED TO OBSERVE THE REGULATIONS WHICH APPLY TO WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS.

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL MONTHLY ATTENDANCE AND RECORD SHEET

Name of Teacher _____ Meeting Place _____

Teacher's Address _____ Month Ending _____ Weekly Meeting Days _____

City and State _____

Name of Student	Address	Attendance Record								Age
		1st	wk.	2nd	wk.	3rd	wk.	4th	wk.	
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										
11.										
12.										
13.										
14.										

Vistors: _____

ATTENDANCE (Average)	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Enrollment	____	_____	_____
Attendance	____	_____	_____
Age Range	____	_____	_____

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Number Students Registered To Vote	____	_____	_____
Number To Be Registered	____	_____	_____
Total Number Registered This Month In Community	____	_____	_____

DATES OF CLASS MEETING

Months Selected: _____

_____

_____

_____

Year: _____

REMARKS:

PLEASE SIGN HERE

_____
Teacher's Signature

TECHNIQUES FOR VOTER REGISTRATION FIELD WORK

Safety

1. Know all roads in and out of town.
2. Know location of safe places and homes in the county.
3. Make arrangements for regular checks with the Jackson FDP office (WATS line) and/or the county office.

Canvassing

1. Take pen and paper to record any important information.
2. Try to present yourself to people in a way that will make them want to take their time to talk with you.
3. If a person closes the door in your face or will not talk with you, try to find out elsewhere why he did it. Everybody can be approached, but it may take much time and patience to reach some people.
4. Don't talk about too many things on the same visit, especially at first. Go back another day to explain more. When you both feel comfortable in the conversation, you can build a relationship, and the person will gain confidence in you.
5. Ask questions as well as give information in order to keep up a person's interest. If his attention wanders, try talking about other things and eventually work back to your program.
6. If a person seems interested, try to give them something to do to keep up their interest. Have them contact others.
7. If a person already knows what you are telling him, find out how he knows it. Perhaps there is already a group in existence that nothing is known about. Perhaps there are channels of communication that could be valuable in the future.

Workshops

1. Arrange materials you'll need (pencils, paper, application blanks, etc.) beforehand so things can go on as planned.
2. Emphasize that any question is a good question. Encourage people to speak up, ask questions, bring out their own ideas.
3. Whenever possible, use the local residents to lead workshops. As an organizer, you need to help them do things more and more on their own, without depending on you.
4. Go slowly enough to include everyone - taking part and understanding what is being said and done. Using questions and discussion and sometimes writing a little will help keep you all at about the best speed and everybody caught up with the ideas being put forth.
5. Many times people like to open and close workshops and meetings with a song and a prayer.
6. Praise people freely. Compliment them for any small thing. This business is new to most people and they are easily intimidated.

Taking People to the Registrar's Office

1. Help get transportation arranged for all who want to go.
2. Encourage people to go at least by twos. There is strength in numbers.
3. Accompany people to the door of the office if you can. At least go as far as local authorities will allow. After a while, community leaders should be going with other people instead of organizers.
4. Get people to write out and sign complaints if they are not allowed to register. People DO NOT have to read and write to register. Send complaints to John Doar, Justice Department, Washington, D.C., and a copy to the Jackson office. When 20 complaints are gathered from a county, the government should send in a federal registrar. Complaints should be sent also if people are segregated at all in the courthouse or if officials are unfair or rude.

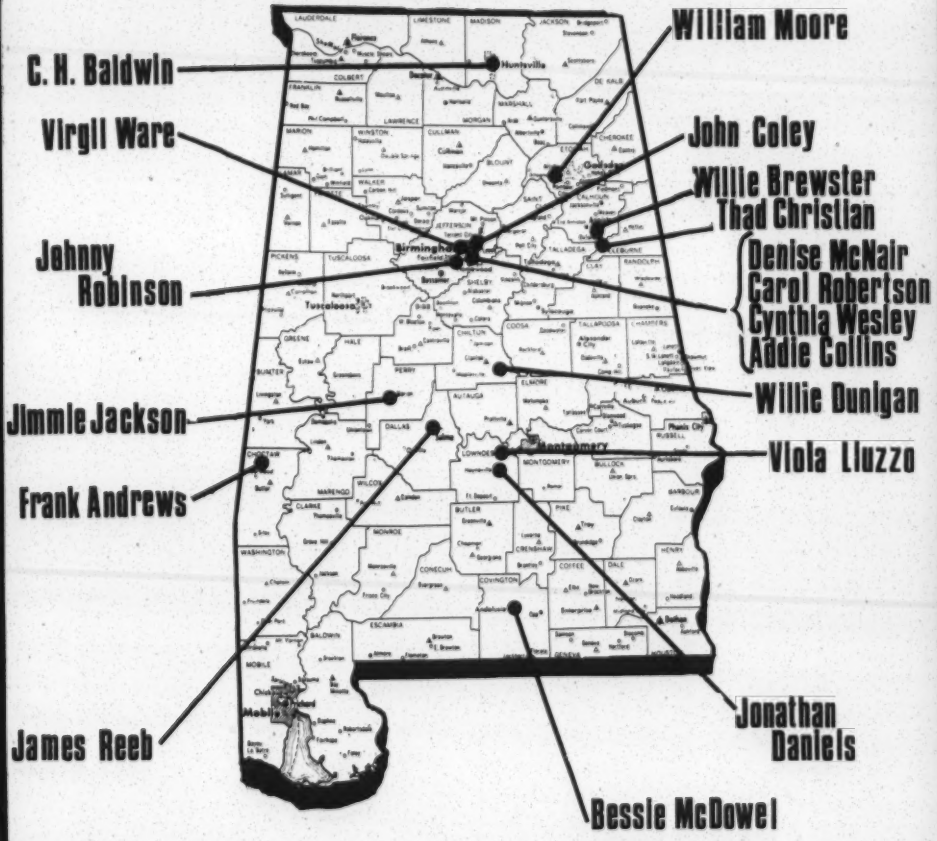
(Adapted from Mississippi: Handbook for Political Programs, COFO.)

A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF "MEDICARE"

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

In a Land where MURDER is Respectable



Published and Distributed by

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

To Do Justice in Alabama

On August 20, 1965, Jonathan Daniels, a white seminary student, was gunned down in front of a grocery store in Hayneville, Alabama, by a local Deputy Sheriff. In a little more than a month later, the assailant, Tom Coleman, was acquitted of a first degree murder charge by a jury of his peers.

This is not an isolated incident. To the contrary, it is symptomatic of the climate of lawlessness and violence which pervades the entire state of Alabama. Negro and white civil rights workers have been shotgunned, clubbed, stoned, and dynamited by local whites who have no need to fear judicial retribution from state or local authorities. For these crimes the state exercises two standards of justice, a "black" and a "white" justice. The following eighteen lives are a grim memorial to the black justice of Alabama.

MRS. VIOLA LIUZZO — The Detroit woman went to Selma to help in the march on Montgomery. She was killed the day the march ended as she drove through Lowndes County on her way to Montgomery to pick up a second load of marchers and ferry them back to Selma.

Her assailant's trial resulted in one mistrial and finally, acquittal.

THE REV. JAMES REEB — The Boston minister was beaten on a Selma street and died two days later. Four Selma whites were arrested and three have been indicted on murder charges. They will come up for trial sometime later this year.

JIMMIE LEE JACKSON — A Negro youth, he was killed in a voter demonstration at Marion, Ala. Officials said later that a state trooper did it. No arrest was made.

ADDIE MAE COLLINS, CYNTHIA WESLEY, CAROL ROBERTSON, DENIS McNAIR — The four Negro girls were at Sunday School in Birmingham when killed by an exploding bomb. No arrests.

JOHNNY ROBINSON — The Negro was killed in rioting that followed the church bombing. No arrests were made.

VIRGIL WARE — He was killed the same day by a pistol-toting white lad riding with a buddy on a motor-scooter. One of the white boys was convicted of manslaughter, and the other pleaded guilty. After a stern lecture, the judge sentenced them to seven months in the county jail, but then probated the sentence and set them free.

JOHN L. COLEY — A Birmingham Negro, he was shot dead in rioting that followed another bombing of a home two weeks earlier than the one at the church. No arrests were made.

WILLIAM MOORE — A Baltimore mailman making a lone protest march across Alabama, he was killed by a bullet from a passing car. A white man was arrested, but not indicted.

Though the next names are not as celebrated as those which precede them, they are to no less an extent representative of the evil of Alabama law enforcement.

REV. C. H. BALDWIN was stoned to death in Huntsville. His assailant was convicted of a second degree manslaughter charge.

WILLIE BREWSTER was shotgunned while returning home from work. There has been one indictment, but no trial yet.

THAD CHRISTIAN was killed in Anniston. No trial results yet.

FRANK ANDREWS was killed in Lisman No arrests were made.

WILLIE DUNIGAN was killed in Lomax. No arrests were made.

BESSIE McDOWEL was killed in Andalusia. One indictment was returned but never came to trial.

In a nation which is dedicated to the sanctity of the human spirit, this wanton disregard for human life must not continue. The state of Alabama has neglected its responsibility to enforce equal justice. This DEMANDS a national outcry if we are to be true to what our nation stands for.

THINGS THAT YOU CAN DO

1. Call upon your local newspaper and ask them to do more in the way of causing the nation to understand the seriousness of the problem.

2. Write letters to the editors as to how you feel about the problem.

3. Get together small delegations of people to call upon public officials and ask them to speak out on the problem.

4. Get organizations to distribute literature that they prepare or that they obtain from other organizations that relate to the problem.

5. Hold yourself in readiness to join with others that elect to protest the existence of the problem.

6. Keep informed as to what SCLC is doing about the problem, and keep SCLC informed as to what you are doing.

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Teacher Training Class in Session

Citizenship Education Program

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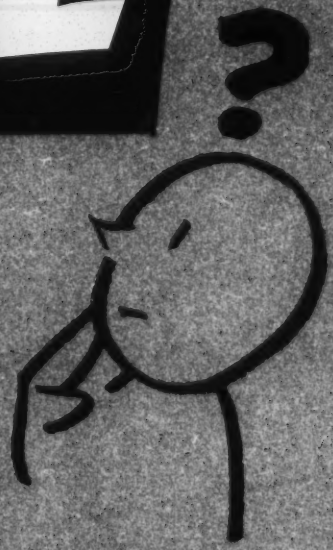
THIS IS SCLC

WHY



THE ABC'S OF CITIZENSHIP

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL Workbook

SCLC

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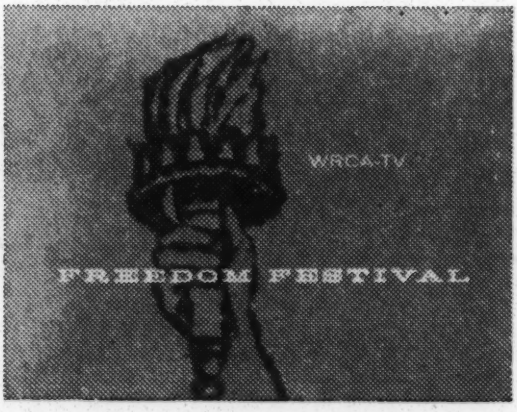
WHAT IS A COMMUNIST?

100 Revealing Answers on Page 31

Civil Liberties

FAMOUS WORDS OF FREEDOM



Published by
FREEDOM HOUSE
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

CONTENTS

Historic Words of Freedom 3

Contemporary Voices 9

Poetry of Freedom 16

On Documents of Freedom 19

This edition of Famous Words of Freedom was edited by George Field for the week-long Freedom Festival programs on WRCA and WRCA-TV presented in cooperation with Freedom House beginning Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1955.

393

HISTORIC WORDS OF FREEDOM

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

—*Thomas Jefferson*

Equal and exact justice to all men, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us. —*Ibid.*

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, to sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. . . . Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . We might as well require a man to wear the coat that fitted him as a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regime of their ancestors. —*Ibid.*

If the book be false in its facts, disprove them; if false in its reasoning, refute it. But, for God's sake, let us freely hear both sides. —*Ibid.*

Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. —*Ibid.*

Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation within us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly. . . . It would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated.

—*Thomas Paine*

Every age and generation must be free to act for itself in all cases as the ages and generations which preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. . . . Every generation is, and must be, competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living, and not the dead, that are to be accommodated. —*Ibid.*

It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of freedom to say, that government is a compact between those

who govern and those who are governed: but this can not be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with.

The fact therefore must be that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government; and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to exist. *Ibid.*

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it. —*Ibid.*

We want a state of things which allows every man the largest liberty compatible with the liberty of every other man.

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.

—*John 8:32*

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

—*Abraham Lincoln*

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy. —*Ibid.*

A house divided against itself cannot stand—I believe this government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. —*Ibid.*

The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. —*Ibid.*

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you. —*Ibid.*

After all, there is but one race—humanity.
—*George Moore*

I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.
—*Edmund Burke*

Power may justly be compared to a great river. While kept within its bounds, it is both beautiful and useful, but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If, then, this be the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and, like wise men who value freedom, use our utmost to support liberty, the only bulwalk against lawless power, which, in all ages, has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition the blood of the best men that ever lived. . . .

It is the best cause; the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizen, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny, and, by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which Nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least) by speaking and writing truth.
—*Andrew Hamilton on Freedom of the Press*

There is only one cure for evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day, he is unable to dis-

criminate colors, or recognize faces. The remedy is, to accustom him to the rays of the sun.

—*Thomas B. Macauley*

If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us! . . . Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

—*Patrick Henry*

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

—*Benjamin Franklin*

Liberty will not descend to a people, a people must raise themselves to liberty; it is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed.

—*Charles Caleb Colton*

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing.

—*Wendell Phillips*

I do not agree with a word you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

—*Francois Voltaire*

Abuses of the freedom of speech ought to be repressed, but to whom dare we commit the power of doing it?

—*Benjamin Franklin*

Freedom is the one purport, wisely aimed at, or unwisely, of all man's struggles, toilings and sufferings, in this earth.

—*Thomas Carlyle*

All men are by nature equal.

—*Plato*

The real democratic American idea is, not that every man shall be on a level with every other,

but that every one shall have liberty, without hindrance, to be what God made him.

—*Henry Ward Beecher*

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousandfold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people, and entombs the hope of the race.

—*Charles Bradlaugh*

Implicit faith, blind submission to authority, timid fear, a distrust of our own powers, an inattention to our own importance and the good purposes we are able to effect, these are the chief obstacles to human improvement. Democracy restores to man a consciousness of his value, teaches him by the removal of authority and oppression to listen only to the dictates of reason, gives him confidence to treat all other men as his fellow beings, and induces him to regard them no longer as enemies against whom to be upon his guard, but as brethren whom it becomes him to assist.

—*William Godwin*

Who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God and to save his own soul according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose?

—*John Milton*

The love of liberty is the love of others; the love of power is the love of ourselves.

—*William Hazlitt*

You can not possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights.

With reasonable men, I will reason; with humane men I will plead; but to tyrants I will give no quarter, nor waste arguments where they will certainly be lost.

—*William Lloyd Garrison*

It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God has given liberty to man is eternal vigilance.

—*John Philpot Curran*

As the happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it.

—*John Adams*

Our country, right or wrong! When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right!

—*Carl Schurz*

We believe that this country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in. . . . Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all.

—*Theodore Roosevelt*

I have always been among those who believed that the greatest freedom of speech was the greatest safety, because if a man is a fool, the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking.

—*Woodrow Wilson*

The world must be made safe for democracy. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. —*Ibid.*

The greatest aid that I know of that any man could give the world today would be a correct definition of "liberty." Everybody is running around in a circle announcing that somebody has pinched their "liberty." . . . So the question arises "how much liberty can I get and get away with it?" Well, you can get no more than you give. That's my definition, but you got perfect "liberty" to work out your own, so get in.

—*Will Rogers*

To save society from overreaching and impoverishing itself by any arbitrary interference and at the same time to uphold the public right as supreme, to secure the benefits of collective effort while wisely safeguarding individual opportunity and initiative, is the patriotic and difficult task which should enlist the best thought and unselfish endeavor of every citizen who appreciates the advantages and the dangers of the Republic.

—*Charles Evans Hughes*

Selfishness and demagoguery take advantage of liberty. . . . Free speech voices the appeals of hate and envy as well as those of justice and charity. A free press is made the instrument of cunning, greed, and ambition, as well as the agency of enlightened and independent opinion. How shall we preserve the supremacy of virtue and the soundness of the common judgment? How shall we buttress Democracy? The peril of this Nation is not in any foreign foe! We, the people, are its power, its peril, and its hope! —*Ibid.*

You tell me that law is above freedom of utterance. And I reply that you can have no wise laws nor free enforcement of wise laws unless there is free expression of the wisdom of the people—and, alas, their folly with it. But if there is freedom, folly will die of its own poison, and the wisdom will survive. That is the history of the race. It is the proof of man's kinship with God.

—*William Allen White*

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

—*George Bernard Shaw*

Our way of living together in America is a strong but delicate fabric. It is made up of many threads. It has been woven over many centuries by the patience and sacrifice of countless liberty-loving men and women. It serves as a cloak for the protection of poor and rich, of black and white, of Jew and Gentile, of foreign and native born. Let us not tear it asunder. For no man knows, once it is destroyed, where or when man will find its protective warmth again.

—*Wendell L. Willkie.*

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

—*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion—and above all with humility—to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free. —*Ibid.*

Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it. No constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. . . . The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which

seeks to understand the minds of other men and women. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias. The spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded. The spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest.

—*Learned Hand*

Making allowances for human imperfections, I do feel that in America the most valuable thing in life is possible, the development of the individual and his creative powers. There may be men who can live without political rights and without opportunity of free individual development. But I think that this is intolerable for most Americans. Here, for generations, men have never been under the humiliating necessity of unquestioning obedience. Here human dignity has been developed to such a point that it would be impossible for people to endure life under a system in which the individual is only a slave of the state and has no voice in his government and no decision on his own way of life.

—*Albert Einstein*

Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions, and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of men can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and to keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security.

—*Herbert Hoover*

Personal freedom, a wide range of individual expression, a complete respect for a human mind and the human personality—this is the ideal of the democratic system. In all the literature, the documents of democracy, you find this respect, this hope, this attitude of reverence toward the fullest possible flowering of each human personality. President Lincoln enjoyed quoting the Irishman who said, "In this country every man is as good as the next one and for the matter of that a little better." We are men, not angels—that is sure. Also we hope we are men and not mice. And sometimes we feel like worms of the dust, doing the best we can, moving a little soil of the earth from where it was to where it will be.

—*Carl Sandburg*

The unexamined life, said Socrates, is unfit to be lived by man. This is the virtue of liberty, and the ground on which we may best justify our belief in it, that it tolerates error in order to serve the truth. When men are brought face to face with their opponents, forced to listen and learn and mend their ideas, they cease to be children and savages and begin to live like civilized men. Then only is freedom a reality, when men may voice their opinions because they must examine their opinions.

—*Walter Lippmann*

We must be willing, individually and as a nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both. These basic precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible—from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists. . . . No person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call. We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience, to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.

—*Dwight D. Eisenhower*

Democracy . . . is a condition where people believe that other people are as good as they are.

—*Stuart Chase*

The phrase civil rights means a number of concrete things. It means the right to be treated equally before the law. It means the right to equal opportunity for education, employment and decent living conditions. It means that none of these rights shall be denied because of race or color or creed. The history of freedom in our country has been the history of knocking down the barriers to equal rights.

—*Adlai E. Stevenson*

Democracy is a process of growth. . . .
Freedom is power.
Freedom breeds freedom. *Ibid.*

Liberty is not license. It not only bestows a privilege; it imposes an obligation. A man's home is his castle, but he is not free to burn it down. A man may be the head of his family, but he may not willfully starve his children. . . .

Liberty is described for us in undying documents—the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights. It is symbolized by a cracked bell in Independence Hall, by a statue on a small island in New York harbor. It is a priceless value, to be won again and again, until all men are free."

—*Robert P. Patterson*

Freedom is not the absence of discipline, but it calls for discipline by internal constraint in contrast with the external police control of totalitarianism. When you throw a man in the water, his freedom does not express itself by merely splashing around. He can be free in the water only because he has learned to swim; that is to say, only because he subjects himself to a form of discipline, and a blend of self-suppression and self-assertion. The discipline of free men is not submission of one person's will to that of another, but it is anchored in a strategy of learning to balance the tensions within yourself. The ideas of freedom, self-control, and balance are inextricably interwoven.

—*Harry D. Gideonse*

Lincoln, who told us that no generation can escape history, used the word "responsibility" as often as he used the word "freedom." Referring to that link between freedom and responsibility in Lincoln's usage, Carl Sandburg has recently reminded us that free men might well ask themselves every day, almost as a ritual: "Who paid for my freedom, and what is the price, and am I somehow beholden?" —*Ibid.*

Implicit in the decision by the highest tribunal in the land against segregation in the public schools is a new and reassuring confirmation that in the American way of life, under our democratic creed, what is right will, in the end, always be done. The process may be slow, it may be halting, and it may encounter formidable obstacles and determined if misguided opposition; but in the end, under American democracy, right and decency and fairness always prevail. . . . Our democracy moves steadily toward fulfillment of its promise for all of its citizens, whatever their color or creed; it never fails in the end to reward the faith of its adherents. Its unceasing concern is for the people whose well-being it is designed to serve. Its trends are forward. It does not permit fear of change to stand in the way of prog-

ress. It is dynamic. This is why democracy is sturdy and solidly anchored in the minds and hearts of most Americans.

—*Ralph J. Bunche*

A DECLARATION OF FREEDOM

Written for Freedom House by a committee of distinguished Americans under the chairmanship of Archibald MacLeish.

Free men must re-dedicate themselves to the cause of freedom. They must understand with a new certainty of conviction that the cause of freedom is the cause of the human individual.

Human individuality is the basis of every value —spiritual, moral, intellectual, creative—in human life. To preserve it in a world of expanding and aggressive authoritarianism there must be a determination that freedom shall be defended wherever it is attacked and under whatever color or excuse. Those who attack freedom in the name of freedom are no less dangerous than those who attack it in the name of authority and discipline. Those who profess a belief in freedom but shirk the obligations it imposes, share the guilt of its enemies.

What is freedom? Freedom is the right to choose: the right to create for oneself the alternatives of choice. Without the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice a man is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing.

Freedom is the right to one's soul: the right of each man to approach God in his own way and by his own means. It is a man's right to possess his mind and conscience for himself. To those who put their trust in freedom, the State can have no sovereignty over the mind or soul—must be the servant of man's reason, not the master.

Freedom is the right to one's dignity as a man. In a free society no individual, no group is entitled to diminish the human dignity of any man regardless of his race, his creed, or his color.

How shall freedom be defended?

By arms when it is attacked by arms; by truth when it is attacked by lies; by democratic faith when it is attacked by authoritarian dogma. Always, and in the final act, by dedication and faith.

On what faith does the defense of freedom rest?

On faith in man; faith in the fundamental decency of man; faith in the capacity of man to make his way by his own means to the truth which is true for him.

How can the faith in man survive in a time of human cruelty and treachery and wickedness beyond all precedent? How can it survive in a time of vast impersonal mechanisms—political and social and material—when individual human beings often feel, and sometimes say, that man has lost control of his destiny?

Faith in man can survive even in our time, because the conscience of mankind has survived and still protests. As long as the conscience of mankind survives—as long as mankind knows the "unwritten and undying laws of God"—man can believe in man.

Why should men believe in freedom now? Why should the exploited populations believe in freedom? Why should the poor believe in freedom?—the victims of economic greed?—the persecuted races? Why should those who crave an answer believe in freedom which is not, itself, an answer but a means of finding answers; which is not itself an end but a means to ends?

Men, whatever their situation, whatever their anxiety, should believe in freedom now precisely because freedom is not a preconceived answer, a predetermined end. What counts in a world of men is the beginning and the opportunity, not merely the end and the answer.

This age of ours is big with a future of infinite possibilities. Prophets of darkened vision have invoked its horrors for us. But it contains also an emerging promise of a richer, more humane and more abundant life which will not be realized unless the human mind is free. Only freedom keeps the future open.

But how can freedom stand against the monsters of unbridled authority?

Individual freedom can prevail and triumph, even against the enemies which beset it now, because the cause of freedom is the cause of man. Against that cause no enemy has prevailed for long.

Freedom is a noble thing! . . .
He lives at ease that freely lives. . . .
A noble heart may have no ease,
Nor aught beside that may him please
If Freedom fail.

—*John Barbour*

God speed the hour, the glorious hour,
When none on earth
Shall exercise a lordly power,
Nor in a tyrant's presence cower,
But all to Manhood's stature tower,
By equal birth!

—*William Lloyd Garrison*

So long as faith with freedom reigns
And loyal hope survives,
And gracious charity remains
To leaven lowly lives;
While there is one untrodden tract
For intellect or will,
And men are free to think and act,
Life is worth living still.

—*Alfred Austin*

For what avail the plow or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail?

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast;
And the woods against a stormy sky,
Their giant branches tossed;
And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er—
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On a wild New England shore. . . .

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas? the spoils of war?—
They sought a faith's pure shrine!
Aye, call it holy ground
The soil where first they trod!
They left unstained what there they found—
Freedom to worship God!

—*Felicia Dorothea Hemans*

Whoever degrades another degrades me,
And whatever is done or said returns at last
to me.

—*Walt Whitman*

When liberty goes out of a place, it is not the
first to go,
Nor the second or third to go.
It waits for all the rest to go—it is the last.

—*Ibid.*

All we have of freedom,
All we use and know,
This our fathers bought
For us, long and long ago.

Ancient rights unnoticed
As the breath we draw—
Leave to live by no man's leave
Underneath the law.

—*Rudyard Kipling*

Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed? . . .

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! True Freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free!

—*James Russell Lowell*

To a great chief at Washington and to a
chief of peoples across the waters,
Hiamovi spoke:
"There are birds of many colors—red, blue,
green, yellow,
Yet it is all one bird.
There are horses of many colors—brown, black,
yellow, white,
Yet it is all one horse.
So cattle, so all living things, animals, flowers,
trees.
So men in this land, where once were only
Indians, are now men of many colors—white,
black, yellow, red,
Yet all one people."

—*Carl Sandburg*

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

—*Emma Lazarus*

All countries and all races are American,
All nations are embodied in her job,
To breed the noble concept of a man
Whose freedom is, that others should be free.

—*Russell W. Davenport*

My country,—'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
    Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side
    Let freedom ring.

Our fathers' God,—to Thee,
Author of liberty,
    To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
    Great God, our King.

—*Samuel Francis Smith*

ON DOCUMENTS OF FREEDOM

Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

—*The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom*

I admit that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons under oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed may be granted. In the first place, the writ is universal. . . . Everyone with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner, may control, imprison, or murder anyone within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. . . .

Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle.

—*James Otis, on Writs of Assistance*

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

—*Declaration of Independence*

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.

—*The Constitution of the United States*

Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

—*First Amendment to the Constitution*

The basic premise on which the Declaration of Independence rests is that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights." That means that the source of these rights of man is God, not government. When the state adopts measures protective of civil liberties, it does not confer rights. It merely confirms rights that belong to man as the son of God.

The Declaration of Independence states, "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among Men. . . ." The preamble of the Constitution says, "We the People of the United States, in Order to . . . secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution. . . ."

Therein lies the basic difference between democratic and totalitarian governments. In fascist, communist, and monarchical states, government is the source of rights: government grants rights; government withdraws rights. In our scheme of things, the rights of man are unalienable. They come from the Creator, not from a president, a legislature, or a court.

—*William O. Douglas*

We not only praise individual liberty, but our constitutional system has the unique distinction of insuring it. Our guaranties of fair trials, of due process in the protection of life, liberty, and property—which stands between the citizen and arbitrary power—of religious freedom, of free speech, free press and free assembly, are the safeguards which have been erected against the abuses threatened by gusts of passion and prejudice which in misguided zeal would destroy the basic interests of democracy. We protect the fundamental right of minorities, in order to save democratic government from destroying itself by the excesses of its own power. The firmest ground for confidence in the future is that more than ever we realize that, while democracy must have its organization and controls, its vital breath is individual liberty.

—*Charles Evans Hughes*

. . . The question in every case is whether the words used are in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present dan-

ger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right. . . .

. . . Only the emergency that makes it immediately dangerous to leave the correction of evil counsels to time, warrants making any exception to the sweeping command, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech. . . ."

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes*

. . . To courageous, self-reliant men, with confidence in the power of free and fearless reasoning applied through the processes of popular government, no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. . . . Only an emergency can justify repression. Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled with freedom. Such, in my opinion, is the command of the Constitution. It is, therefore, always open to Americans to challenge a law abridging free speech and assembly by showing that there was no emergency justifying it.

—*Louis D. Brandeis*

. . . Government may not interfere with organized or individual expression of belief or disbelief. Propagation of belief—or even disbelief—in the supernatural is protected, whether in church or chapel, mosque or synagogue, tabernacle or meeting-house. Likewise the Constitution assures generous immunity to the individual from imposition of penalties for offending, in the course of his own religious activities, the religious views of others, be they a minority or those who are dominant in government. . . .

—*Felix Frankfurter*

The requirement of "due process" is not a fair-weather or timid assurance. It must be respected in periods of calm and in times of trouble; it protects aliens as well as citizens. But "due process," unlike some legal rules, is not a technical concept with a fixed content unrelated to time, place and circumstances. . . . —*Ibid.*

. . . Activity here charged to be criminal is conspiracy—that defendants conspired to teach and advocate, and to organize the Communist Party to teach and advocate overthrow and destruction of the Government by force and violence. . . . The

authors of the clear and present danger test never applied it to a case like this, nor would I. If applied as it is proposed here, it means that the Communist plotting is protected during its period of incubation; its preliminary stages of organization and preparation are immune from the law; the Government can move only after imminent action is manifest, when it would, of course, be too late. . . .

—*Robert D. Jackson*

. . . There can be no doubt as to the power of Congress, by itself or through its committees, to investigate matters and conditions relating to contemplated legislation. This power, deeply rooted in American and English institutions, is indeed co-extensive with the power to legislate. Without the power to investigate—including of course the authority to compel testimony, either through its own processes or through judicial trial —Congress could be seriously handicapped in its efforts to exercise its constitutional function wisely and effectively.

But the power to investigate, broad as it may be, is also subject to recognized limitations. It cannot be used to inquire into private affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose. Nor does it extend to an area in which Congress is forbidden to legislate. Similarly, the power to investigate must not be confused with any of the powers of law enforcement; those powers are assigned under our Constitution to the Executive and the Judiciary. Still further limitations on the power to investigate are found in the specific individual guarantees of the Bill of Rights, such as the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination. . . .

—*Earl Warren*

. . . The Bill of Rights represents democracy's imposition of discipline upon itself. History records many occasions when emergencies have so inflamed popular passions that the masses have demanded sudden folly. Therefore, in times when heads are cool, provision has to be made against the hour when judgment may falter. Even "the people" must not be left free to deprive themselves of their essential rights as individuals. . . .

—*Frank Kingdon*

To the mind of our Western world it is natural to think of men being equal in God—not only before God, in the eyes of God, but equal in God, in the divine spark which gives abiding value to

the individual soul. . . . A whole set of political systems has arisen in the effort to make real this idea of equality which man, in the Western world, has always desired. . . . And America seems in a special way to be the guardian of the idea, because in the preamble to her first state document she already dared to talk of truths and privileges which were applicable to "all men."

—*Herbert Agar*

Traditionally democracy has been an affirmative doctrine rather than merely a negative one.

I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest upon, as does religion—the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.

Any form of government, therefore, and any other institutions which make men means rather than ends, which exalt the state or any other institutions above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of the government, are contrary to that conception, and, therefore, I am deeply opposed to them.

—*David E. Lilienthal*

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IMMIGRATION & CITIZENSHIP

BACKGROUND

With the exception of Indians and Eskimos every American is an immigrant, a child of an immigrant, or the descendant of immigrants. And scientists now suspect that even the Indians came from Asia some centuries before the Mayflower arrived.

America is a dynamic composite of men and women from many countries and many races. What holds them and their country together are the rights and privileges and duties of American citizenship—rights, privileges and duties granted by the Constitution to naturalized and native born Americans alike.

This fact makes the process of naturalization as well as our immigration policies a matter of grave concern to all Americans.

In his message to Congress vetoing the restrictive McCarran Immigration and Naturalization law former President Harry S. Truman said on June 25, 1952:

> "In recent years our immigration policy has become a matter of major national concern. Long dormant questions about the effect of our immigration laws now assume first rate importance. What we do in the field of immigration and naturalization is vital to the continued growth and internal development of the United States—to the economic and social strength of our country—which is the core of the defense of the free world. Our immigration policy is equally,

if not more important, to the conduct of our foreign relations and to our responsibilities of moral leadership in the struggle for world peace."

The McCarran Act gave the country a bad immigration policy —harmful to the rights of our naturalized citizens and detrimental to our prestige abroad. Both major parties during the 1952 campaign urged repeal of this bad law.

But here is another broken campaign promise. The McCarran Act is still on the books. Citizenship and naturalization are still a major concern to millions of foreign born Americans.

TALKING POINTS

- **Immigrants need America.**

  Every day a number of people from behind the Iron Curtain crawl, creep, swim, stow away, tunnel, bluff, or force their way to freedom. Thousands such refugees from Communism still dwell dismally in Germany and Austria. Only "resettlement" in the new world can give them the free life they seek.

  Thousands of people in practically every country of the world are anxiously waiting—sometimes for years and years—to join their children, parents, brothers, sisters in the United States. Others, without relatives here, are anxious to come to these shores, start a new life in our rich land. Their "old country" often has more people than its economy can support. Mounting population pressures abroad are a potential threat to peace.

  Those who wish to come to the U. S. are inspired by the inscription beneath the Statue of Liberty proclaiming to all nations: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

- **. . . but America also needs immigrants.**

  To welcome immigrants and to give them the opportunity to become American citizens is one of the basic ideals of our government, a foundation stone of our democracy. It is not a humanitarian gesture but an economic necessity—vital for the continued growth and expansion of our country—even in days of recession and creeping unemployment.

- **Immigrants have made America great and prosperous.**

  Way back in 1787, during the Constitutional Convention, James Madison said: "That part of America which has encouraged them [the foreigners] has advanced more rapidly in population, agriculture, and the 'art.'" History has proven him right.

Our rapid population growth from 4 million to nearly 168 million during the last 175 years was largely the result of immigration. In 1940 it was estimated that of the total white population of 118.2 million, 67.9 million were of later immigrant stock—descendants of persons coming to the United States after 1789.

Madison couldn't know about the tremendous help "foreigners" would give to the building of our industries. The great transcontinental railroads were built in the 19th century with the sweat and toil of tens of thousands of Irish and Chinese immigrants. The farms of the middle west which have become the granary of the nation and a hungry world were hewn from the wilderness by German and Scandinavian immigrants. Our great workshops and industries are manned in considerable part by immigrants or the sons of immigrants—Italians, and Slavs and men of many races and national origins—Americans all.

Immigration has given us an Andrew Carnegie, who promoted progress in steel making; a David Sarnoff, who pioneered in radio manufacture; and a William S. Knudsen, to increase automobile production. It has given us men like Enrico Fermi from Italy and Albert Einstein from Germany without whom the development of atomic energy would have been impossible. It has given us Arturo Toscanini, Fritz Kreisler . . . Irving Berlin and Victor Herbert . . . and literally thousands of others who have helped mold and enrich the American way of life.

- **Immigration helps provide jobs and business opportunities.**

Immigration has helped to expand the American economy. In fact many immigrants create more jobs for others.

Careful investigations, cited by Edward Corsi, New York State Industrial Commissioner, in his pamphlet "Path to the New World" (1953), concluded that there is no correlation between the percentage of foreign born in individual states and the percentage of unemployed workers at various periods for which such calculations

were made. In fact the more immigrants live in a given area the higher the per capita income there. Nor is this surprising:

Immigrants are consumers as well as producers. Half of the immigrants are women and children who do not go into the labor force. When an adult immigrant arrives he adds to the economy the equivalent of a capital investment of perhaps $10,000 which the country of emigration has invested in raising and educating him from childhood. Many bring with them skills and experience which enable them to give employment to others.

- **There is plenty of room in this country.**

In 1950 the United States had 51 persons per square mile. Compare this with 480 in Great Britain and 807 persons per square mile in Belgium.

The fact is, there is plenty of room and plenty of need for new immigrants. Only those who would take the small and narrow view of America, who are afraid of an expanding economy such as the 20 years of the New and Fair Deal have given us, will dispute this.

Said Representative Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts: "When this country was new it might have been good policy to admit all. But it is no longer." Otis spoke in 1797. Those who speak so today are as wide of the mark as he was.

- **Since 1917 our lawmakers have become increasingly intolerant of new immigration.**

Until 1882, immigration to this country was largely free and unregulated. Anyone who could pay or borrow the money for passage could come.

In 1882 the first legislation was enacted to exclude paupers, criminals, diseased persons, and—for deplorable racist reasons—Chinese. This provision was later extended to prohibit other Orientals as well.

It was not until 1921 that quantitative restrictions on immigration were enacted. The 1921 law, made worse in 1924 in a wave of anti-foreign isolationist emotion, limited the number of admissible immigrants to equal three percent of the foreign born persons of a given

nationality living in the United States in 1910. (The 1924 Act changed the base year for quota calculations to 1890 and reduced the number to 2%.) Since then minor changes in the quota system allowed a few more people to enter, but under the basic law we still only permit 154,657 immigrants a year.

- **The National Origins Quota System discriminates against some nationalities in favor of others.**

The National Origins Quota System is the heart of our present immigration policy and was retained in the Immigration Act of 1952, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act.

The system divides the quota for immigrants among the various nations on the basis of the national origins of the entire American population as shown by the 1920 census. The census estimated, for example, that Americans of Greek origin constituted about one-fifth of 1% of the population. Therefore Greece is allowed a quota of approximately one-fifth of 1% of the annual admissible total. Accordingly 310 Greeks are allowed to enter. Under the same formula the British quota is set at 65,000. As the lawmakers well know, however, few Britishers—and others from Northern and Western Europe where the pressure to migrate is slight—desire to settle here. The result is that a large part of the overall quota is wasted.

As Senator Herbert Lehman (D., N. Y.) put it in a speech on May 7, 1954: "The system presupposes that persons born in one country are better suited to immigrate here and become American citizens than persons born in another. As reflected in our immigration quotas, an individual born in Britain is presumed to be thirteen times more acceptable to America than one born in Italy and two hundred times more acceptable than one born in Greece.

"This assumption is not only utterly false on the face of it; it is basically repulsive to the very spirit and tradition—to the meaning—of America."

- **The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 admitted 341,000 war victims.**

On President Truman's insistence Congress, on June 25, 1948, passed the Displaced Persons Act under which 341,000 displaced persons were admitted to the U. S. It was not a good law, primarily because, as President Truman said, it "discriminated in callous fashion against persons of the Jewish faith." It did serve, however, to help many people who were the innocent victims of fascist and communist totalitarianism and had been lingering in DP camps for years. It also added many skilled and outstanding citizens to our community.

The trouble with the DP law was that it left the quota system unchanged. By mortgaging quotas, the displaced persons law served to cut down opportunities for immigration under certain quotas for many years to come. For example the number of visas for many East European countries with small quotas are cut in half well into the next century, while the German quota remains unchanged at 25,814. The quota for Poland will remain at 3,244 until the year 1999; that of Latvia is "mortgaged" until A.D. 2274.

- **The McCarran Act is racist and unjust.**

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, passed Congress on June 27, 1952, over President Truman's veto.

This law wrapped all the unfortunate and restrictive immigration enactments of the past 25 years in one single package and added many new and more severe restrictions and injustices under the guise of national security.

President Truman in his veto message of June 25, 1952, said the law "discriminates, deliberately and intentionally, against many peoples of the world."

President Truman's Commission on Immigration, headed by former Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman found: ". . . our present immigration laws flout fundamental

American traditions and ideals, display a lack of faith in America's future, damage American prestige and position among other nations and ignore the lessons of the American way of life."

The bill was introduced by Senator Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) and Representative Francis E. Walter (D., Pa.). The House originally passed the measure on April 25 by a standing vote, 206-68. The Senate passed it May 22, 1952, by a voice vote after opponents fought it vigorously in seven days of debate.

The House overrode the President's veto (two-thirds, or 261 "yeas" required) 278 to 113 on June 26, 1952. The Senate overrode the veto 57 to 26 (two-thirds majority or 56 "yeas" required). 23 Southern Democrats voted with 34 Republicans to uphold the "anti-immigration law."

- **The McCarran Act introduced new forms of racial discrimination.**

In addition to perpetuating the unrealistic and unfair National Origins Quota System, the McCarran Act introduced a new form of racial discrimination. While taking a few halting steps toward abolition of racial barriers against Asiatics, the McCarran Act at the same time erects other and actually more formidable ones. It establishes the principle that ancestry and not the place of origin determines eligibility for admission—if the immigrant is an Oriental. Thus if a person is 50% Asian he is charged against the insultingly tiny quota—100 persons per year—of Asian countries. Other persons are charged to the country of their birth.

Negroes are similarly discriminated against.

- **The McCarran Act fails to help the victims of Communism.**

Said President Truman in his veto message of June 25, 1952:

". . . we have entered into an alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty, with Italy, Greece, and Turkey against one of the most terrible threats mankind has ever faced. We are asking them to join with us in protecting the peace of

the world. We are helping them to build their defenses, and train their men, in the common cause. But, through this bill we say to their people: You are less worthy to come to this country than Englishmen or Irishmen; you Italians, who need to find homes abroad in the hundreds of thousands—you shall have a quota of 5,645; you Greeks, struggling to assist the helpless victims of a communist civil war—you should have a quota of 308; and you Turks, you are brave defenders of the Eastern flank, but you shall have a quota of only 225!

- **The McCarran-Walter Act set up two classes of U.S. citizens.**

Once an immigrant has entered the country and become a citizen he is still under special jeopardy under the McCarran-Walter Act.

Naturalization is not only hard to get, but hard to keep. The act permits the deportation of citizens for reasons that would not affect native born Americans.

Under the act a person can be deported or threatened with deportation

- because he is confined to a public mental institution and can not prove to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that he developed his sickness here and didn't have it when he arrived.
- because at some time in his past, within five years of his entry to the U. S., he went on relief and the Attorney General believes—it's purely a matter of belief —he went on relief for causes which existed when he arrived.
- because it has been discovered—10, 20, or 30 years after his arrival—that he stole a loaf of bread or violated one of Hitler's or Stalin's police state rules.
- because he joined some association which perhaps years later came under Communist control.
- because he neglected to notify the Attorney General of a change in address within ten days and the Attorney General doesn't consider this excusable.

In addition the law permits immigration officials, without warrant, to question an alien as to his right to remain in the United States. It also permits the immigration authorities to examine social security files which have been otherwise confidential.

- **The Republicans fail to revise or repeal the McCarran Act despite campaign promises.**

During the 1952 Presidential campaign a number of leading Republicans, including Vice-President Nixon who as a Senator voted for the Act, expressed their distaste for the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

Candidate Eisenhower on Oct. 17, 1952, said at New ark, N. J.: "And now we come to another glaring example of failure of our national leadership to live up to high ideals. I refer to the McCarran Immigration Law, which was passed over the President's veto at the last session of Congress. A new immigration law was certainly needed. But with leadership rather than vetoes we should have had, and we must get, a better law than this McCarran Act."

President Eisenhower's "leadership . . . to get a better law" was confined to asking Congress in his first State of the Union message (February 2, 1953) to enact another immigration law "which will at one and the same time guard our legitimate national interests and be faithful to our basic ideas of freedom and fairness to all." That was the last heard on the subject for three full years.

- **President Eisenhower's Refugee Relief Act was poorly conceived . . .**

The President asked, April 22, 1953, that Congress admit 240,000 special immigrants. He got, on July 31, 1953, a law which theoretically would admit 214,000 emergency immigrants over a period of three years and eight months, or about 58,000 a year.

Upon signing the bill, on August 1953, President Eisenhower said: "We are giving a new chance in life to 214,000 fellow humans. . . . This action demonstrates again America's traditional concern for the homeless, the persecuted, and the less fortunate in other lands."

But into the law were built such barricades and barriers to make admission to the U. S. extremely difficult.

. . . and worse administered.

The Refugee Relief Act was administered by W. R. Scott McLeod, a former administrative assistant of Sen. Styles Bridges (R., N. H.), friend of Senator McCarthy (R., Wisc.), and Security Chief of the Department of State.

Nine months after the act was passed exactly eight (8) persons had arrived in the U. S. under its provisions. By contrast, the first boatload under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 arrived in New York with 1,070 immigrants on October 30, 1948, 53 days after the act passed. By July, 1954, almost a year after President Eisenhower signed the act, 5,000 visas had at last been issued.

On March 6, 1956, the State Department acknowledged that the Refugee Relief Act would "fall considerably short" of its goal of actually admitting 214,000 refugees by Dec. 31, 1956.

Said Senator Lehman (D., N. Y.) on May 7, 1954: "In the panic of concern lest we admit a single immigrant who would not be personally satisfactory to Mr. McLeod, Senator McCarran and Senator McCarthy, we have given the Communists abroad a chance to make a laughing stock of us. We have paralyzed the program, and dashed the hopes of thousands, both here and abroad, who had expected to realize from this program the answer to their dreams and prayers."

- **The Corsi Affair made the Administration and the program ridiculous.**

Things became ridiculous during the Corsi Affair—when Edmund Corsi, a distinguished New York Republican, was hired by John Foster Dulles to "expedite" the Refugee Relief program and left within four months after being fired on April 6, 1955, without being allowed to do his job.

Corsi was "redbaited" by Rep. Frances Walter (D-Pa.), co-author of the McCarran Act, without defense from the White House or Dulles. He was dropped because

he won the enmity of what he later called the "security gang" in the State Department headed by McLeod. He wanted to "expedite," but when the political pressures were applied by McLeod's friends in Congress, including the powerful Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N. H.), he was left friendless and deserted by those who had called him to serve.

THE EISENHOWER RECORD

In his first State of the Union message on 1953, President Eisenhower referred vaguely to "certain injustices" in the McCarran-Walter Act and told Congress that the law "does in fact discriminate."

In 1954, after the first session of the 83rd Congress failed to do anything, the President dropped the subject.

In 1955 he asked some changes in the Refugee Relief Act—but he didn't push for action and Congress took no action.

Not until Feb. 8, 1956—more than three years after he had been in office—did the President present detailed recommendations for revision of the basic McCarran-Walter Act. Even thereafter, the White House did not push for action.

The President again proposed changes in the Refugee Relief Act, again failed to push for them, and again Congress failed to act.

On July 27, 1956, the last day of the 84th Congress, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (Tex.) managed to push through on a voice vote a series of substantial compromise amendments to the McCarran-Walter Act. The device was a House-passed bill—the same familiar bill that comes up regularly to admit, over and above quotas, a few hundred "Basque sheepherders," for the special benefit of the wool interests.

A substitute text offered by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) would have relaxed fingerprinting requirements for foreign visitors, and wiped out the "mortgages" on future quotas of Greece, Latvia and other countries. The substitute would also have "'pooled" unused quotas, so that Southern and Eastern European nationals could apply for quotas not used by the British, for example.

It would also have allowed unused quotas to be used in 1957 by refugees unable to get into this country before the 1953 "emergency" law expires December 31, 1956.

This compromise measure went through the Senate by voice vote with complete bipartisan consent. It failed to get through the House because Rep. Francis Walter (D., Pa), co-author of the basic law, refused on the last day of the session to let the measure be brought up.

An immigration law revision finally was passed in 1957, after Democrats were voted control of Congress once more

It made relatively "noncontroversial" changes in the law, but it was better than nothing.

> The 1957 revision contained these major features:
> It allowed the State and Justice Departments to waive the fingerprinting of alien visitors; authorized use by German and other refugees and deportees of unused visas from the expired Refugee Relief Act; terminated the mortgages of future quotas of immigration contained originally in the 1948 Displaced Persons Act; made various liberalizing changes to reduce the harshness and inflexibility of technical requirements of the McCarran Act.

Still unchanged, however, are the basic evils of the McCarran Act—the racist philosophy, the hostility to immigration, the deeper injustices that are done to our doctrine that "all men are created equal."

As in the case of civil rights and some other areas of our national life, we shall have to wait for an Administration that believes more deeply in reform, that cares more about correcting mistakes, before we can turn toward basic revision of our immigration and citizenship law.

AFL-CIO POSITION

The 1957 AFL-CIO convention said that the "national origins section, the heart" of the law as written over President Truman's 1952 veto, is the section that "results in discriminatory selection of immigrants and has led to understandable resentment" in other sections of the Free World.

Justice and equity, said the resolution, should base quotas of immigration on "meaningful and relevant factors such as family reunion, technical and professional needs of America, refugee relief, national interest and resettlement."

The country is in a "strong enough economic position" to allow the entrance of "at least 250,000 (persons) annually in addition to those now eligible as 'non-quota' immigrants."

Reasonable care should be taken to block subversive elements but "fair and democratic administrative procedures" should be applied for both aliens and for naturalized citizens.

The importation of temporary workers—as in farm labor programs—"should be permitted only when our economic needs require and only after all possible steps to provide jobs and decent conditions" for Americans. Such importations should be modeled on the Mexican Contract Labor Program but with "greatly improved procedures" to protect both American and foreign workers.

MINIMUM WAGE

BACKGROUND

Asking for enactment of a Fair Labor Standards law, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in 1937:

"A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy can plead no justification . . . for chiseling workers' wages or stretching workers' hours . . . Our problem is to work out in practice those labor standards which will permit the maximum but prudent employment of our human resources to bring within the reach of the average man and woman a maximum of goods and of services conducive to the fulfillment of the promise of American life."

The Purpose of the Act

A year later the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was passed. It provided a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour for the first year of the law's operation, 30 cents an hour for the following six years, and 40 cents an hour by 1945. The purpose of the Act was stated in the law itself: "To eliminate as rapidly as practicable . . . labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary to health, efficiency, and the general well-being of workers."

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1949 raised the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour.

75¢ Utterly Inadequate

Even back in 1949 the 75 cents minimum was considered "inadequate" by members of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Since then living costs alone have increased by 15% on the average. For low-income groups, always worst hit by price rises, they have increased by at least 18%. Man-hour productivity—certainly an important factor in justification of higher wage levels—has risen at least 25%. The wage structure in major industries where collective bargaining contracts exist is

now more than three times as high as it was in 1938. And last but not least, minimum family needs to maintain "health, efficiency, and well-being" have long required a substantial increase in the minimum wage.

Coverage

Yet even the inadequate 75 cents minimum wage of 1949 failed to apply to millions of workers whose need for protection is most extreme. Almost half of the wage earners of America are not covered by the present $1 an hour law. Six million workers are specifically excluded even though they are engaged in "interstate commerce"—work that moves across state lines—and are thus under the jurisdiction of federal legislation. Another fourteen million workers are automatically excluded because their work is deemed to be "intra-state"—not involved in traffic between states—and therefore Congress has no power to regulate it.

As a consequence, millions of underpaid American workers in retailing, the service trades, the processing of agricultural products, and various categories of workers in lumbering, public utilities, and other occupations, are not covered by the federal minimum.

The New York Times
April 27, 1959
Page 15

N.A.A.C.P. ASKS AID FROM HIGH COURT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

statute requiring the registration of corporations.

That same day, without a hearing, an Alabama judge issued a "temporary" restraining order forbidding the N. A. A. C. P. to do any business in the state.

The association said that as a nonprofit organization it did not come within the state corporation law. But when it offered to register, nevertheless, it was enjoined from doing so while the court proceeding continued.

The Attorney General next moved to make the N. A. A. C. P. produce various records, including membership lists. The association refused to name its members and was fined $100,000 for contempt. Under Alabama law, the contempt finding prevented it from pursuing the court battle over its registration as a corporation.

Contempt Finding Voided

The Supreme Court's decision reversed the contempt finding on the ground that the N. A. A. C. P. had produced all requested records except membership lists, which could not be required. The federal high court remanded the case to the Alabama Supreme Court "for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

At that point the association asked the Alabama Supreme Court to expunge the contempt finding and send the case back to the Alabama trial court for proceedings on the corporation statute. Unless and until the N. A. A. C. P. could win those proceedings, it would be prevented from doing business in the state by the 1956 "temporary restraining order."

The Alabama Supreme Court did nothing from last summer until Feb. 12. Then it handed down an opinion reaffirming the contempt finding.

The opinion said the United States Supreme Court had rested its decision on the "mistaken premise" that the N. A. C. P. had produced all documents demanded except membership lists. There was nothing in the record to show that, the Alabama court said, and thus the association was still in contempt.

The refusal of a state court to obey a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court presents a most delicate problem, but it is not a new one to the high court. In its earliest days it met a similar refusal on the part of Virginia's highest court by entering a final judgment, without remand. It still has power to do so.

Whatever happens finally in the Alabama case will undoubtedly affect the others that are pending.

The Georgia case began with a demand by the state Revenue Department for voluminous records going back seven years. On the day N. A. C. P. officials received this demand, and were considering what to do about it, local officials of the association were served with a contempt citation.

Convicted of Contempt

Shortly afterward they were tried and found guilty of contempt and fined $25,000.

At that point the association's lawyers fell or were pushed into what they called a "procedural cul de sac." The trial judge refused to certify the record as prepared by the N.A.A.C.P. As a result, the higher Georgia courts refused to consider an appeal.

It is the contempt conviction that the association has asked the Supreme Court to review.

Tax records are the purported basis also of two cases from Arkansas. One began with a demand that the association's local branch pay $350 in back corporation taxes. In this action, the attorney general of Arkansas demanded files of association contributors, officers and agents.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, the association's director in Arkansas, refused to disclose the names. The Arkansas courts overruled her claim of constitutional privilege, and that is the question now before the Supreme Court. No contempt order is involved.

Mrs. Bates is also involved in another case. The City Council of Little Rock, Ark., asked her for the names of members and contributors, purportedly determine if the local N. A. A. C. P. was evading payment of an occupation tax.

She refused and was fined $25 for contempt. The Arkansas Supreme Court affirmed the conviction on the ground that she and the association could not claim immunity from the occupation tax and at the same time refused to produce records to support their claim.

New Statutes Attacked

A third Arkansas case involves a series of statutes passed at a special session of the Legislature in 1958. The laws were designed in part to discourage the association's legal activities, by forbidding gifts of money to the association or other support of its litigation.

The statutes also require lists of members to be filed by all organizations engaging in activities "designed to hinder, harass and interfere with the powers and duties of the State of Arkansas to control and operate its public schools."

The N. A. A. C. P. asked a three-judge Federal District Court to declare all the acts unconstitutional. But the court declined to pass on them, saying the statutes should be tested first in the state courts. That refusal has now been taken to the United States Supreme Court.

The last of the six cases, one from Florida, is to be filed in the Supreme Court this week. It stemmed from the refusal of the association's officials in Miami to turn names of members over to a legislative investigating committee. Subsequently, the officials were cited for contempt.

The six cases, taken as a whole, clearly have major import for the continuing racial struggle in the South. The legal fight against segregation is being carried on almost entirely by the N. A. A. C. P. Any successful Southern effort to cripple the association could make a profound change in the pace of integration.

The New York Times
April 28, 1959
Page 27

Supreme Court Actions

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 27—The Supreme Court took the following actions today:

RAILROADS

Held, 6—3, that a railroad employe invoking his statutory right to cancel an authirization for check-off of his union dues could not be compelled by the union or employer to submit the cancellation on a particular form supplied byt he union (No. 269, Felter v. Southern Pacific).

SHIPS

Unanimously held that when the United States was sued in admiralty, it might not set off against the claim an amount said to be owed to the Government by the claimant in an unrelated transaction (No. 285, U. S. v. Isthmian Steamship).

CRIMINAL LAW

Agreed to pass on the connection with interstate commerce constitutionally needed to sustain a Federal conviction under the Hobbs anti-racketeering act (No. 722, Stirone v. U. S.).

Agreed to decide whether the Constitution permitted a trial by court martial for an Army civilian employe charged with a capital offense overseas in peacetime (No. 622 misc., Grisham v. Taylor).

RELIGION

Refused for the second time to hear a complaint that the Lincoln Square redevelopment project in New York violated the Constitution because of the involvement of a religious institution, Fordham University (No. 771, Gart v. Cole).

EV

The New York Times
April 30
Page 8

LAW ASKED TO BAR PASSPORT TO REDS

State Department Official Tells Senate Unit Action by Congress Is Vital

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 29—The Internal Security Administrator of the Sttae Department declared today that the international situation demanded prompt Congressional action to deny passports to Communists.

Since last June, when the Supreme Court ruled, 5-4, that specific law was lacking, John W. Hanes Jr., the administrator, told a Senate subcommittee 1,150 persons known to have shown interest in the Communist conspiracy had received passports. The State Department, Mr. Hanes said, has been left helpless and has issued passports.

He said the department knew that many passports had gone to "hard-core" Communists dedicated to the overthrow of the Government.

Only three weeks after the court decision, Mr. Hanes declared, President Eisenhower requested specific authorization for passport denials to potential enemies. A bill got through the House during the last days of the last Congress but received no Senate attention.

In testimony to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, he said:

"Each and every [Communist] party member as of today can obtain a passport from the Department of State, except in the rare instance that they happen to be ineligible for some other reason, such as being a fugitive from justice.

"Many such persons have applied for passports since the decision of the Supreme Court, some of them even though they may have no present need or intention of going abroad. It seems entirely possible that these people are acting in concert or because of fear that they may soon be unable again to have valid passports.

"This is a gap in our defense which our enemies have not been slow to take advantage of."

Mr. Hanes gave no hint or criticism of the court. The trouble, he said, was with the law. The State Department, he asserted, had acted for seven years, not under precise law but under its concept of Congressional intention, to adopt regulations denying passports to Communists.

Representative John V. Lindsay, Republican of Manhattan, opposed the passport bill, sponsored by Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, on the basis of the broad and "vague" powers it would grant the Secretary of State to deny passport issuances.

He held also that its authority to restrict travel raised a constitutional question. He also opposed some parts of another Eastland bill that would halt pre-emption of state laws by the Federal Government, as was done by the Supreme Court in overriding Pennsylvania's sedition law in the case of Steve Nelson, a Communist leader.

He contended that such a measure could throw into confusion conflicting state and Federal laws governing labor relations, airline regulations, railroad management, communications, food and drug regulation and atomic control

EV

The New York Times
April 30, 1959
Page 16

Smith Act's Membership Clause Is Questioned Before High Court

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 29—The Supreme Court heard argument today on the long-debated constitutionality of the so-called membership clause of the Smith Act.

The clause makes it a crime to become "a member of" a group that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government. The case heard today concerned Junius Irving Scales, a North Carolina Communist leader convicted under the membership provision.

The Supreme Court has upheld convictions of Communist leaders under the Smith Act for conspiring to advocate violent overthrow. The question today was whether extending the prohibition to members, without showing advocacy by them personally, met constitutional guarantees of free speech and association.

The Government asked the Court to construe the clause so that it did not cover "mere members" of the Communist party, but only those who were active members, who knew its illegal aims and who intended to bring them about. Scale, it said, met all those tests.

John F. Davis, arguing for the Government, said he agreed that Congress could not "punish guilt by mere association." A man might want to join the Communist party because he was "lonely," Mr. Davis said, or "for romantic reasons." But he said Congress could reach the active, knowing supporter.

Justice Hugo L. Black posed the hypothetical case of a political party which, during prohibition days, had a plank urging "open violation of prohibition."

"If a man were an active member of such a party,' the Justice asked, "and he knew its aim and believed in it and intended to carry it out, could he be prosecuted for his membership?"

Mr. Davis said yes, Congress could "constitutionally punish him for using a mechanism [the party] to carry out an illegal aim."

Justice Felix Frankfurter interjected: "He doesn't have to buy the liquor himself."

Telford Taylor of New York, who represented Scales, argued first that the Smith Act could not be read the way the Government suggested—with so many requirements beyond "mere membership"—except by totally distorting it.

Mr. Taylor emphasized that Scales was not himself charged with advocating violent overthrow of the Government.

Instead, the prosecution introduced evidence about the aim of the Communist party in general, Mr. Taylor said. The strongest of this, he asserted, was some comment on the Korean war, "repellent" but not really inciting to violence.

"If documents that are nothing more than polemical attacks on government policy can be relied on to show incitement to violent overthrow," Mr. Taylor said, "we indeed face the constitutional issue."

Justice Frankfurter pointed out that two separate issues were involved in Mr. Taylor's point.

The first was whether the Communist party said things sufficiently dangerous to permit Government repression despite the First Amendment's guarantees of free speech.

The second was whether getting at such danger by punishing membership in the party was, in effect, getting too far ahead of the danger, too "remote" from it to be constitutionally permissible. For example, one could not punish a man who bought matches as a potential arsonist.

In addition to the constitutional question there is a difficult issue of evidence. The court held in 1957 that the Smith Act prohibited only "incitement to action," not "theoretical advocacy," and the question was whether the evidence met that standard in the Scales case.

Several other prosecutions under the membership clause are now awaiting the result of this case.

The New York TIMES
Page 19
May 6, 1959
E.V.

ABUSES EXAMINED ON HABEAS CORPUS

NEW ORLEANS, May 4 (AP)—Abuse of habeas corpus proceedings, a basic protection of individual rights, came under the scrutiny of the National Association of Attorneys General Monday.

Judge Luther M. Swygert of the Northern District of Indiana reported on a study by an association committee. He cited 6,000 appeals for writs of habeas corpus to Federal Courts in ten years, and said the United States Supreme Court had been swamped with unnecessary applications.

Of the 6,000, he said, only thirty-two applicants have been successful.

The writ requires that a person be brought before a judge or court, especially if the belief exists that his rights have been violated.

This issue is a chief topic at the annual conference because it involves the jurisdiction of Federal and state courts. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union have been deeply involved in the long-standing debate.

Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz of New York recommended that the group draft a plan for the compulsory treatment of narcotic addicts.

The New York TIMES.
Page 19
May 6, 1959.
EV.

CLERICS WOULD TEST BIRTH-CONTROL LAW

Special to The New York Times.

NEW HAVEN, May 4—Three New Haven clergymen asked a Superior Court ruling Monday on the constitutionality of Connecticut's seventy-nine-year-old birth control law.

The ministers said the law prohibiting the dissemination of birth-control advice deprived them of their "liberty, freedom of speech and right to freely practice their religions."

The action was brought by the Rev. C. Lawson Willard, pastor of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church; the Rev. Luther Livingston, pastor of Bethesda Lutheran Church, and the Rev. George Teague, minister of the First Methodist Church.

The ministers said they were "bound by the teachings of the church and their own religious beliefs to counsel married parishioners on the use of contraceptive devices and to advise them and to counsel to use same and to give such advice in premarital counselling."

The court was asked to rule whether the birth-control law conflicted with provision of the state and Federal Constitution guaranteeing free exercise of liberty and speech.

The Supreme Court of Errors, the state's highest court, has rejected two attempts to have the law set aside.

LAWYER'S CRITICISM CALLED UNETHICAL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 20—A representative of the Hawaii Bar Association contended before the Supreme Court today that it was unethical for a lawyer to criticize a pending high-court proceeding, whether or not he was connected with it.

A. William Barlow of Honolulu took this position in the case of Mrs. Harriet Bouslog Sawyer. She was suspended from law practice for a year in Hawaii because of a 1952 speech.

She made the speech while she was defense counsel in a Smith Act trial. She denounced the kind of evidence admitted in such cases.

Justice William O. Douglas asked Mr. Barlow whether it was right for a person to criticize the act, which makes it a crime to advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government.

"Yes," Mr. Barlow said, "but that's not our problem here. She not only held those views, but expressed them during a trial in which she was of counsel."

Justice Hugo L. Black asked: "Suppose she had made the same speech in the same place at the same time, but had not been counsel in the particular case?"

Mr. Barlow said Mrs. Sayer would still have violated the canons of legal ethics.

"So it doesn't depend on the fact that she was counsel," Justice Black said.

"No, sir," Mr. Barlow answered. "But it aggravates the situation."

Supreme Court OKs Quiz Of Educators By Red Probers

SUSAN'S HOLIDAY
Boarding an American Airlines plane for New York at Midway Airport is Susan Heinkel, CBS-TV star of Susan's Show for children. She left for several weeks' vacation, during which she will attend a prom with a boy friend.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Supreme Court Monday ruled Congress has the right to question educators about their political beliefs in making sweeping investigations of communism.

The 5-to-4 ruling upheld the contempt conviction of Lloyd Barenblatt, a former teacher at Vassar College and the University of Michigan who refused in 1954 to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee whether he was a member of the Communist party.

Justice John M. Harlan, who wrote the majority opinion, said the high court would always be alert against intrusion by Congress into academic teaching—freedom—that "broadly viewed, inquiries cannot be made into the teaching that is pursued in any of our educational institutions."

Not A Sanctuary

But, he said, as to inquiries into communism in the field of education:

"An educational institution is not a constitutional sanctuary from inquiry into matters that may otherwise be within the constitutional legislative domain . . ."

In a dissent, Justice Hugo F. Black noted that Barenblatt relied upon the First (freedom of speech) Amendment, and that the court majority held that First Amendment freedoms may be abridged in the interest of the nation's security. Black added:

"That notion rests on the unarticulated premise that this nation's security hangs upon its power to punish people because of what they think, speak, or write about, or because of those with whom they associate for political purposes. . . .

"I challenge that premise, and deny that ideas can be proscribed under our Constitution. I agree that despotic governments cannot exist without stifling the voice of opposition to their oppressive practices."

Tried in U.S. District Court here, Barenblatt was convicted of contempt of Congress and given a sentence of six months in jail and a $250 fine.

The court set aside a lower federal court's decision that three Virginia laws aimed at the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People were unconstitutional.

The high court held by a vote of 6-to-3 that the lower tribunal should not have passed on validity of the Virginia laws until state courts have been given a "reasonable opportunity to construe them."

Justice Harlan wrote the majority opinion. Justice William O. Douglas wrote a dissenting opinion in which Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William J. Brennan Jr. joined.

Must List Members

Two of the Virginia laws required organizations promoting racial integration, or collecting funds for such purpose, to file with the state the names of members of the groups and complete financial statements.

The third law redefined barratry, or the stirring up of litigation by persons not directly involved.

A special three-judge U.S. District Court in Richmond decided the laws violated the Constitution's guarantees of equal protection and due process of laws. Virginia appealed to the high tribunal to reverse the special court's decision.

Hiroshima Powder Blast

HIROSHIMA, Japan (AP)—Two powder magazines in which dynamite had been stored exploded Monday injuring 112 persons and damaging 60 homes, police reported.

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TO THE CLASS OF '5

JUST IN TIM

Wall Street Jnl. 11/20/75

For EV

Civil Liberties

VOL. CLXVI NO. 104

Crime & Punishment

Prosecutors Complain Supreme Court Rulings Hurt War on Criminals

Decisions Lead to the Freeing Of Confessed Wrongdoers; Police Say Job Is Harder

Defenders Hail 'Fair Shake'

By WAYNE E. GREEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DALLAS — Thanks to Danny Escobedo and Nick Aguilar, some 100 men who had signed confessions to burglary or narcotics counts have beat their raps here without even trying.

District Attorney Henry Wade dropped charges against the entire group because he believes that U.S. Supreme Court decisions involving Messrs. Escobedo and Aguilar would have made prosecution futile. "Even if we had won convictions I doubt the cases would have stood up on appeals," says Mr. Wade glumly.

In the Escobedo opinion the High Court overturned a death sentence for murder because the Chicago man wasn't allowed to see his attorney before confessing. Mr. Aguilar, from Houston, was likewise successful in his appeal to the Supreme Court; it reversed his 20-year sentence for narcotics possession because, the Court held, police should have presented proof that he had narcotics hidden in his apartment before a search warrant was issued.

The decisions, which run counter to oft-practiced police procedure in many cities, are only two of several landmark Supreme Court pronouncements that have greatly expanded the rights of persons suspected or convicted of non-Federal crimes. All the rulings are bringing broad changes to crime-fighting techniques, and they're fueling a controversy over whether the High Court is tilting the scales of justice too far in favor of the accused in the face of rising crime rates.

Happy Defense Attorneys

Numerous legal experts, particularly civil liberties advocates, applaud the Supreme Court for what they regard as a spelling out of a person's rights against illegal search, seizure, interrogation and detention, rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Such rights, they contend, long have been applicable to Federal law enforcement but too frequently have been flouted by local policemen and state courts.

Not surprisingly, defense attorneys are gleeful about the High Court's decisions. "The police are having to think and work now—using something besides their boots and billies," says Houston trial lawyer Percy Foreman, who expects to free five of his currently jailed clients on appeals prompted by Supreme Court decisions. Adds J. W. (Jake) Ehrlich, noted San Francisco criminal lawyer: "I now approach trial with more assurance that I'll get a fair shake for my client because some of the slipshod police tactics are going out the window."

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But most police and prosecutors heatedly argue they are rapidly losing legal ground in their battle against lawlessness. Citing the Supreme Court's position as the primary reason, Los Angeles District Attorney Evelle J. Younger recently said: "It's now more difficult to convict an individual who has admittedly committed a major crime than at any time in history."

The controversial decisions began in 1961 when the High Court reversed the conviction of a Cleveland woman, Dollree Mapp, for possessing obscene literature. The Supreme Court held that police had entered her home without a search warrant, thus making evidence used against her illegally obtained. Then came the much-publicized Gideon vs. Wainwright decision in 1963 that was to require courts to provide counsel to indigents in felony trials. This was followed by the Escobedo case, which ruled suspects are entitled to see their attorneys before making any statement to police, and the Aguilar opinion, which restricted the use of search warrants.

Rankled Police

Police appear to be most rankled by the Escobedo ruling. Officers in many cities are being instructed by their superiors to advise suspects of their right to see an attorney immediately upon arrest. In Oakland, Calif., policemen automatically recite this statement: "You do not have to say anything unless you wish to and you have a right to see an attorney before you say anything."

Such steps, it's argued, tend to limit the chances of voluntary confessions, which are included in an estimated 70% of criminal cases currently going to trial. "It has been our experience that if suspects are told of their rights, they will not confess. . . ." says former New York City police commissioner Michael Murphy. Mr. Murphy, who now is president of the National Automobile Theft Bureau, contends that police "are forced to fight by Marquis of Queensbury rules while the criminals are permitted to gouge and bite."

The Mapp and Aguilar rulings also are causing no little concern. The Mapp decision prohibits the admission in state courts of evidence obtained by "unreasonable" search or seizure; while the term "unreasonable" is quite general, it has fundamental application, according to police. For instance, officers who stop a motorist just because he looks suspicious cannot legally search his car unless they have a search warrant. And the Aguilar case makes it more difficult to obtain such warrants. It requires that police name before a proper authority the individual who has tipped them that, say, narcotics are being hidden. Previously, it wasn't unusual for search warrants to be issued merely on the assumption of police that illicit goods were being held.

Lecture on Ramifications

Furthermore, "the Aguilar case plays havoc with the stool pigeon because you have to identify him," complains Doug Crouch, district attorney in Fort Worth. Usually, Mr. Crouch says, police informers prefer to be shielded for fear of publicity or reprisal.

All this is creating uncertainty among police concerning their own rights. "The cop practically has to carry a law book around

Please Turn to Page 9, Column 2

Memo 9/1/60

A REVIEW OF THE SUMMER would be incomplete without a report on work of the University faculty's Ad Hoc Committee on the Disclaimer Affidavit. A report was issued Aug. 5 by the committee, including Profs. Charles Bunn (Law), chairman; Fred H. Harrington (Vice Pres Acad Aff), J. O. Hirschfelder (Dir Theor Chem Lab), Ralph K. Huitt (Pol Sci), Frederick Olson (Hist UW-M), H. Edwin Young (Chm Econ).

The committee reported that when Congress resumed its session on Aug. 8 there was "no chance of any action at this session on anything more favorable to our position than the bill (S. 2929 as amended) that passed the Senate (June 15)." This was the repealer bill with the Prouty amendment.

The bill (1) repeals the requirement for the disclaimer affidavit altogether; (2) makes it unlawful for any person to "apply for or receive any grant, payment or loan under this act (the N.D.E.A.) while he is a member of the Communist party or any other organization having for one of its purposes or objectives the seizure or overthrow of the government of the United States (or of any State or local government) by the use of force or violence, and has knowledge of such purpose or objective of that part or other organization"; (3) makes it unlawful for any person who within five years has been a member of such Party or other organization to apply under the Act unless his application is accompanied by a full sworn statement about such (former) membership; (4) makes it a federal crime knowingly to violate subsection (2) or (3).

"Needless to say, the Committee still believes that the disclaimer affidavit should be repealed outright," the report said. "But, we repeat, outright repeal is not a viable legislative alternative." The committee described the Senate bill as "a very great improvement over no repeal," and listed these reasons:

(1) repeals entirely the requirement for the disclaimer affidavit;
(2) eliminates all inquiry into belief;
(3) makes illegality depend on overt acts;
(4) limits other organizations described to those whose purposes include seizure or overthrow of government by force or violence, and eliminates present language about "other unconstitutional or illegal means";
(5) limits offenders to those who "willfully" violate prohibitions stated, and to one who "has knowledge of such purpose or objective" of the organization of which he is a member;
(6) confines administration (by making it a criminal law) to the Department of Justice, United States attorneys, and Federal courts and juries throughout the country.

The committee took no action in the name of the faculty, suggesting individual communications to members of Congress. Fate of the bill may have been determined by the time this MEMO reaches your hands.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS (Sept. 1-14)

5 Labor Day
6-10 UW-M New Student Orientation
6-11 New Student Orientation
6 UW-M General Convocation for all new L & S students, Main Building Auditorium, Kenwood Campus, 9:30 a.m.
6 UW-M Religious Night, University Religious Council, Union, 7 p.m.
7 UW-M General Convocation for all new Teacher Education and Engineering students, Main Building Auditorium, 9:30 a.m.
8-10 UW-M Registration and Enrollment
8 UW-M Men's Convocation, for all new men students, Main Building Auditorium, 9:30 a.m.
8 UW-M Women's Convocation, for all new women students, Main Building Auditorium, 10:45 a.m.
8 President's Convocation for New Students, Stock Pavilion, 10:30 a.m.
8 Religious Open Houses, 7:30-10 p.m.
9 Lecture, "Amino Acid Sequences in Proteins," Frederick Sanger, Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, Cambridge, England, 230 SMI, 3:30 p.m.
9 Union "County Fair" Open House and Activities Jamboree, Main Lounge, Union, 7-10 p.m.
9 UW-M Student-Faculty Social Hour, Union, 8:30 p.m.
10 Convocation for Teaching Assistants, Union Theater, 9 a.m.
10 Men's Convocation, for all new men students, Stock Pavilion, 10:30 a.m.
10 Women's Convocation, for all new women students, Union Theater, 10:30 a.m.
10 UW-M All-School Dance, Union, 8:30-12 p.m.
12 Instruction begins, Madison and Milwaukee campuses
13-14 Annual Jaycette Style Show, (benefit University Hospitals), Union Theater, 8 p.m.

WISCONSIN UNION DINING SCHEDULE

Cafeteria:

Sept. 1-2 Breakfast, closed; Lunch, 11:15 a.m.-1:15 p.m.; Dinner, 5 p.m.-6:45 p.m.; Snack Service, 8 a.m.-6:45 p.m.

Sept. 3 (Sat.) Breakfast, closed; Lunch, 11:45 a.m.-1:15 p.m.; Dinner, 5 p.m.-6:45 p.m.; Snack Service, closed.

Sept. 4 (Sun.) Breakfast, closed; Lunch, 12 Noon-1:30 p.m.; Dinner, 5 p.m.-6:45 p.m.; Snack Service, closed.

Sept. 5 (Mon.) Breakfast, closed; Lunch, 11:45 a.m.-1:15 p.m.; Dinner, 5 p.m.-6:45 p.m.; Snack Service, 9 a.m.-6:45 p.m.

Sept. 6 (Tues.) Regular fall hours begin (Lunch opening 11 a.m. Sept. 6-9)

Rathskeller and Tripp Commons, closed through Sept. 5; Georgian Grill, closed through Sept. 8.

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MITCHELL 5-9500

A. I. W. BUILDING
3520 WEST OKLAHOMA AVENUE
MILWAUKEE 15, WISCONSIN

February 19, 1963

Civ Liberties

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for forwarding the two issues of the Progressive containing articles dealing with the subject we recently discussed. This was very thoughtful of you.

I finally managed to obtain a copy of one version of the Purdue Research Center teenage survey of civil liberties attitudes. A copy of that questionnaire, as I used it in connection with my recent discussion of this issue, is enclosed. A more sophisticated version of this questionnaire is available through the Purdue Research Center if you are interested. I believe that it is incorporated in Monograph No. 30.

The enclosed questionnaire was administered to the group in question the evening of Sunday, February 3rd and I met with the group one week later. Rather than giving a talk I reviewed the results and discussed each question in terms of its relevance in the Milwaukee area. This proved to be a very successful way of dealing with the subject. It evoked a ready and intelligent response. A straight talk on civil liberties wouldn't have been nearly as effective.

Thanks again.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Dick Humphreys mm

Richard W. Humphreys
Education & Research Director

RWH:mm
oeiu#9afl-cio

Printed on Union Made Paper

Defender Newsletter

NATIONAL DEFENDER PROJECT

National Legal Aid and Defender Association • American Bar Center • Chicago, Ill. 60637

Charles L. Decker, *Director*
John J. Cleary, *Assistant Director*
Francis A. Allen, *Consultant*
Donald C. Dowling, *Defender Fellow*

January 2, 1965
Volume II, No. 1

PROBABLE CAUSE FOR ARREST

The U. S. Supreme Court is increasing its span of influence in the area of arrest. In Wong Sun v. United States, 371 U.S. 471 (1963) the court examined an arrest made by Federal agents and held that it was without probable cause, and the confession of the defendant that was closely connected with this arrest was excluded -- so also the subsequent "fruits" of this confession. Soon thereafter the court held in Ker v. California, 374 U.S. 23 (1963), that state police who had observed the defendant meet a known narcotics peddler and who also had information from a reliable informer had probable cause to make an arrest of the defendant and his wife in their apartment. The unique aspect of this case was that the police with a passkey entered the room of the defendant without a warrant, but the court upheld this manner of arrest as justified under local California law.

On November 23, 1964, the Supreme Court in a 6-3 decision re-evaluated the facts underlying an arrest to determine if "probable cause" existed to justify the arrest and subsequent search. The arresting officer knew the defendant had a record for "numbers game" violations and had heard reports that the defendant was involved in the "numbers game." The defendant was arrested in his automobile by an officer without a warrant. The defendant was taken to the police station where he was searched. This search revealed the evidence on which he was subsequently convicted. His conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ohio, which said:

> "Therefore, a question of fact is presented in each case, and where the facts in the possession of the police are sufficient to cause a reasonable and prudent man to believe that a felony has been committed and that the accused committed it, probable cause is present.

"In the hearing on the motion of defendant to suppress, an arresting officer testified that the arrest was made on the basis of information supplied by an informer, coupled with a knowledge of defendant's prior history. Here, there was not an arrest merely for an exploratory search. According to the testimony, the police, based on the information they had, were actually looking for the defendant for the purpose of arresting him." State v. Beck, 175 Ohio St. 73, 191 N.E.2d 825, 828 (1963) (Two judges dissenting)

However, the U. S. Supreme Court said:

"When the constitutional validity of an arrest is challenged, it is the function of a court of determine whether the facts available to the officers at the moment of the arrest would 'warrant a man of reasonable caution in the belief' that an offense has been committed. Carroll v. United States, 267 U.S. 132,162. If the court is not informed of the facts upon which the arresting officers acted, it cannot properly discharge that function. All that the trial court was told in this case was that the officers knew what the petitioner looked like and knew that he had a previous record of arrests or convictions for violations of the clearing house law. Beyond that, the arresting officer who testified said no more than that someone (he did not say who) had told him something (he did not say what) about the petitioner. We do not hold that the officer's knowledge of the petitioner's physical appearance and previous record were either inadmissible or entirely irrelevant upon the issue of probable cause. See Brinegar v. United States, 338 U.S. 160, 172-174. But to hold that these two facts, alone or in combination, of themselves constituted probable cause would be to hold that anyone with a previous criminal record could be arrested at will." Beck v. Ohio, 33 U. S. L. Week 4015, 4017 (U.S. Nov. 1964)

The Supreme Court applied the same test for probable cause as the Ohio Supreme Court but reached a different result from an analysis of the facts. The Supreme Court,"will, where necessary to the determination of constitutional rights, make an independent examination of the facts, the findings, and the record so that it can determine for itself whether in the decision as to reasonableness the fundamental - i.e., constitutional - criteria established by this court have been respected." Beck v. Ohio, 33 U.S.L. Week 4015.

The Supreme Court now imposes an objective standard for probable cause. The underlying facts will be scrutinized in an independent review by the court. An arrest in good faith by the police is not enough, for there must be sufficient facts to indicate to a court the existence of probable cause that the defendant arrested had committed or was committing an offense (not relying on the results of the search simultaneous with or subsequent to the arrest). The trial court now must insure that the record contains sufficient facts to support the conclusion that probable cause was present to support an arrest.

The court granted certiorari under the rule announced in Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U.S. 643 (1961) on the issue of whether the clearing house slips had been seized in violation of the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Supreme Court of Ohio had found that the search was incidental to a lawful arrest. However, the U. S. Supreme Court held that the arrest was not constitutionally valid. The test spelled out by the Supreme Court as the grounds for a valid arrest was:

> "Whether that arrest was constitutionally valid depends in turn upon whether, at the moment the arrest was made, the officers had probable cause to make it -- whether at that moment the facts and circumstances within their knowledge and of which they had reasonable trustworthy information were sufficient to warrant a prudent man in believing that the petitioner had committed or was committing an offense." Beck v. Ohio, 33 U. S. L. Week 4015.

The rule enunciated by the Supreme Court is almost identical to the one announced by the Supreme Court of Ohio (supra), but the courts reach opposite conclusions.

DEFENSE USE OF GRAND JURY MINUTES - IMPEACHMENT

On November 24, 1964 the Illinois Supreme Court in People v. Charles Johnson, __ Ill. 2d __ (1964) held that a defendant in a rape prosecution is entitled to the transcript of grand jury testimony of the complaining witness, after she had testified at the trial, for use for impeachment purposes. The testimony of the prosecutrix at the trial was "vital" to the state's case, and defense counsel properly made his record: first, he ascertained that the prosecutrix had testified before the grand jury concerning matters to which she testified at the trial; and, second, he requested her grand jury testimony for impeachment purposes during cross-examination.

Relying upon People v. Moses, 11 Ill. 2d 84, 142 N.E. 2d 1, (1957), and People v. Wolff, 19 Ill. 2d 318, 167 N.E. 2d 197, (1960), which established the defendant's right to access to pretrial statements made by prosecution witnesses for impeachment purposes, the Illinois Court held that the rationale of the Moses-Wolff rule was fully applicable to the grand jury testimony of state's witnesses since none of the reasons for grand jury secrecy are applicable. The policy of grand jury secrecy is intended (1) to prevent the accused from escaping before he is indicted and from tampering with witnesses; (2) to protect an accused person who is not indicted against unwarranted exposure; (3) to encourage uninhibited deliberations by the grand jurors; and (4) to encourage witnesses to testify before the grand jury without fear of public disclosure. (8 Wigmore on Evidence, 3rd ed., sec. 2360.)

The Court stated:

> "None of those reasons is applicable to the present case, where the accused seeks only the transcript of the testimony of a witness who has testified at the trial. Plainly the disclosure of grand jury minutes after an indictment is returned and the case proceeds to trial will involve no danger of flight by the accused and no risk of damage to his reputation. Nor is it to be expected that he will tamper with a witness who has already testified against him. There will be no impediment to future grand jury deliberations since such deliberations will remain secret. Finally, it is in no sense unfair to a witness who testifies at the trial to reveal his previous testimony."

The Illinois Court rejected the rationale of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. v. United States, 360 U.S. 395 (1958), requiring a defendant to show a "particularized need" for grand jury testimony of a government trial witness before they will be made available for use for impeachment purposes, stating that "the majority in Pittsburgh Plate Glass assessed the policy of secrecy differently."

For some background to this decision, see Dowling, Defense Use of Grand Jury Testimony for Impeachment in Illinois, 52 Ill. Bar Journal 522 (Mar. 1964). The article may be helpful in establishing the right of the defense to make use of grand jury testimony for impeachment purposes in other states.

RIGHT TO COUNSEL CASES SINCE ESCOBEDO

In the last issue of the Newsletter, the decision of People v. Dorado, 40 Cal. Rptr. 264, 394 P. 2d 952 (1964), petition for rehearing granted, was

discussed. (Re-argument of this case took place on December 15, 1964, but results not known at the time this Newsletter was printed.) In that case an accused had not been advised of his right to counsel nor his right to remain silent prior to the taking of his confession. This accused made no request for counsel to the police authorities, but the California Court held that the confession was inadmissible under the rule set forth in Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964). The Illinois Supreme Court had occasion to rule on a similar fact situation and held contrariwise. In People v. Hartgraves, 202 N.E.2d 33 (Ill. 1964), petition for rehearing denied, decided on November 23, 1964, the police officers did not advise the accused of his right to remain silent or his right to counsel prior to the taking of the confession. The court in holding that the confession was admissible said:

> "It is true that defendant was not affirmatively warned that his confession might be used against him, but it has been held that this does not render a confession incompetent. (People v. Davis, 10 Ill. 2d 430, 140 N.E.2d 675; People v. Fox, 319 Ill. 606, 150 N.E. 347.) We have re-examined these holdings in the light of Haynes v. State of Washington, 373 U.S. 503, 83 S. Ct. 1336, 10 L. ed. 2d 513, relied upon by defendant, and the more recent decision in Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478, 84 S. Ct. 1758, 12 L. ed. 2d. 977, filed June 22, 1964. As we read the Haynes case, the United States Supreme Court merely stated that the failure to warn a defendant and advise him of his right to remain silent, is an attendant circumstance, 'which the accused is entitled to have appropriately considered in determining voluntariness and admissibility of his confession.' 373 U.S. at 517, 83 S. Ct. at 1345.
>
> "In the Escobedo case, the United States Supreme Court held that the refusal of a request to consult with counsel, coupled with a failure to warn accused of his right to remain silent, amounted to a denial of 'the Assistance of Counsel' as guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment to the United States Constitution.
>
> "In the present case the trial court considered testimony of the failure to warn the accused, and there is no evidence that defendant requested the assistance of counsel. Under all the facts and circumstances of this case, we hold that the failure to warn the accused did not compel a rejection of the confession." 202 N.E.2d 33, 35.

The opinion of the New York Supreme Court, Queens County (a court of original jurisdiction) in People v. Agar, decided on November 12, 1964, indicates the need for clarification in this area of the law. This court agreed with the Hartgraves decision (possibly without knowledge of this case), but also said:

"It may well be that the conclusion of the Supreme Court of the State of California, in Dorado, will be the ultimate indisputable determination of the United States Supreme Court if the question reaches that Court, as it is now constituted, but until there has been an appellate ruling to the contrary, which is binding upon the court, I will continue to rule that, unless counsel is requested, a confession or a statement made by a defendant under the circumstances here present is admissible against him, and that he need not be cautioned that anything he says will be used against him." 33 U.S.L. Week 2247

The courts have also reviewed the single issue of the affirmative duty of the police to advise the defendant of his right to remain silent, and the effect of a failure to do so on the admissibility of a subsequent confession. Oregon and the District of Columbia appear to have a common approach. In State v. Neely, 395 P.2d 557 (Ore. 1964), the Supreme Court of Oregon on September 30, 1964, said:

"We conclude that the Escobedo decision requires that the accused be effectively warned of his constitutional right to remain silent and that if this is not affirmatively shown by the state, a confession obtained without such warning is inadmissible. Whether law enforcement officers must in addition advise an accused of his right to counsel and whether it is necessary that this advice be given by a magistrate we need not now decide."

Although holding that the confession was admissible the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reached a similar result. In Jackson v. United States, (D.C. Cir. 1964), 33 U.S.L. Week 2111, the court on August 13, 1964, held that when the accused had been repeatedly advised of his right to remain silent although not advised of his right to counsel, the confession was admissible.

RECENT CHANGES

New Pennsylvania Rules of Criminal Procedure (Pa. Stat. Ann., tit. 19-app., Rules 1-322) become effective on January 1, 1965. These new rules include a provision: (1) for use of summons in lieu of an arrest warrant for summary offenses (Rules 107 & 108), (2) for the request of a bill of particulars delivered directly to the attorney for the Commonwealth, while other pretrial discovery is at the discretion of the court (Rules 221 & 310), and (3) for a pretrial conference (Rule 311). In implementing the decision of Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963) and related cases, counsel is assigned in capital cases "as soon as practicable after the preliminary arraignment" and in non-capital cases "as soon as practicable after the case has been docketed" (Rule 318). The distinction in the time of appointment of

counsel is based on the interpretation of White v. Maryland, 373 U.S. 59 (1963) where the preliminary hearing was a critical stage in the criminal proceeding in a capital case requiring the appointment of counsel. Pennsylvania has by statute adopted an "Application Form for the Assignment of Counsel" (Rule 318A) which might offer guidance to other jurisdictions in drafting a statement by the indigent defendant listing his financial resources.

The Supreme Court has not established the minimum offense for which counsel is necessary, but Justice Harlan in his concurring opinion held that counsel is required for trial of an offense involving "a substantial prison sentence." Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335, 351 (1963). To determine the nature or type of offenses for which counsel must be furnished, a look at recent enactments might prove helpful. The Criminal Justice Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-455, August 20, 1964) which provides compensation for attorneys and related services in the defense of impecunious defendants in federal courts requires the appointment of counsel in felony and misdemeanor cases, but not petty offenses. A petty offense is an offense for which a defendant can receive a fine of not more than five hundred dollars ($500) or imprisonment for not more than six months (18 U.S.C. 1). The Illinois legislature in passing the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1963 (effective January 1, 1964) announced a very liberal standard:

> "In all cases except where the penalty is a fine only, if the court determines that the defendant is indigent and desires counsel, the Public Defender shall be appointed as counsel. If there is no Public Defender in the county or if the defendant requests counsel other than the Public Defender, the court shall appoint as counsel a licensed attorney at law of this state." Ill. Rev. Stat. Ch. 38, Section 113-3(b). (Emphasis added)

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts on June 29, 1964, established a similar requirement in Rule 10 which states:

> "If a defendant charged with a crime, for which a sentence of imprisonment may be imposed, appears in any court without counsel, the judge shall advise him of his right to counsel, and assign counsel to represent him at every stage of the proceeding unless he elects to proceed without counsel or is able to obtain counsel." (Emphasis added)

The rule of the Gideon case, which involved a felony conviction for which the defendant received a sentence of five years imprisonment does not force the results achieved in the above legislation and court rule. These rules however, might be an accurate interpretation of the Gideon rule in determining the type of criminal offenses for which counsel must be furnished if the defendant is indigent.

GENERAL INFORMATION

The NLADA and the ABA Standing Committee on Legal Aid and Indigent Defendants have jointly published a pamphlet entitled Guidelines for Adequate Defense Systems. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from the National Defender Project.

The National Advisory Council for the National Defender Project will meet in New Orleans on February 11-13, 1965, following the mid-year meeting of the ABA.

Under the auspices of New York Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, a state-wide conference of county bar representatives was held in Syracuse on November 14, 1964. Representatives from throughout the state discussed the various methods employed in New York for providing representation for the indigent defendant. Four systems are used: (1) county option Public Defender; (2) county option contract with Legal Aid Society; (3) centralized assigned counsel system (a paid director coordinates assignment of counsel for the county; and (4) assigned counsel system without paid director (most common).

On October 7, 1964 Stetson University College of Law, St. Petersburg, Florida, received a one-year grant from the National Defender Project. The funds will enable the College of Law to establish a Public Defender Clinic to work in conjunction with the Circuit Public Defender, Robert E. Jagger. In November 1964 two members of the National Defender Project staff had an opportunity to visit the College of Law and the Public Defender's Office. The program is now in full operation and has already generated much law school and community interest.

We would appreciate receiving any recent cases within your jurisdiction that would be of interest to defenders in other parts of the country.

Defender Newsletter

NATIONAL DEFENDER PROJECT

National Legal Aid and Defender Association • American Bar Center • Chicago, Ill. 60637

Charles L. Decker, *Director*
John J. Cleary, *Assistant Director*
William M. Madden, *Assistant Director*
Francis A. Allen, *Consultant*
Donald C. Dowling, *Defender Fellow*

EU Cv. Libels

March 1, 1965
Volume II, No. 2

STATE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ESCOBEDO AND MASSIAH CASES

State court cases interpreting and construing the effect of Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964), and Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964) are mounting. An earlier Newsletter (Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 2, 1965) cited three state Supreme Court cases dealing with the scope and application of the Escobedo rule. Those cases were People v. Dorado, 394 P. 2d 952 (Cal. 1964); People v. Hartgraves, 202 N.E. 2d 33 (Ill. 1964); and State v. Neely, 395 P. 2d 557 (Ore. 1964).

To provide some knowledge of the breadth of the problem of accurately applying the Escobedo rule to individual fact situations and to present some of the conflicting rules of law, the following summary of cases is listed:

CALIFORNIA - People v. Dorado, Crim. 7468, January 29, 1965. Since the last issue of the Newsletter, the Supreme Court of California issued an opinion upon rehearing consistent with their earlier decision. In a 4-3 decision, Justice Tobriner held that when the police officials failed to advise the accused of his absolute right to remain silent or the right to consult with counsel, his subsequent confession would be inadmissible even though he had not made a formal request for counsel, a fact present in the Escobedo case. The court stated:

> "The constitutional right (to counsel) does not arise from the request for counsel but from the advent of the accusatory stage itself."

- In re Lopez, 33 U.S.L. Week 2390 (January 29, 1965). The right to assistance of counsel as announced in the Massiah and Escobedo cases is not retroactive.

HAWAII - State v. Kitashiro, 397 P.2d 558 (1964). The Supreme Court of Hawaii considered the issue of whether Escobedo made the McNabb-Mallory rule (the failure of police authorities to bring a defendant promptly before a commissioner renders a confession obtained during the unlawful delay inadmissible) applicable to the states and held that it did not. The court said:

> "While Escobedo marks a shift in course, upon comparison with Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433, Cicenia v. LaGay, 357 U.S. 504, Culombe v. Connecticut, 367 U.S. 568, and Haynes v. Washington, 373 U.S. 503, the point pertinent here is that emphasis was put upon the right to counsel. The McNabb-Mallory rule was not extended to state cases. It remains the rule in this jurisdiction that a confession obtained during unlawful delay between arrest and production before a magistrate is not ipso facto inadmissible." 397 P.2d 558, 564.

IDAHO - State v. Hall, 397 P.2d 261 (1964). While under investigation for a charge of assault to commit rape, the defendant, an airman, was advised by a U.S. Air Force investigating agent of the nature of the offense, his right not to make any statement, and the possible use of the statement against him. (See 10 USC 831.) The record did not disclose that the defendant requested counsel, and the record is likewise silent that the defendant was advised as to his right to counsel. The majority of the court held the confession to be admissible and reversed on other grounds, but Justice McQuade in a special concurring opinion said:

> "While the case of Escobedo v. Illinois, supra, rules that statements made in the absence of counsel are inadmissible, the conclusion is inevitable that investigators must inform the defendant that he has a right to counsel before the interrogation is conducted." 397 P.2d 261, 269.

ILLINOIS - People v. Hartgraves, (supra). The Illinois Supreme Court construed Escobedo on its facts, holding that a confession is admissible even though the suspect has neither been advised of his right to remain silent nor of his right to confer with counsel. (Contra to People v. Dorado, supra.)

INDIANA - Hayden v. State, 201 N.E.2d 329 (1964). In this case a 15-year-old boy was convicted of a robbery-murder in a "purse-grab" from an 82-year-old woman. This youthful defendant was held in police headquarters one day prior to the signing of his first written confession, and before such confession was signed, this boy was advised of his constitutional rights to remain silent and to see an attorney. On appeal it was contended that this defendant, because of his tender age, could not waive his constitutional right to counsel. The court affirmed the conviction and held:

"Under other circumstances, we might concur in appellant's contention, but here it is apparent from the facts in evidence that appellant was worldly wise far beyond the years of his 'tender age.' " 201 N.E.2d 329-330.

IOWA - State v. Fox, 131 N.W.2d 684 (1964). After the defendant was arraigned in a prosecution for rape, a police officer asked the defendant to tell the sheriff how he "got loused up in a deal like this." In response, the defendant made an incriminating statement. No objection was made when this statement was introduced into evidence. The court acknowledged that the defendant had the right to refuse to answer questions of the police and that before answering questions he was entitled to the advice of counsel. However, the court held that these statements were admissible and distinguished the Escobedo case in the following manner:

"It appears from the Escobedo case that each case must largely turn upon its own facts, but we are sure there is no departure in that case from our rule that evidence as to purely voluntary statements made by one accused of a crime, otherwise material, is admissible. True, the latest Supreme Court pronouncement in the Escobedo case perhaps leaves one with the thought that any evidence of a statement made by one accused either before or after arraignment, not made in the presence of counsel, is inadmissible (see dissent therein), but we are satisfied the holding in that case was predicated upon those facts which disclosed a police interrogation of the accused when his attorney was being excluded and was unable to advise him. There are no such circumstances here, and we think the testimony as to [defendant's] admission was properly accepted, especially so where no objection to it appears in the record." 131 N.W.2d 684, 686.

KENTUCKY - Carson v. Commonwealth, 382 S.W.2d 85 (1964). The defendant (over sixteen years) was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Prior to taking his confession, he was advised of his right to have counsel, that he was not required to make any statement, and that any statement made could be used against him. The court adhered to Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433, (1958), holding that a denial of a request to contact counsel was not an infringement of the constitutional right of the defendant without regard to circumstances of the case. The circumstances of each confession would be reviewed, and the defendant could waive this right to consult with counsel. The Court of Appeals of Kentucky stated:

"We subscribe to the reasoning of the Supreme Court as expressed. If an accused may refuse opportunity to consult counsel and then claim denial of due process to foreclose admission of a statement voluntarily made, shrewd criminals will be quick to grasp the opportunity to confess

> without counsel, thus gaining complete acquittal without any trial. That this would present an anomaly is not to overstate the case." 382 S.W.2d 85, 91.

Escobedo was distinguished on the ground that the defendant here was advised of his right to counsel and his right to remain silent.

MARYLAND - Anderson v. State, 205 A.2d 281 (1964). The Court of Appeals of Maryland held that at least where it does not appear that the defendant requested counsel during police interrogation, Escobedo does not require rejection of an otherwise voluntary confession. Here the police testimony indicated that the defendant was advised that his statement could be used against him. He was also advised that his statement had to be "voluntary." The same result was reached in Swartz v. State, 205 A.2d 803 (1965), where this court said:

> "We have held that the Supreme Court limited the effect of Escobedo to the facts before it in that case and that one of those decisive facts was that the accused there had repeatedly and in terms asked to see a previously retained lawyer and had been refused. Here no request for a lawyer whatever was made and Escobedo, in our view, does not control." 205 A.2d 803, 804.

MASSACHUSETTS - Commonwealth v. McCarthy, 200 N.E.2d 264 (1964). On a hearing on a motion to suppress the confession of the defendant, the evidence indicated that the confession was made six months after indictment to police officers, who knew that an attorney represented the defendant. The defendant did not request counsel until he had made his confession to the stenographer. The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that the confession was inadmissible under the rule announced in the Massiah case.

NEVADA - Bean v. State, 33 U.S.L. Week 2390 (January 22, 1965). The express request for counsel is a prerequisite for the application of the Escobedo exclusionary rule to a confession. The Nevada Supreme Court refused to follow the Dorado decision (California), which it believed to be an extension of the rule in the Escobedo case.

NEW JERSEY - State v. Vigliano, 43 N.J. 44, 202 A.2d 657 (1964). The defendant, a police officer, talked with his fiancee about obtaining an attorney, not specifically named, while in police custody under investigation for the murder of his mother. Although the opinion fails to indicate whether the defendant was advised of his right to remain silent or his right to confer with counsel, the court evaluated the facts in the case and found that he had made no affirmative request to speak with an attorney.

The court held that the confession was voluntary and admissible and placed emphasis on the fact he was a police officer and no stranger to law enforcement. (The case was reversed on other grounds).

- State v. Johnson, 33 U.S.L. Week 2375 (1965). Although the Gideon rule is retroactive, the New Jersey Supreme Court held that Escobedo rule is not to be given retroactive effect:

> "There are however several factors which distinguish Gideon from Escobedo. First, Gideon itself was a collateral attack while Escobedo was a direct appeal. Second, the opinion in Escobedo does not indicate whether the court intended retroactive application. Unlike the treatment of Betts v. Brady, 316 U.S. 455 (1942), in Gideon which overruled that case, there is not the slightest intimation in Escobedo that either Cicenia v. LaGay, 357 U.S. 504, or Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433, was an 'abrupt break with its own well-considered precedents,' see Gideon at 344, or 'departed from the sound wisdom upon which the court's holding in Powell v. Alabama, 287 U.S. 45, rested', Id. at 345; or was 'an anachronism when handed down.' Unlike Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U.S. 643 (1961), there is no language in the court's opinion in Escobedo which provides ammunition for arguing whether retroactive effect was intended. ***
>
> "And unlike Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S. 12 (1956), Escobedo does not contain a concurring opinion indicating that the majority intended retroactive application. See Justice Frankfurter, concurring, Id. at 20. Third, no subsequent adjudication by the Supreme Court nor any other court has come to our attention which reveals whether Escobedo was intended to be applied retroactively. As noted above, Gideon has been given retroactive application in a number of cases. Griffin was applied retroactively in Eskridge v. Washington State Board, 357 U.S. 214 (1958)."

NEW MEXICO - Pece v. Cox, 396 P.2d 422 (1964). The Supreme Court of New Mexico refused to hold a confession inadmissible because the defendant had no attorney when the statement was made and relied upon the decision of Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433 (1958). The court held:

> "Petitioner relies on Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478. However, we are impressed that the proper rule to be applied is that announced in Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433, distinguished in Escobedo, supra, on its facts. Here, petitioner had no attorney when the statement was given and claims that he had not been advised (as is clearly set forth in the form on which the confession was typed) that he

did not have to make any statement at all, and that if he did make a statement it could be used against him on a trial. Also, when all the circumstances are weighed, not the least of which was the fact that a codefendant who was at the time represented by counsel also gave a statement which was admitted in evidence by the trial court after a foundation as to its voluntary character had been ruled on by the judge, just as was done in the case of petitioner, we are impressed that prejudice is not demonstrated. Crooker v. California, supra, is controlling." 396 P.2d 422.

NEW YORK - People v. Stanley, 15 N.Y.2d 30, 203 N.E.2d 475 (1964). The Federal Grand Jury indicted the defendant for the crime of inducing Schermond to transport money across state lines in order to defraud him of that money. (18 U.S.C. 2314). The defendant was later released on bail and immediately taken into custody by New York City police officers for an offense arising out of the same transaction and was questioned by them in the absence of counsel. Statements by this defendant were received by the New York trial court in evidence against him, and he was convicted of grand larceny by stealing money from Schermond and another man. Using the distinction that the state offense was a different crime upon which the defendant had neither been arraigned nor indicted, the New York Court of Appeals sustained the admissibility of this inculpatory statement. In a dissenting opinion Chief Judge Desmond indicated that the cooperation of the federal and state officers in prosecuting the same alleged criminal activity had proceeded to a point where there had been an actual arraignment on the federal indictment. These federal and state offenses had become interwoven, and the accused was entitled to counsel prior to making a statement to the state officers.

NORTH CAROLINA - State v. Stinson, 139 S.E.2d 558 (1965). A police officer received a note from the defendant in custody that he wished to see the officer. During their conversation the defendant said he was guilty of a breaking and entering offense, and this statement was admitted in evidence against him. The Supreme Court of North Carolina held that the officer under the circumstances was not required to warn the defendant that anything he said might be used against him.

- State v. Elam, 139 S.E.2d 601 (1965). The defendant had been advised of his right not to make a statement and his right to counsel, but he declined to talk to a lawyer and confessed. The defendant contended on appeal that his confession should have been excluded under the Escobedo case. The court held the confession to be admissible and said:

"We hold that under the circumstances here surrounding the making of the extrajudicial confessions of guilt by the defendant as shown by the evidence he was not denied the constitutional right to the benefit of counsel, because, if he had any such right, he intelligently and understandingly waived it." 139 S.E.2d 601, 607.

OHIO - State v. McLeod, 1 Ohio St. 2d 60, 203 N.E. 2d 349 (1964). Seven days after the defendant was indicted for murder and before he procured or was assigned counsel, the defendant voluntarily made an oral confession to a deputy sheriff and an assistant prosecuting attorney while riding around in the sheriff's automobile searching for the gun used in the holdup. In June 1964 the Supreme Court of the United States had remanded this case to the Ohio Supreme Court in light of Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964), but on December 29, 1964, the Supreme Court of Ohio announced its opinion and adhered to its original decision that the confession was admissible. The court stated:

> "The circumstances here being different as to the manner in which the statements were obtained in the Massiah case, we are of the opinion that the judgment of the Court of Appeals should be affirmed." 203 N.E. 2d 349, 352.

The dissenting judges (O'Neill and Gibson) stated that the exclusionary rule of the Massiah case was applicable and thought that the majority was erroneous in distinguishing Massiah on the basis of factual differences.

OREGON - People v. Neely (supra). The Supreme Court of Oregon held:

> "We conclude that the Escobedo decision requires that the accused be effectively warned of his constitutional right to remain silent and that if this is not affirmatively shown by the state, a confession obtained without such warning is inadmissible." 395 P. 2d 557.

PENNSYLVANIA - Commonwealth v. Coyle, 415 Pa. 379, 203 A. 2d 782 (1964). The defendant was convicted of murdering a policeman in Philadelphia and sentenced to death. The defendant was not apprehended immediately after the murder. Later in Massachusetts he and his brother committed a robbery and had a gun battle with police. Eleven days after the killing in Philadelphia and one day after the robbery and gun battle he was taken into custody by the Massachusetts police. One hour and forty minutes later he was interrogated by a Massachusetts state police detective. He was not advised of his right to remain silent, did not have counsel, and was not offered the assistance of counsel. There is some conflict in the evidence as to whether or not he requested counsel at this time. During the course of this interrogation, the appellant not only admitted his criminal activity in the state of Massachusetts, but also admitted being on the scene at the time the Philadelphia police officer was killed. Later the defendant was advised of his right not to make a statement and that counsel would be provided if he sought such assistance. At that time he stated that he did not need counsel and proceeded to give a more detailed statement as to his criminal activity in Philadelphia describing his movements in the police officer's killing. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that the confession was admissible.

Two points of the court's reasoning in allowing the introduction in evidence of this admission were: (1) the main focal point of the interrogation by the Massachusetts state police detective was not the police officer's killing but rather the Massachusetts robbery, and (2) assuming that the admissions made to this Massachusetts state police detective were tainted with some degree of constitutional infirmity, the same admissions were made to a district attorney after the defendant had made an intelligent waiver of the assistance of counsel. Justice Cohen dissented and had serious doubt about the admissibility into evidence of these uncounseled statements. (Note: One point the court did not specifically consider was the fact the first tainted confession to the Massachusetts state police detective might have affected the untainted confession to the district attorney, because having made an incriminating oral statement, the defendant "had let the cat out of the bag.")

- Commonwealth v. Patrick, 206 A. 2d 295 (1965). The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania cited and followed the Illinois decision of People v. Hartgraves, supra. The court said:

> "(W)e conclude that a statement or confession made during interrogation by the police, if voluntarily made, may be constitutionally admissible in evidence even though the accused was neither warned of his right to remain silent, nor of his right to counsel." 206 A. 2d 295, 300.

RHODE ISLAND - State v. Dufour, 206 A. 2d 82 (1965). The Supreme Court of Rhode Island cited and followed People v. Dorado, (Aug. 1964), supra. In this case the defendant had only been requested to go to the police station for the purpose of questioning and did not request counsel prior to making his confession, and the court said:

> "In Escobedo the defendant requested the assistance of counsel and was refused. In this respect that case differs from the case at bar but in the course of its opinion the supreme court made it clear, we think, that the defendant in such circumstances must not only have been advised of his right to assistance of counsel when requested but he must also have been warned of his right to remain silent." 206 A. 2d 82, 85.

The rule enunciated goes further than the Dorado (Jan. 1965) opinion delivered after rehearing. This case is the most liberal extension of Escobedo.

TENNESSEE - Campbell v. State, 384 S. W. 2d 4 (1964). The defendant was taken into custody and questioned about two burglaries. A day after the defendant had been arrested his counsel tried to contact him at the police station, but on the first two

occasions he was denied permission to see him. When the attorney went back the third time, the chief of police stated he wanted to talk to the defendant first and requested the attorney give him 30 minutes to do it and then the attorney could see him. The attorney granted this request by the chief of police. During this 30-minute period the confession was made, and the defendant had not been advised of his right to remain silent or his right to counsel. The court held that the confession was inadmissible and cited Haynes v. Washington, 373 U.S. 503 (1963), in addition to the Escobedo case.

TEXAS - Turner v. State, 384 S.W.2d 879 (1964). A written confession made to the police after indictment and in the absence of counsel (no request for counsel was made) was held to be admissible. The Court of Criminal Appeals of Texas distinguished the cases of Spano v. New York, 360 U.S. 315 (1959), and Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964).

VIRGINIA - Ward v. Commonwealth, 138 S.E.2d 293 (1964). After participating with his friend in the murder of his friend's father, the defendant, the age of 19, was questioned by a police officer at his home about his whereabouts. Prior to the defendant making a statement to the officer, the defendant's father said to him, "You don't have to say anything unless you see an attorney. Just give him your name and address and such." The defendant replied, "No, I want to tell you." Defendant then described the murder, but stated that the gun in his possession accidentally went off. This statement was later reduced to writing. The Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia held the confession was admissible and distinguished the Escobedo case. The court went on to say:

> "It is not necessary for us to pass upon the 'totality' theory advanced by defendant for here it is apparent that the statements complained of were made voluntarily. In fact, it appears that the defendant insisted upon telling all. Certainly there is no rule of law which requires an arresting officer to close his ears to voluntary statements made by a person in his presence." 138 S.E.2d 293, 299

WISCONSIN - Browne v. State, 131 N.W.2d 169 (1964). The defendant contended that his admissions before trial to police officers should have been excluded from evidence in the absence of: (1) either representation by counsel before making such admissions or the intelligent waiver of counsel; and (2) the police officers informing the defendant of his constitutional right to remain silent and not say anything in response to questions. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin held that the Escobedo rule did not support such contentions and was limited to its circumstances, particularly Escobedo's repeated request to speak with his lawyer. Another interesting facet of the case was that the defendant asserted as error the trial court's denial of his constitutional right to try his own case without counsel. His conviction was affirmed, and the motion for a rehearing denied.

GIDEON EXTENDED TO A MISDEMEANOR OFFENSE

In Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963), the Supreme Court held that the Sixth Amendment provision for the assistance of counsel is applicable to state trials by the Fourteenth Amendment. Gideon had been convicted of a felony and was sentenced to serve five years in the state prison. Justice Black in the opinion of the court held:

> "The right of one charged with crime to counsel may not be deemed fundamental and essential to fair trial in some countries, but it is in ours." 372 U.S. 335, 344. (Emphasis added)

There is no indication in this opinion that the right to be represented by counsel would be limited to felony cases. Justice Harlan, in a concurring opinion, said:

> "The special circumstances rule has been formally abandoned in capital cases, and the time has now come when it should be similarly abandoned in noncapital cases, at least as to offenses which, as the one involved here, carry the possibility of a substantial prison sentence. (Whether the rule should extend to all criminal cases need not now be decided.)" 372 U. S. 335, 351

On January 12, 1965, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit decided the case of Harvey v. Mississippi (No. 22005). The defendant, a Negro farmer in Mississippi, was charged with the misdemeanor of "possession of whiskey," which is punishable by a fine of up to $500 and up to 90 days in jail. The defendant informally entered a plea of guilty to the Justice of the Peace, and both the Justice of the Peace and the defendant Harvey spoke in terms of a fine as punishment for the offense. During his trial Harvey was not represented by counsel. Sentence was entered on the record of the Justice of the Peace as a $500 fine and a 90-day jail term, but the mittimus order or arrest of the defendant was not issued until the 40-day statutory period for taking an appeal had expired. After Harvey was put in jail counsel filed a writ of habeas corpus in the district court which was denied. On ruling on the matter whether the defendant had a right to counsel during the trial of this offense, the Court of Appeals held:

> "While the rule as thus stated has never been expressly extended to misdemeanor charges in state tribunals, it has been argued that such a principle is implicit in the Supreme Court's decision in Gideon v. Wainwright, 1963, 372 U.S. 335. Be this as it may, the reasoning in [Evans v. Rives, 126 F.2d 633 (D.C.Cir. 1942)] along with other right-to-counsel decisions persuades us that we should apply that rule in the present case. See Hamilton v. Alabama, supra; White v. Maryland, supra.

> The failure of notice to Harvey of his right to the assistance of counsel invalidated his guilty plea and rendered his conviction and incarceration constitutionally improper."

The Evans case mentioned in the above quote and relied upon by the court was a 1942 decision by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia which held that a defendant who received a sentence of one year in jail for nonsupport of a minor child was entitled to counsel even though the offense was classified as a misdemeanor. This pre-Gideon federal decision said:

> "And so far as the right to the assistance of counsel is concerned, the Constitution draws no distinction between loss of liberty for a short period and such loss for a long one." 126 F. 2d 633, 638.

The new Criminal Justice Act in providing compensation for counsel in federal courts states:

> "(b) Appointment of Counsel - In every criminal case in which the defendant is charged with a felony or a misdemeanor, other than a petty offense, and appears without counsel, the United States commissioner or the court shall advise the defendant that he has the right to be represented by counsel and that counsel will be appointed to represent him if he is financially unable to obtain counsel." (P.L. 88-455, 18 U.S.C. 3006A) (Emphasis added)

A petty offense is defined as any misdemeanor the penalty for which does not exceed imprisonment for a period of six months or a fine or not more than $500 or both. (18 U.S.C.A. Sec. 1) The Harvey case goes much further than the Evans case and the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 and extends counsel to those cases which might otherwise be described as petty or summary offenses. The type of offenses for which counsel will be required will remain in an unsettled area of the law until the Supreme Court provides a clearer pronouncement. (See Kamisar, "Where to Draw the Line," 22 The Legal Aid Brief Case 10 (October, 1963)).

GENERAL INFORMATION

During January and February 1965 the National Defender Project announced several grants for demonstration and law school programs. The grants awarded included: (1) a defender program in the Federal courts in San Francisco fitting within the scope of the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 ($68,942 for three years); (2) the establishment of the Salt Lake Legal Defender Association in Salt Lake County, a non-profit organization, which will replace the uncompensated appointed counsel system previously existing ($44,515 for the first year with additional funds to be

made available in the second and third years); (3) the establishment of a Legal Aid Society of Greater Kansas City, Missouri, with a criminal division that will function in all courts of Jackson County ($153,750 for three years); (4) a contingent grant to support a proposed state-wide public defender system for Minnesota ($121,000 for a period of two years); (5) a comprehensive defender program in Boston, Massachusetts, including representation in the district (lower) courts ($320,000 for three years); (6) a law school program at the University of Virginia in conjunction with a survey in the Municipal Court of Charlottesville, Virginia ($9,500 for one year), and (7) a criminal procedure course and summer internship program at Duke University providing for student training in local state courts ($9,000 for one year).

During February 11-13, 1965, the Advisory Council of the National Defender Project met in New Orleans, and the large National Defender Project grants were reviewed and evaluated:

Kansas City, Missouri (also Boone and Callaway Counties), by Justice Charles E. Whittaker, Retired Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by Judge William H. Hastie, Circuit Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

Boston, Massachusetts, by Judge Frank R. Kenison, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire.

District of Columbia, by Charles B. Murray, Director of the Legal Aid Agency of the District.

New Haven, Connecticut, by Mr. William Pincus of The Ford Foundation.

Those concerned with plans or programs providing counsel in the Federal courts under the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 should review the "Report of the Judicial Conference of the United States," dated January 13, 1965, published by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. The Judicial Conference approved a system of central disbursement of funds under this Act requiring that the authorization and payment in each case be made by the Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts. The report contains several suggested court plans and provides samples of the forms to be used.

Defender Newsletter

NATIONAL DEFENDER PROJECT

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William M. Madden, *Assistant Director*
Francis A. Allen, *Consultant*
Donald C. Dowling, *Defender Fellow*

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July 6, 1965
Volume II, No. 4

THE RIGHT TO COUNSEL AT THE PRELIMINARY HEARING

Powell v. Alabama, 287 U.S. 45 (1932), decided that the right to the appointment of counsel sufficiently in advance of trial to permit effective preparation for trial was an element of due process of law guaranteed the accused by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court said that "even the intelligent and educated layman... requires the guiding hand of counsel at every step in the proceedings against him." 287 U.S. 45, 69. But, despite the sweep of the Supreme Court's language, it has been settled law that the guarantee of counsel applies not to every step in the criminal prosecution, but only to what has come to be denominated, with some circularity, "critical stages" of the criminal proceeding.

Hamilton v. Alabama, 368 U.S. 52 (1961), held that arraignment could be such a critical stage when, as in Alabama, it is then, if at all, that the defense of insanity must be raised, that pleas in abatement must be made, or that motions to quash on account of defects in drawing the grand jury must be made.

> " [T] he pitfalls [that face the unrepresented defendant at trial] face an accused in Alabama who is arraigned without having counsel at his side. When one pleads to a capital charge without benefit of counsel, we do not stop to determine whether prejudice resulted.... [T] he degree of prejudice can never be known. Only the presence of counsel could have enabled this accused to know all the defenses available to him and to plead intelligently." 368 U.S. 52, 55.

And in White v. Maryland, 373 U.S. 59 (1963), where the accused, unrepresented by counsel at a preliminary hearing, entered a plea of guilty to a capital offense and that plea was offered in evidence against him at trial after he had, on advice of counsel, pled not guilty at arraignment, the Court held that Hamilton v. Alabama required reversal of the conviction even though the Maryland Court of Appeals had declared that under state law the accused had not been required to plead at the preliminary hearing nor were any rights or defenses preserved or lost at that time. White v. State, 177 A.2d 877, 881-82 (Md. 1961).

> "Whatever may be the normal function of the 'preliminary hearing' under Maryland law, it was in this case as 'critical' a stage as arraignment under Alabama law. For petitioner entered a plea before the magistrate and that plea was taken at a time when he had no counsel.
>
> "We repeat what we said in Hamilton v. Alabama... that we do not stop to determine whether prejudice resulted: 'Only the presence of counsel could have enabled this accused to know all the defenses available to him and to plead intelligently.'" 373 U.S. 59, 60.

But the Court's brief per curiam opinion in White leaves undetermined the scope of the right guaranteed.

Capital and non-capital distinctions. Though both Hamilton and White were capital cases, and though the language of Hamilton specifically incorporated that fact in the holding, few state decisions suggest that a lower constitutional standard might obtain in non-capital cases. State v. Perra, 125 N.W.2d 44 (Minn. 1963), reasons that Hamilton and White

> "appear limited to situations wherein the accused in capital cases, in the absence of counsel, has entered a plea either at his arraignment or at a preliminary hearing and thereby has waived substantial rights." 125 N.W.2d 44, 51 n.3.

The Supreme Court of New Mexico points out the distinction but did not rule on its validity. Sanders v. Cox, 395 P.2d 353 (1964). But generally state courts have found no special significance in the fact that a capital case was before them. Latham v. Crouse, 320 F.2d 120 (10th Cir.), cert. denied 375 U.S. 959 (1963); State v. White, 133 S.E.2d 320 (S.C. 1963). And it seems likely that Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963), having erased the distinction between capital and non-capital offenses in the right to counsel at trial, the distinction is without force at any critical stage. As Justice Clark observed, in his concurring opinion in Gideon,

> "the Constitution makes no distinction between capital and non-capital cases. The Fourteenth Amendment requires due process of law for the deprival of 'liberty' just as for deprival of 'life,' and there cannot constitutionally be a difference in the quality of the process based merely upon a supposed difference in the sanction involved." 372 U.S. 335, 349.

And so at least one court in a non-capital case has reasoned. Alden v. State, 234 F. Supp. 661 (D. Mont. 1964). The Pennsylvania Rules of Criminal Procedure do preserve the distinction, affording counsel to those accused of capital crimes at or before the preliminary hearing, Rule 318(a), while appointing counsel for those accused of non-capital cases only at arraignment, Rule 318(b). But that

distinction is based not on theory - the commentator concedes that the "ideal rule" would appoint counsel to every person accused of a crime "even at the preliminary hearing stage" - but on strain upon the state judicial system that would be created by a system of early representation.

> "There are approximately five thousand issuing authorities throughout the state who accept complaints and hold hearings at almost every hour of the day and night. To require counsel to be appointed by a court of record to attend proceedings be-before the minor judiciary - in some instances, many miles away - just would not work." Pa. Rules of Court 1965, p. 455.

Requirement of prejudice. Some courts have understood the White case to mean that the absence of counsel at the preliminary hearing is not a violation of the defendant's constitutional rights if the absence of counsel is not, in the eyes of the court, prejudicial. Thus, in People v. Daniels, 199 N.E. 2d 33 (Ill. App. 1964), an Illinois Appellate Court saw no deprivation of the accused's right to counsel since:

> "There is neither a claim nor any showing that absence of counsel at the preliminary hearing or a failure of an earlier appointment of counsel in any manner prejudiced the defendant or in any way adversely infected or contaminated the subsequent proceedings in this case." 199 N.E. 2d 33 at 34.

To the same effect, see Warner v. Commonwealth, 386 S.W. 2d 455, 456 (Ky. 1965); Commonwealth v. O'Leary, 198 N.E. 2d 403 (Mass. 1964), accused stood mute at preliminary hearing and court entered not guilty plea on his behalf; Matthews v. State, 206 A. 2d 714 (Md. 1965), plea of not guilty entered at preliminary hearing; Bonner v. Director, 206 A. 2d 708 (Md. 1965), defendant pleaded not guilty at preliminary hearing; Rainsberger v. State, 399 P. 2d 129 (Nev. 1965), plea at preliminary was not prejudicial because, later, at arraignment, defendant again pleaded guilty, with advice of counsel; State v. Baier, 339 P. 2d 559 (Kan. 1965), defendant without counsel waived preliminary hearing but, at trial, while represented by appointed counsel, pleaded guilty; United States ex rel Maisenhelder v. Rundle, 229 F. Supp. 506 (E.D. Pa. 1964), plea or testimony at preliminary hearing was never put before trial court (Also see, Commonwealth ex rel Maisenhelder v. Rundle, 198 A. 2d 565 (Pa. 1964); however, note dissenting opinion of Cohen, J., in this latter case; see infra); Sanders v. Cox, supra, non-capital offender pleaded guilty at trial when represented by counsel, guilty plea at preliminary hearing, while not represented, was not prejudicial; State v. Dennis, 204 A. 2d 868 (N.J. 1964), proceedings or plea at preliminary hearing never brought before trial court, nor even divulged in appellate opinion; Johnson v. State, 207 A. 2d 643 (Md. 1965), where defendant was charged with three capital crimes: (1) murder of seven year old girl, (2) assault with intent to rape the seven year old girl, and (3) forcible rape of a

neighbor woman, convicted of each, and sentenced to death three times, the court said:

> "With reference to the claim that he did not have counsel at his preliminary hearing in Municipal Court, it is not alleged or shown that he entered any plea there, or that any plea or statement he may have made there was introduced at his trial in the Criminal Court, and thus the preliminary hearing was not such a critical stage of the proceedings as to require the presence of counsel." 207 A. 2d 643. (Emphasis added.)

But White did not address itself to a determination of those procedures at a preliminary hearing which were prejudicial but to when a preliminary hearing was a "critical stage," that is, "that point of the process [of investigation and prosecution] at which the right to counsel accrues independently of judicial analysis of 'fundamental fairness,' prejudice or coercion." Comment, 32 U. Chi. L. Rev. 560, 568 (1965). The Maryland Court of Appeals treated the issue of the propriety of the admission at trial of the earlier plea as quite different from the right to counsel at the preliminary hearing and the Supreme Court noted that:

> "Although petitioner did not object to the introduction of this evidence at the trial. . . , the rationale of Hamilton v. Alabama, supra, does not rest, as we shall see, on a showing of prejudice." 373 U.S. 59, 60.

Cohen, J., dissenting in Commonwealth ex rel Maisenhelder v. Rundle, 414 Pa. 11, 198 A. 2d 565 (1964), supra, observed that:

> "Even though there is no showing of prejudice, I would reverse since the rationale of White v. State of Maryland. . . and Hamilton v. Alabama. . . does not require such a showing.
>
> "In White v. State of Maryland, the conviction was reversed because defendant was not represented by counsel when he pled at the preliminary hearing even though it was not required that he plead. The same facts are present in the instant proceeding." 198 A. 2d 565, 567.

Other courts have found there to be no constitutional injury in the failure to appoint counsel where no plea offered at the preliminary hearing could be offered in evidence at trial, State v. White, 133 S.E. 2d 320 (S.C. 1963); DeToro v. Pepersack, 332 F. 2d 341 (4th Cir. 1964); or where the accused could not under state law offer a plea at the preliminary hearing, Williams v. State, 237 F. Supp. 360 (E.D.S.C. 1965); or where the accused did not in fact offer a plea, Mercer v. State, 237 Md. 479, 206 A. 2d 797 (1965); Ronzzo v. Sigler, 235 F. Supp. 839 (D. Neb. 1964). And most states adhere to the view that the accused is not denied

due process of law by the failure to appoint counsel at the preliminary hearing if the preliminary hearing is not a critical stage. State v. Osgood, 123 N.W.2d 593 (Minn. 1963); People v. Sedlak, 256 N.Y.S.2d 84 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1965); State v. Richardson, 399 P.2d 799 (Kan. 1965); Bussey v. Maxwell, 177 Ohio St. 111, 202 N.E.2d 698 (1964); Ronzzo v. Sigler, supra; People v. Morris, 30 Ill.2d 406, 197 N.E.2d 433 (1964); Freeman v. State, 392 P.2d 542 (Idaho 1964).

The oft cited case of United States ex rel Cooper v. Reincke, 333 F.2d 608 (2d Cir. 1964), the U.S. Court of Appeals reasoned that the preliminary hearing could not be deemed a critical stage:

> "The Connecticut hearing in probable cause has been accurately characterized as a mere 'inquest' made to determine the existence of probable cause, and to discharge the accused if none exists... The finding of probable cause is not final and it cannot be used against an accused on the trial before the Superior Court....
>
> "The Connecticut hearing in probable cause cannot, therefore, be characterized as critical as is arraignment in Alabama. Indeed, it can hardly be termed a proceeding against the accused, to the contrary, it appears to operate entirely for the accused's benefit. And the mere fact that an accused is required to plead does not in itself demand a contrary conclusion where the plea entered is a self-serving denial of guilt. At trial, appellant had every opportunity to present any defense that was available initially." 333 F.2d 608, 611-612.

The Supreme Court of Idaho stated:

> "While it is recognized that an accused has a right to counsel at every stage of proceedings, we do not understand this to mean that he must be so represented in the preliminary processes which take place primarily for the purpose of ascertaining whether a crime has been committed and whether there are reasonable grounds to believe that the accused has committed it, and particularly where no prejudice has befallen him." Freeman v. State, 392 P.2d 542, 547 (Idaho 1964).

Such reasoning acquires added force from the Court's analogy of the preliminary hearing in White to the arraignment in Hamilton and by the characterization of White and Hamilton by Justice White (joined by Justices Clark and Stewart) in dissent in Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964), as cases which "dealt with the requirement of counsel at proceedings in which definable rights could be won or lost, not with stages where probative evidence might be obtained." 378 U.S. 478, 497. In Escobedo, Justice Goldberg, writing the majority opinion had said:

> "The 'guiding hand of counsel' was essential to advise petitioner of his rights in this delicate situation. Powell v. Alabama, 287 U.S. 45, 69. This was the 'stage when legal aid and advice' were most critical to petitioner. Massiah v. United States, supra, at 204. It was a stage surely as critical as was the arraignment in Hamilton v. Alabama, 368 U.S. 52, and the preliminary hearing in White v. Maryland, 373 U.S. 59." 378 U.S. 478, 486.

Further, Pointer v. Texas, 85 S. Ct. 1065 (1965), held that the admission into evidence at trial of transcripts of testimony taken at a preliminary hearing at which the accused was not represented by counsel and was hence unable to cross-examine the witness constituted a denial of the accused's right under the Sixth Amendment, guaranteed him by the Fourteenth Amendment, to confront the witnesses against him. The Court declined to decide whether the denial of counsel was itself a denial of due process because

> "the State informs us that at a Texas preliminary hearing such as is involved here, pleas of guilty or not guilty are not accepted and that the judge decides only whether the accused should be bound over to the grand jury and if so whether he should be admitted to bail. Because of these significant differences in the procedures of the respective States, we cannot say that the White case is necessarily controlling as to the right to counsel. Whether there might be other circumstances making this Texas preliminary hearing so critical to the defendant as to call for appointment of counsel at that stage we need not decide on this record and that question we reserve." 85 S. Ct. 1065, 1067.

Advantages of preliminary hearing. Despite, however, what might appear to be the Supreme Court's emphasis on the formal aspects of the preliminary hearing, it has been said that the disadvantage suffered by the unrepresented defendant is primarily tactical. The value of the preliminary hearing as a discovery device is highlighted by Washington v. Clemmer, 339 F. 2d 715 (D.C. Cir. 1964); 339 F. 2d 725 (D.C. Cir. 1964). See generally Silverstein, Defense of the Poor, 76-83 (1965) and II Defender Newsletter, No. 3 (May 3, 1965). The accused does not know whether to demand or waive a hearing or how to cross-examine witnesses and is not prepared to effectively discuss with the prosecuting attorney possible reduction of the charges against him. Such tactical concerns may certainly be elements of the effective preparation for defense envisioned by Powell. The Wisconsin Supreme Court, though reserving the question of whether the indigent is constitutionally entitled to the appointment of counsel at the preliminary hearing, adopted a prospective rule as a matter of policy stressing

"the avoidance of the adverse psychological factors affecting an unrepresented defendant, the furnishing of opportunity for effectively preparing the defense of cross-examining government witnesses at the preliminary and the preservation of testimony of other witnesses which might be lost." Sparkman v. State, 27 Wis. 2d 92, 133 N.W. 2d 776, 780 (1965).

In the main, however, the courts have been unsympathetic to constitutional arguments that the accused has a right to effectively exploit the preliminary hearing as a discovery device. The Supreme Court of Nevada held:

"that the aid of counsel is of value at all times to one accused of crime, even before a preliminary hearing is held. Our recognition of counsel's value, however, does not mean that his assistance is constitutionally required at all stages of the criminal proceeding." Application of Hoff, 393 P. 2d 619, 620 (Nev. 1964).

Ronzzo v. Sigler, supra; DeToro v. Pepersack, supra; and United States ex rel. Parker v. Meyers, 233 F. Supp. 563 (E.D. Pa. 1964), all see the loss of the opportunity for counsel to have cross-examined prosecution witnesses at the preliminary hearings as a non-prejudicial injury - though all refer to the availability of alternative discovery devices by which the accused can learn of the State's case. The 10th Circuit, in United States ex rel Cooper v. Reincke, supra, in speaking of right to counsel at the preliminary hearing stated:

"Whatever collateral benefit that might have accrued, just as the prejudice he may have suffered, is altogether conjectural and certainly cannot amount to the deprivation of a constitutional right." 333 F. 2d 608, 613.

This court was also not impressed by the accused's claim of the loss of the advantage of the opportunity to bargain for a plea to a reduced charge and obtain a shorter sentence worked by the failure to appoint counsel at the preliminary hearing.

"[H]ad he chosen to change his plea to guilty after weighing the chances with his counsel, he was perfectly free to do so. He neither waived nor lost any of these bargaining possibilities." 333 F. 2d 608, 613.

Need for a preliminary hearing. Those courts which have spoken on the subject have found no defect in the waiver of hearing by the unrepresented accused. Ex parte Jett, 172 So. 2d 811 (Ala. App. 1965); State v. Stallings, 25 Conn. Supp. 386, 206 A. 2d 277 (1964). State v. Kirkland, 82 N. J. Super. 409, 197 A. 2d 876 (1964), reasons that the accused's opportunity, lost by the waiver of preliminary hearing, to cross-examine complaining witnesses or to speak in his own behalf could not be error since it is no greater error than would follow from outright denial of preliminary hearing, which is not error per se. And United States ex rel Combs v. Denno, 231 F. Supp. 942 (S.D.N.Y. 1964), holds that the accused could not be disadvantaged by waiver of

the preliminary hearing since, "indeed, there is no constitutional requirement that a State set up any procedure prior to indictment for examination of witnesses by either the prosecution or the defense." 231 F. Supp. 942, 944.

An indigent defendant's right. Further, it may be argued that, if the accused has a right to retained counsel at the preliminary hearing, then Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S. 12 (1956) would require that counsel be appointed for the indigent. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in Washington v. Clemmer, supra, ruled that the accused was entitled to have a court reporter present to prepare a transcript of his preliminary hearing.

> "We think this course is required by minimal standards of fair and equal justice. Defendants who have funds are entitled to employ their own reporters. To deny this opportunity to an indigent defendant would be to permit invidious discrimination based on wealth." 339 F.2d 715, 718.

In Sparkman v. State, supra, Justices Hallows and Wilkie, found a constitutional right to appointed counsel at the preliminary hearing because it was a necessary part of the criminal proceedings and needed to insure a fair trial and

> "because an accused has a statutory right to retained counsel at a preliminary hearing, an accused who is indigent is entitled to appointed counsel under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment." 133 N.W.2d 776, 781.

But in People v. Morris, 30 Ill.2d 406, 197 N.E.2d 433 (1964), the Illinois Supreme Court (Schaefer, J., dissenting as to this point but concurring in the result) rejected the argument that Griffin requires the state to furnish the accused a free copy of the transcript of the preliminary hearing.

Conclusion. In such an uncertain area, the courts have proceeded with some caution. The Wisconsin court in Sparkman v. State, while admitting that there had been constitutional developments since they had last considered the question, chose to act by announcing a rule of court. In Commonwealth v. O'Leary, 198 N.E.2d 403 (Mass. 1964), the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court noted with an eye to the future, that while there did not now appear to be any constitutional right to counsel at the preliminary hearing,

> "In view of the possible implication in [the Powell, Hamilton, Gideon and White] decisions and of others to follow, the prudent course for a District Court judge is to appoint counsel for an indigent defendant in every case where there is to be a probable cause hearing...." 198 N.E.2d 403, 405.

In Application of Hoff, supra, the court, while expressing doubt how much further the Supreme Court would go, urged the state legislature to pass a statute providing for the appointment and compensation of counsel for indigents. And, in fact, both Idaho and Utah, by legislation adopted in 1965, have provided for the appointment of counsel at the preliminary hearing thus joining the fourteen states (including Wisconsin and Massachusetts) in which counsel is usually offered at or before the preliminary hearing. See Silverstein, The Defense of the Poor, Table 23 at 75, Appendix D (1965).

In the federal courts the appointment and compensation of counsel at the preliminary examination has been provided for in the passage of the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 (18 USC 3006A).

THIRD CIRCUIT ACCEPTS BROAD APPLICATION OF ESCOBEDO DECISION

While in police custody, but prior to either preliminary hearing or indictment on the charge, defendants confessed to having killed an off-duty policeman while attempting to "hold-up" a Newark, New Jersey, tavern on the night of March 15, 1961. Neither had been advised of his right to consult with counsel or his right to remain silent. After dealing with and rejecting petitioners' arguments that their confessions should not have been admitted to evidence because they were obtained (1) during a period of illegal detention, (2) by physical coercion, and (3) by mental overbearing, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit (Biggs, C.J.) reversed and remanded with directions to the District Court to issue writs of habeas corpus on the express grounds that defendants had been denied their constitutional right to counsel. U.S. ex rel Russo v. New Jersey, No. 14833, 3rd Cir. May 20, 1965. The court rejected possible factual bases for distinguishing Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964):

> "Certainly it is untenable to ground a distinction on the fact that Escobedo had already hired his own attorney while Bisignano and Russo would have required appointed counsel. Such a distinction smacks of denial of equal protection once it is determined that there is a right to counsel at this stage of the proceedings. Cf. Douglas v. California, 372 U.S. 353 (1963)....
>
> "We can perceive no sound basis for holding that request for counsel is a prerequisite for the right to counsel at the interrogation stage while it is not at any other....
>
> "No sound reasoning that we can discover will support the conclusion that although at other stages in the proceedings in which the right attaches there must be an intelligent waiver, at the interrogation level a failure to request counsel may be deemed to be a waiver."

By way of dictum, the court clearly indicates that advising a prisoner of his constitutional right to remain silent would not, in and of itself, be sufficient to render his later incriminating statements admissible in evidence at trial:

"In reviewing the facts of Escobedo, it is apparent that Escobedo was well informed of his constitutional rights since some days previously he had conferred with counsel and it must be assumed, as the Supreme Court did assume, that counsel had informed Escobedo of his right to remain silent and the effect any statement that he made might have. Yet the Supreme Court held that such prior instructions were inadequate when Esocbedo was faced with the incriminating statements of his alleged partner in crime. The Supreme Court held that at that very moment when he was confronted with these statements, he was entitled to the guiding hand of counsel.

"The request by Escobedo to consult with his attorney is in and of itself evidence that he was aware of his constitutional rights. Thus, it would seem that to suppress a confession of one knowledgeable of his rights but who has nonetheless confessed and to admit into evidence a confession of one who might be unaware of his rights at the time of his confession would be sophistry. The view that we have expressed here has been well stated by the California Supreme Court: 'To require the request would be to favor the defendant whose sophistication or status had fortuitously prompted him to make it.' People v. Dorado, 42 Cal. Rptr. 169, 178, 398 P. 2d 361, 370 (1965), pet. for cert. filed, 33 U.S.L. Week 3323 (3/22/65)." (Slip Opinion, No. 14833, pp. 13-15) (Note: The U.S. Supreme Court denied certiorari in Dorado, 33 U.S.L. Week 3389. Certiorari was also denied in People v. Hartgraves, 202 N.E.2d 33 (Ill. 1964), 33 U.S.L. Week 3330.)

RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

Defendant's failure to testify. The court extended last year's decision in Malloy v. Hogan, 378 U.S. 1, 84 S. Ct. 1489, which applied the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment to the states, by holding that:

> "The Fifth Amendment, in its direct application to the federal government and its bearing on the States by reason of the Fourteenth Amendment, forbids either comment by the prosecution on the accused's silence or instructions by the court that such silence is evidence of guilt." Griffin v. California, 85 S. Ct. 1229, 1233.

Justice Douglas, for the majority, called comment on refusal to testify a "penalty imposed by courts for exercising a constitutional privilege," and rejected Justice Stewart's dissent that instructions by the Court should be allowed as a protective shield against unwarranted inferences which might be drawn by an uninformed jury.

Whether the accused may require a jury instruction that his silence must be disregarded was explicitly reserved. Federal courts grant such an instruction. Bruno v. U.S., 308 U.S. 287 (1939).

Tehan v. Shott, 337 F.2d 990 (6th Cir. 1965) presenting the question whether Griffin should be retrospective, has been granted review. No. 877, 33 U.S.L. Week 3376. Six states could be affected: California, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Iowa, and New Mexico.

Mapp decision not retrospective. On June 19, 1961, the Court held that illegally seized evidence was inadmissible in state courts. Mapp v. Ohio, 367 U.S. 643 (1961). In Linkletter v. Walker, 33 U.S.L. Week 4576, the Court ended the split of authority among state and federal courts on the question whether Mapp should be retrospective by holding it inapplicable to state court convictions which have become final before the date of the Mapp decision. "Final" means the "judgment of conviction was rendered, the availability of appeal exhausted, and the time for petition for certiorari had elapsed." (See footnote 5, 33 U.S.L. Week 4577.)

The Constitution being neutral on the problem of retroactivity, Justice Clark announced a test looking at the history of the rule, its purpose and effect, and the effect of retrospective application on its operation. Since the exclusionary rule was adopted because it was the only effective deterrent to police action in violation of the Fourth Amendment, its purpose would not be advanced by retrospective application of Mapp. Furthermore, such application would require new hearings on many old cases. "To thus legitimate such an extraordinary procedural weapon that has no bearing on guilt would seriously disrupt the administration of justice." (Emphasis added.)

Griffin v. Illinois, supra, Gideon v. Wainwright, supra, and Jackson v. Denno, 378 U.S. 368 (1964), which have been held to operate retrospectively, were distinguished as relating to the reliability of the evidence and the fairness and accuracy of the trial. (Footnote 20. 33 U.S.L. Week 4582)

The magic of the date, June 19, 1961, is further illustrated by Carafas v. LaValle, 334 F.2d 331 (2d Cir. 1964). The Second Circuit Court of Appeals granted a writ of habeas corpus to a defendant whose appeal was still pending when Mapp was announced, even though at his pre-Mapp trial, he had not objected to the admission of illegally seized evidence. The Supreme Court denied certiorari. 33 U.S.L. Week 3393.

Trial publicity. In Estes v. Texas, 33 U.S.L. Week 4543, the Court ruled that the introduction of television into the defendant's trial denied his constitutional right to fair trial under the Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Mr. Justice Clark, for the majority, first reasoned that the petitioner Estes need not show actual prejudice, but merely the probability of unfairness, and then traced the psychological impact on the jury, the witnesses, the judge, the defendant, and his counsel and the physical disruption caused by the presence of TV cameras and crew. "A defendant on trial... is entitled to his day in court, not in a stadium, or a city or nationwide arena." Clark apparently would apply the rule to all "notorious" trials, but Harlan, whose vote was required for the 5-4 majority, cautioned the Court to "proceed step by step in this unplowed field." The difference is probably narrow, since there is undoubtedly a correlation between "notoriety" and TV coverage.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Ford Grant to NLADA. The Ford Foundation has granted $1.8 million to NLADA to expand the National Defender Project to conduct a series of demonstration programs for the improvement of the assigned counsel system. The grant will provide funds for three-year demonstration programs establishing an administrator to direct and assist the efforts of assigned counsel in approximately 20 different localities throughout the country. The administrator system can operate in a purely assigned counsel system or can supplement an existing defender service.

Recent National Defender Project Grants. Five additional grants have been awarded by the National Defender Project: (1) a three-year grant of $33,874 to establish the "Wyoming Defender Aid Program" to provide law student assistance to assigned counsel throughout the state of Wyoming and to conduct an increased educational program in criminal procedure at the University of Wyoming College of Law; (2) a one-year grant of $7,500 to the Legal Aid Society of Westchester County, New York to employ a legal intern; (3) a $2,000 grant to the Austin Junior Bar Foundation for the acquisition of auxiliary services of investigators and experts to assist assigned counsel; (4) a six-month grant of $9,305 to the Public Defender of Santa Clara County, California, to employ two legal interns; and (5) a contingent grant of $28,475 for a period of two years to the State of Wisconsin to provide financial assistance in the creation of a state-wide public defender at the appellate level in Wisconsin.

Conference on Law and Poverty. During 23-25 June 1965, the National Conference on Law and Poverty was held in Washington, D.C. At this conference the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) outlined their objectives and procedures in establishing legal services programs as part of the "War on Poverty." Federal funds will be available for imaginative programs providing legal services that will benefit the poor. The booklet entitled Law and Poverty: 1965 prepared by Patricia M. Wald is an excellent reference work and contains the tentative guidelines for legal services proposals to the OEO. Additional materials on the Conference and legal services programs can be obtained from the Director, Community Action Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

NLADA Defender Membership up 150%. Small part-time offices are taking advantage of the recently adjusted dues rate as both smaller and larger offices have strikingly increased NLADA membership in the past six months. Annual dues are now as follows:

	Minimum Dues
Defender organization memberships for full-time office	$50
Part-time offices (1-3 part-time attorneys)	25
Professional memberships to individual attorneys interested in this service	10

Non-member Defender organizations still receiving this Newsletter are urged to keep in touch with developments affecting Defenders in the Office of Economic Opportunity, Ford Foundation, and proposed legislation through the national association. (Contact, L. Michael Getty, Coordinator of Defender Services.)

Defender Newsletter

NATIONAL DEFENDER PROJECT

National Legal Aid and Defender Association • American Bar Center • Chicago, Ill. 60637

Charles L. Decker, *Director*
John J. Cleary, *Deputy Director*
James P. Hilliard, *Assistant Director*
Francis A. Allen, *Consultant*

Civ Liberties

September 1965
Volume II, No. 5

ADMISSIBILITY OF A CONFESSION

As a result of recent United States Supreme Court rulings upon the admissibility of confessions in state criminal cases, serious consideration has been given to the methods of interrogation that produce these confessions. Not only the courts and counsel, but also law enforcement agencies, are vitally concerned with insuring that the confession of an accused person is voluntary and hence admissible at his subsequent trial. The defense lawyer views the interrogation process to determine if the confession or incriminating statements qualify for admission. No one questions that interrogation is a valuable law enforcement tool, but some doubt has been expressed about the propriety of interrogation of the accused. Some have indicated that the Supreme Court will go so far as to exclude the use of confessions, and Justice White in his dissenting opinion in Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964), stated:

> "The decision is thus another major step in the direction of the goal which the Court seemingly has in mind - to bar from evidence all admissions obtained from an individual suspected of crime, whether involuntarily made or not." 378 U.S. 478, 495.

The philosophy against the use of a confession is founded upon the privilege of self-incrimination, for since a man cannot be compelled to testify against himself at the trial where he has the adequate safeguards of the judicial process and the assistance of counsel, he should not be incriminated by his words made prior to trial. The importance of this right of the accused to remain silent at trial and have the government prove its case by other evidence has been re-emphasized in the last term of the Supreme Court. In Griffin v. California, 14 L. Ed2d106 (1965), the court held that the trial court and prosecutor were precluded from commenting before the jury upon the defendant's failure to testify in his own behalf. Decisions of the United States Supreme Court have not impeded the use of confessions in state criminal trials, but they have become the subject of much interpretation, qualification, and distinction by the state trial courts. (See March 1965 issue of Defender Newsletter which discusses 27 different state decisions on Massiah and Escobedo.)

History. In 1936, Chief Justice Hughes of the United States Supreme Court in Brown v. Mississippi, 297 U.S. 278, held that the state procedure on the admissibility of confessions in criminal cases was subject to review under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In this case the defendant who had been suspected of murder had been twice hanged by a rope from a tree, and having been let down was tied to the tree and whipped. He was subsequently whipped again

until he would agree to confess to a statement dictated by the deputy sheriff. The Court held:

> "But the freedom of the State in establishing its policy is the freedom of constitutional government and is limited by the requirement of due process of law. Because a State may dispense with a jury trial, it does not follow that it may substitute trial by ordeal. The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness stand." 297 U.S. 278, 285-6.

In attacking a conviction based upon an involuntary confession the Court held that the introduction of such a confession was "a wrong so fundamental that it made the whole proceeding a mere pretense of a trial and rendered the conviction and sentence wholly void. ***The conviction and sentence were void for want of the essential elements of due process, and a proceeding thus vitiated could be challenged in any appropriate manner." 297 U.S. 278, 286-7.

Admissibility Equals Voluntariness. The recognized test in the admissibility of a confession was voluntariness. In Watts v. Indiana, 338 U.S. 49 (1949), the late Justice Frankfurter outlined the meaning and purpose of the test of voluntariness:

> "A statement to be voluntary of course need not be volunteered. But if it is the product of sustained pressure by the police it does not issue from a free choice. When a suspect speaks because he is overborne, it is immaterial whether he has been subjected to a physical or mental ordeal. Eventually yielding to questioning under such circumstances is plainly the product of the suction process of interrogation and therefore the reverse of voluntary. We would have to shut our minds to the plain significance of what here transpired to deny that this was a calculated endeavor to secure a confession through the pressure of unrelenting interrogation. The very relentlessness of such interrogation implies that it is better for the prisoner to answer than to persist in the refusal of disclosure which is his constitutional right. To turn the detention of an accused into a process of wrenching from him evidence which could not be extorted in open court with all its safeguards, is so grave an abuse of the power of arrest as to offend the procedural safeguards of due process." 338 U.S. 49, 53-4.

The test of voluntariness is used to balance the right of the accused to resist questioning against the right of the law enforcement authorities to inquire about the facts of a crime.

Factors Affecting Voluntariness. Although the rule is easy to define, difficulties arise in the application of determining what is a voluntary confession in a given fact circumstance. The principle adopted by the Court in determining voluntariness in its evaluation of the facts surrounding a confession is to consider the "totality of the circumstances." Fikes v. Alabama, 352 U.S. 191, 197 (1957). Since the admissibility of a confession will turn on many factors, a list analyzing 36 United States Supreme Court opinions from Brown v. Mississippi in 1936 to Escobedo v. Illinois in 1964, gives rise to certain aspects of the interrogation

process that will be considered by the court in determining the voluntariness of a confession. All parties concerned with the admissibility of a confession should insure that the record reflects those factual circumstances most favorable to their position (i.e. admissibility or non-admissibility), for the Supreme Court will not be bound by the lower courts' determination of voluntariness and will make its own independent factual review. Lisenba v. California, 314 U.S. 219, 237-8 (1941). This chart (pp. 6-7) of this Newsletter) for ease of understanding classifies the individual factors affecting voluntariness into eight major categories: (1) Denial of Rights, (2) Questioning, (3) Threats, (4) Status of Accused, (5) Nature of Coercion, (6) Second Confession, (7) Special Techniques, and (8) Previous Experience with Police. The purpose of this chart is to provide ready accessibility to Supreme Court cases dealing with the specific factors listed. (A listing of the cases cited in alphabetical order is contained on p. 11 of this Newsletter.)

I. Denial of Rights

When the interrogators violate legal rights of the accused, serious doubt is cast upon the admissibility of a confession. A look at the chart will immediately indicate the many cases in which the Court considered that the deprivation of friend, relative or counsel (the holding of the accused in an incommunicado status) affected the voluntariness of the confession.

In Gallegos v. Colorado, 370 U.S. 49 (1962), a fourteen-year-old boy was charged with the fatal assault of an elderly man. After he was arrested by the police he immediately admitted the assault, and again five days later during which time he saw no lawyer, parent or other friendly adult, he signed a formal written confession which was introduced in evidence against him. In addition to the youth of the accused, the Supreme Court found the formal confession to be involuntary because the accused was not allowed to have the advice of his parents, lawyer or friend. This was a denial of the youthful accused's right to due process under the Fourteenth Amendment, and in this case the right to counsel was considered under the aspect of procedural due process.

In two recent cases, Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964), and Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964), the Court held that the confessions were inadmissible as a result of a denial of the assistance of counsel. This Sixth Amendment provision was directly applied to a federal proceeding in the Massiah case and extended to a state proceeding through the Fourteenth Amendment by Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S. 335 (1963).

In Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964), the accused had been indicted for violating federal narcotics laws. He had retained a lawyer, pleaded not guilty, and was released on bail. While out on bail he made incriminating statements to a co-defendant in co-defendant's car in which a radio transmitter had been installed by federal agents with the cooperation of this co-defendant. The federal agents overheard these incriminating statements and testified to them at trial. The Supreme Court held that these statements were inadmissible as a constitutional deprivation of counsel under the Sixth Amendment:

> "We hold that the petitioner was denied the basic protections of that guarantee (assistance of counsel under the Sixth Amendment) when there was used against him at his trial evidence of his own incriminating words, which federal agents had deliberately elicited from him after he had been indicted and in the absence of his counsel." 377 U.S. 201, 206. (Emphasis added.)

The Supreme Court did not limit the exclusion of confessions to post-indictment statements, but in a five to four decision announced by Justice Goldberg applied this exclusion to pre-indictment statements in the decision of Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964). Although the Escobedo case is often cited in attacking any post-arrest statement by an accused without an attorney, that decision by its own terms is narrowly restricted:

> "We hold, therefore, that where, as here, (1) the investigation is no longer a general inquiry into an unsolved crime but has begun to focus on a particular suspect, (2) the suspect has been taken into police custody, (3) the police carry out a process of interrogations that lends itself to eliciting incriminating statements, (4) the suspect has requested and (5) been denied an opportunity to consult with his lawyer, and (6) the police have not effectively warned him of his absolute constitutional right to remain silent, the accused has been denied 'the Assistance of Counsel' in violation of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution as 'made obligatory upon the States by the Fourteenth Amendment,' Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 U.S., at 342, and that no statement elicited by the police during the interrogation may be used against him at a criminal trial." 378 U.S. 478, 490-491. (Numbers added.)

The two polar interpretations of this rule, People v. Dorado, 398 P.2d 361 (Cal. 1965), (liberal) and People v. Hartgraves, 202 N.E.2d 33 (Ill. 1965), (conservative), have both been refused review by the United States Supreme Court which denied each petition for certiorari during the last term of court. 33 U.S. Law Week 3389 and 3330.

Police authorities, vitally concerned with assuring that a confession is voluntary should recognize the need for advising an accused of his right to remain silent, warning the accused that his answers may be used against him in a trial, and telling him of his right to consult with an attorney. Justice Goldberg expressly held that these factors play on the voluntariness and the admissibility of a confession (Haynes v. Washington, 373 U.S. 503, 517 (1963)), and failure to advise the accused of any one of these three points opens the door for a motion to suppress an otherwise valid voluntary confession.

II. Questioning

Of all the questioning techniques frowned upon by the court, extended questioning has been most severely criticized. In Ashcraft v. Tennessee, 322 U.S. 143 (1944), relay questioning for more than 36 hours with one five-minute pause was the principal factor controlling the Court's decision that the confession was involuntary.

In Leyra v. Denno, 347 U.S. 556 (1954), a state employed psychiatrist interrogated a 50-year-old man suspected of bludgeoning to death his mother and father. The psychiatrist used an interview approach indicating that he was present to help the accused and that the accused would feel much better if he confessed. This manner of interrogation was held to be improper, and any admissions to the psychiatrist were the product of 'mental coercion.' In Spano v. New York, 360 U.S. 315 (1959), a close friend of the accused who was a police officer was used by the interrogators to play on the accused's sympathy. His superiors instructed this friend to tell the accused that the friend would be in trouble unless the accused confessed. The court held that the accused's will was overborne and the confession involuntary, and one of the incidents contributing to the involuntariness of the confession was the falsely aroused sympathy by the pretended friend.

III. Threats

When physical harm to the accused is threatened, there is no doubt that the resulting confession would be involuntary. As police interrogators become more sophisticated, the line between the threat and the proper method of inquiry becomes extremely fine. In Lynumn v. Illinois, 372 U.S. 528 (1963), the accused was suspected of the sale and possession of narcotics and was informed by police officers that she would be disentitled to public assistance (ADC) and would lose custody of her children. They also informed her that if she cooperated, they (the police) would recommend leniency. Although the state trial court and supreme court held the confession to be voluntary, the United States Supreme Court reversed.

In Stein v. New York, 346 U.S. 156 (1953), the defendant Cooper's father was taken into custody with him and his brother was arrested for a parole violation. Cooper obtained a commitment from the police that his father would be released if he confessed and was able to bargain with parole officials to see that his brother would be unmolested if he "cooperated." The court held that Cooper's confession was voluntary, for his bargaining indicated that he exercised free choice when he made the confession. In Rogers v. Richmond, 365 U.S. 534 (1961), the accused who had previously remained silent after his arrest on suspicion of murder confessed when the police chief indicated he was about to have the accused's wife taken into custody. The trial court instructed the jury that the admissibility of the confession was determined by a legal standard which took into account the circumstances of its probable truth or falsity. Because of this instructional error by the trial court, the case was remanded for a retrial, but the Court's decision was critical of the manner of interrogation.

IV. Status of the Accused

The status of the accused includes such factors as his youth, education, intelligence, linguisitic ability, sanity, health, and previous contacts with the police or criminal background. In its early cases reviewing the voluntariness of a confession, the Supreme Court denounced improper police questioning of an illiterate. In White v. Texas, 310 U.S. 530 (1940), the Court refused to believe

	Brown	Chambers	White	* Lisenba	Ward	Ashcraft	* Lyons	Malinski	Haley	Lee	Watts	Turner	Harris	*[1] Gallegos	* Stroble	* Brown	* Stein	Leyra	Fikes	* Thomas	Payne	* Ashdown	* Crooker	* Cicenia	Spano	Blackburn	Rogers	Reck	Culombe	[2] Gallegos	Townsend	Lynumn	Haynes	Massiah	Jackson	Escobedo
I. Denial of Rights																																				
Deprivation of friend, relative or counsel (incommunicado)		x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x			x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			x
No prompt preliminary hearing											x	x		x		x	x		x		x							x								
Not informed of rights											x	x	x								x								x				x			x
Statement after indictment																									x									x		
Requested lawyer																							x	x	x		x	x	x				x			
II. Questioning																																				
Extended questioning		x		x	x	x			x		x	x	x												x	x		x		x						
Where questioned			x										x						x							x										
Relay questioning						x			x		x	x					x																			
Night (early morning) questioning		x				x			x		x	x						x							x		x		x						x	
No. of interrogators																	x								x	x										
Questioning by psychiatrist																		x																		
Friend or relative assists in questioning																									x				x							
Confession prepared by police	x																									x										
III. Threats																																				
Threat of harm or loss								x		x							x															x				
Threats to others													x														x									
IV. Status of Accused																																				
Youth of accused									x	x																		x		x	x					
Education of accused			x	x	x								x			x			x		x							x	x		x					
Intelligence of accused				x															x		x							x	x				x			
Language barrier														x																						x
Insanity																										x										
Sickness of accused																												x			x				x	

	Brown	Chambers	White	* Liesenba	Ward	Ashcraft	* Lyons	Maliaski	Haley	Lee	Watts	Turner	Harris	* 1 Gallegos	* Stroble	* Brown	* Stein	Leyra	Fikes	* Thomas	Payne	* Ashdown	* Crooker	* Cicenia	Spano	Blackburn	Rogers	Reck	Culombe	2 Gallegos	Townsend	Lynumn	Haynes	Massiah	Jackson	Escobedo
V. Nature of Coercion																																				
Physical torture	x																x																			
Fear of mob violence		x			x															x	x															
Protracted detention			x	x	x		x				x	x																x	x				x			
Denial of sleep				x		x					x							x																		
Movement from jail to jail					x																															
Slapping				x	x																															
Illegal police procedure				x	x			x			x	x															x									x
Stripped of clothing								x																												
Denial of food				x							x										x							x								
Confinement facilities		x									x			x																						
Promise of leniency																						x										x				
Accused placed in "show-up"																												x								
VI. Second confession							x	x							x			x									x	x		x			x		x	
VII. Special Techniques																																				
Use of truth serum																															x				x	
Use of lie detector											x										x															
VIII. Previous experience with police (criminal record)																	x		x	x					x			x				x	x			x

* Lower court decision affirmed
1/ Gallegos v. Nebraska
2/ Gallegos v. Colorado

that an illiterate cotton picker made a voluntary written confession after several nocturnal trips to the woods for interrogation by several Texas Rangers. In Haley v. Ohio, 332 U.S. 596 (1948), a 15-year-old boy was arrested about midnight and questioned by police in relays of one or two each for five hours. The boy confessed and signed a written confession which contained the statement that he had been advised of his rights. He had been held incommunicado and neither his lawyer nor his mother was allowed to see him. The Court on the aspect of his age in holding that the confession was involuntary through Justice Douglas stated:

> "What transpired would make us pause for careful inquiry if a mature man were involved. And when, as here, a mere child - an easy victim of the law - is before us, special care in scrutinizing the record must be used. Age 15 is a tender and difficult age for a boy of any race. He cannot be judged by the more exacting standards of maturity. That which would leave a man cold and unimpressed can overawe and overwhelm a lad in his early teens. This is the period of great instability which the crisis of adolesence produces. A 15-year-old lad, questioned through the dead of night by relays of police, is a ready victim of the inquisition." 332 U.S. 596, 599.

The intermittent questioning of a 27-year-old Negro who started school at the age of 8 and left at 16 while still in the third grade, which resulted in a confession, was held to be improper and the confession to be inadmissible. Fikes v. Alabama, 352 U.S. 191 (1957). Although the Court considered the nature of the interrogation, the intelligence of the accused was a substantial factor influencing the Court's decision that the confession was involuntary. The leading case on the inadmissibility of a confession from one who is insane or mentally incompetent is Blackburn v. Alabama, 361 U.S. 199 (1960), and the confession of an accused previously adjudicated insane was held to be involuntary.

The sickness, ill health, or injury of the accused will influence his will to resist, and hence he will be more prone to the overbearing techniques of improper questioning. In Reck v. Pate, 367 U.S. 433 (1961), the accused suffered severe abdominal pains and had to be treated by a doctor and taken to the hospital during questioning. In Townsend v. Sain, 372 U.S. 293 (1963), the accused a 19-year-old narcotics addict who had been addicted since the age of 15 was undergoing withdrawal symptoms throughout the interrogation and had to receive medical assistance to alleviate the pain. In Jackson v. Denno, 378 U.S. 368 (1964), the accused who was suffering from a bullet wound, was interrogated at the hospital before and after he had received medication. The incapacity of the accused will weigh heavily in determining the voluntariness of a confession, but under the present state of the law will not in itself be grounds for the exclusion of a confession.

V. Nature of Coercion

The principal case on the nature of coercion in its worse form is Brown v. Mississippi, 297 U.S. 278 (1936), the first case in which the United States Supreme Court reviewed the admissibility of a confession in a state criminal trial. In this

case it was clearly acknowledged that physical torture was used to obtain a confession (supra). Other forces or pressures exerted against an accused that will affect his ability to make a voluntary statement are his fear of mob violence, his protracted detention, the denial of sleep, his movement from jail to jail without authority, slapping him, illegal police procedures, stripping him of his clothing, denial of food to him, unduly harsh confinement facilities, promises of leniency, and his placement in a "show-up."

In Ward v. Texas, 316 U.S. 547 (1942), the accused, who had been slapped once, was "sweet talked" into a confession by police officers. He alleged that he had been psysically mistreated by the interrogators, but this issue of fact was resolved against him. Throughout his interrogation, the accused was transferred from jail to jail in violation of local law. The Court held that the effect of moving an ignorant Negro by night and day to strange towns telling him of threats of mob violence and questioning him continuously was grounds for concluding that the confession was not free and voluntary but the product of coercion and duress. In Malinski v. New York, 324 U.S. 401 (1945), the accused was immediately stripped after arrest and then kept naked for three hours at which time he was allowed to put on his shoes, socks, and underwear and given a blanket to robe himself. The prosecutor indicated that the accused was kept undressed as part of the psychology to humiliate him and to let him think he was going to get a shellacking. On this basis the Court ruled that the confession was the product of fear. One aspect of the Supreme Court holding that a confession was involuntary in Payne v. Arkansas, 356 U.S. 560 (1958), was the denial of food to the accused for long periods, and under the circumstances of that case the confession was not an expression of free choice.

VI. Second Confession

During an interrogation, it is not uncommon for the accused to make several confessions, usually commencing with an oral admission. Once the accused has admitted his guilt, the psychological process of unburdening himself is difficult, if not impossible, to terminate or retract. If the first confession was coerced, is a subsequent confession containing the same incriminating statements admissible? The rule of law controlling this matter has been stated in Lyons v. Oklahoma, 322 U.S. 596 (1944):

> "The Fourteenth Amendment does not protect one who has admitted his guilt because of forbidden inducements against the use at trial of his subsequent confessions under all possible circumstances. The admissibility of the later confession depends upon the same test - is it voluntary. Of course the fact that the earlier statement was obtained from the prisoner by coercion is to be considered in appraising the character of the later confession. The effect of earlier abuse may be so clear as to forbid any other inference than it dominated the mind of the accused to such an extent that the later confession is involuntary. If the relation between the earlier and later confession is not so close that one must say the facts of one control the character of the other, the inference is one for the triers of fact and their conclusion, in such an uncertain situation, that the confession should be admitted as voluntary, cannot be a denial of due process." 322 U.S. 596, 603.

In this case the second confession was made 12 hours after the first coerced confession, and the Court held that the second confession was voluntary. In Leyra v. Denno, 347 U.S. 556 (1954), the subsequent confessions were extracted within five hours after the coerced confession, and the Court held that these confessions were controlled by the character of the first confession and hence inadmissible.

VII. Special Techniques

The use of "truth serum," or its equivalents will not result in a voluntary confession. In Townsend v. Sain, 372 U.S. 293 (1963), the Court said:

> "If an individual's will was overborne or if his confession was not the product of a rational intellect and free will his confession is inadmissible because coerced. These standards are applicable whether a confession is a product of physical intimidation or psychological pressure and, of course, are equally applicable to a drug-induced statement. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which a confession would be less the product of a free intellect, less voluntary, than when brought about by a drug having the effect of a 'truth serum.' " 372 U.S. 293, 307-308.

The two cases cited for the use of a lie detector merely indicate that the lie detector was used as part of the interrogation process, but the Court has not indicated how the use of the lie detector would influence voluntariness.

VIII. Previous Experience with the Police

The criminal record of the accused is considered by the Court in determining voluntariness of the statement, for the sophistication of the accused by virtue of his many experiences with the police and criminal law will not often make him easy prey of the interrogator. In Stein v. New York, the defendant Cooper who had previously been convicted on separate occasions of two separate auto thefts, an attempted grand larceny, murder, and a Dyer Act violation, was able to bargain with the police authorities for the release of his father and brother. In the Haynes and Escobedo cases, holding the confessions to be inadmissible, the Court took note of the fact that the defendant in each case had no previous experience with the police authorities.

Summary. So long as the court follows the "totality of the circumstances" rule in determining voluntariness, all factors affecting voluntariness will be reviewable. Some facts will be more important than others, but each case will depend upon its factual circumstances. The court record should clearly reflect that all the factual circumstances were considered by the trial court, for this immediate and complete determination of the admissibility of a confession allows adequate appellate review and will limit future collateral attacks on a conviction.

Special Considerations.

Procedural aspects of confession introduced at trial. In Jackson v. Denno, 378 U.S. 368 (1964), the Supreme Court held that the trial court must make a preliminary finding of voluntariness on the confession prior to its presentation to the jury. In response to this Supreme Court mandate, the New York Court of Appeals in People v. Huntley, adopted the Massachusetts procedure under which the jury passes on voluntariness only after the judge has fully and independently resolved the issue against the accused and has made express findings upon the disputed fact question of voluntariness. The trial judge must find voluntariness beyond a reasonable doubt before the confession can be submitted to the jury, and the burden of proof of voluntariness is upon the People. People v. Huntley, 15 N.Y.2d 72, 204 N.E.2d 179 (1965).

Federal Rules. In addition to the above requirements governing the admissibility of confessions in state criminal trials, the federal courts have a special exclusionary rule for a confession that is made to law enforcement officers who fail to bring the accused, once arrested, before a commissioner without unnecessary delay. In Mallory v. United States, 354 U.S. 449 (1957), the defendant was charged with rape in the District of Columbia. He was arrested at 2:30 p.m. and about 4:00 p.m. was asked to take a lie detector test. About 9:30 p.m. that evening he confessed to the polygraph operator, and about 10:00 p.m. the police began looking for a U.S. Commissioner. The accused was taken before the Commissioner the next morning. The Supreme Court exercised its supervisory authority over federal courts and interpreted the requirements of Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure 5(a) - that the arrested person be taken without unnecessary delay before the nearest available Commissioner - so as to exclude the confession taken during this period of unnecessary delay, citing McNabb v. United States, 318 U.S. 332 (1943).

TABLE OF CASES CITED ON CHART

Ashcraft v. Tennessee, 322 U.S. 143 (1944)
Ashdown v. Utah, 357 U.S. 426 (1958)
Blackburn v. Alabama, 361 U.S. 199 (1960)
Brown v. Allen, 344 U.S. 443 (1953)
Brown v. Mississippi, 297 U.S. 278 (1936)
Chambers v. Florida, 309 U.S. 227 (1940)
Cicenia v. Lagay, 357 U.S. 504 (1958)
Crooker v. California, 357 U.S. 433 (1958)
Culombe v. Connecticut, 367 U.S. 568 (1961)
Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U.S. 478 (1964)
Fikes v. Alabama, 352 U.S. 191 (1957)
Gallegos v. Colorado, 370 U.S. 49 (1962)
Gallegos v. Nebraska, 342 U.S. 55 (1951)
Haley v. Ohio, 332 U.S. 596 (1948)
Harris v. South Carolina, 338 U.S. 68 (1949)
Haynes v. Washington, 373 U.S. 503 (1963)
Jackson v. Denno, 378 U.S. 368 (1964)
Lee v. Mississippi, 332 U.S. 742 (1948)
Leyra v. Denno, 347 U.S. 556 (1954)
Lisenba v. California, 314 U.S. 219 (1941)
Lynumn v. Illinois, 372 U.S. 528 (1963)
Lyons v. Oklahoma, 322 U.S. 594 (1944)
Malinski v. New York, 324 U.S. 401 (1945)
Massiah v. United States, 377 U.S. 201 (1964)
Payne v. Arkansas, 356 U.S. 560 (1958)
Reck v. Pate, 367 U.S. 433 (1961)
Rogers v. Richmond, 365 U.S. 534 (1961)
Spano v. New York, 360 U.S. 315 (1959)
Stein v. New York, 346 U.S. 156 (1953)
Stroble v. California 343 U.S. 181 (1952)
Thomas v. Arizona, 356 U.S. 390 (1958)
Townsend v. Sain, 372 U.S. 293 (1963)
Turner v. Pennsylvania, 338 U.S. 62 (1949)
Ward v. Texas, 316 U.S. 547 (1942)
Watts v. Indiana, 338 U.S. 49 (1949)
White v. Texas, 310 U.S. 530 (1940)

GENERAL INFORMATION

On 10 August 1965, the NLADA Executive Committee approved the following grants:

A three-year grant of $375,000 to the Houston Legal Foundation, Houston, Texas, to initiate a supervised assistance program to attorneys appointed by the courts of Harris County, Texas, to represent indigent defendants in criminal cases. The total cost of this three-year program will be $750,000 - the Houston community bearing 50% of the cost. The organization for providing legal services will have a director; a criminal division with five full-time staff lawyers, supplemented by the assistance of law students; an investigation division with five investigators, two secretaries, and law student assistance; and a ROR program.

A two-year grant of $35,500 to the Public Defender of the Eighth Judicial Circuit of Florida to provide legal representation for indigent criminal defendants in Bradford County, Florida, in misdemeanor cases and to furnish legal assistance to inmates at the state prison at Raiford, Florida.

A two-year grant of $30,000 to the Public Defender of the Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida to expand defender services to the preliminary hearing in conjunction with a ROR program.

A three-year grant of $52,500 to establish a Federal Defender Program within the Federal Courts located in Chicago. This grant will be used for establishing a student training program that will provide assistance for assigned counsel representing defendants in federal criminal cases pursuant to the recently funded Criminal Justice Act of 1964.

A grant of $13,500 for one year to conduct a student program at the University of Georgia School of Law in conjunction with the local Legal Aid and Defender Office in Athens, Georgia.

A grant of $8,000 to the University of Chicago as the second year award of a National Defender Fellowship. The recipient of this fellowship is Stephen Schiller, a practicing attorney in Chicago, who will pursue graduate training leading to a masters degree in the area of criminal law and procedure.

Grants to Existing Programs. (1) A grant of $22,902 to Stetson University College of Law to continue in operation the Public Defender Clinic for the second and third years. (2) A two-year grant of $24,000 to the University of San Francisco School of Law to continue the student assistance program to assigned counsel in the local federal court in San Francisco. (3) A two-year grant of $18,000 to Duke University to continue the student training program and lawyer assistance program in local state courts in North Carolina.

EU Trail Lie. Nov 1964

The Truth About 'Lie' Detectors

"I agree to submit to a screening test and to take a Lie Detector Test at any time that the Company may so request. I also grant my employer the right to dismiss me at any time that I fail or refuse to take a Lie Detector Test."

This is the pledge which a company requires its present and prospective employes to sign. It is typical of the growing use of so-called lie detector machines.

Union members throughout the country report that employers are asking questions about their union activities, personal finances, past employment and future job plans, drinking habits, physical condition, police record, driving habits, sexual activities, political beliefs and many more topics—all while hooked up to a machine. Jobseekers otherwise qualified are denied employment and workers are discharged for "failing" or refusing to take a polygraph or "lie detector" test.

This increasing and widespread use of the "lie detector" in labor relations requires that the machine, its use and users be subject to detailed examination.

Among the questions raised are: How widespread is the use of "lie detectors?" How does the polygraph work? What claims are made for it? Are the claims justified? What should unions and workers do about the lie detector?

While the polygraph has been used in police work for several decades, its use in industry is a relatively new development. The fact that anyone can buy the equipment and sell his services as a "lie detector expert" makes it extremely difficult to arrive at any reliable estimate of the number of "lie detector" tests given each year. And even where statistics are available they frequently shed no light on industrial vs. police usage.

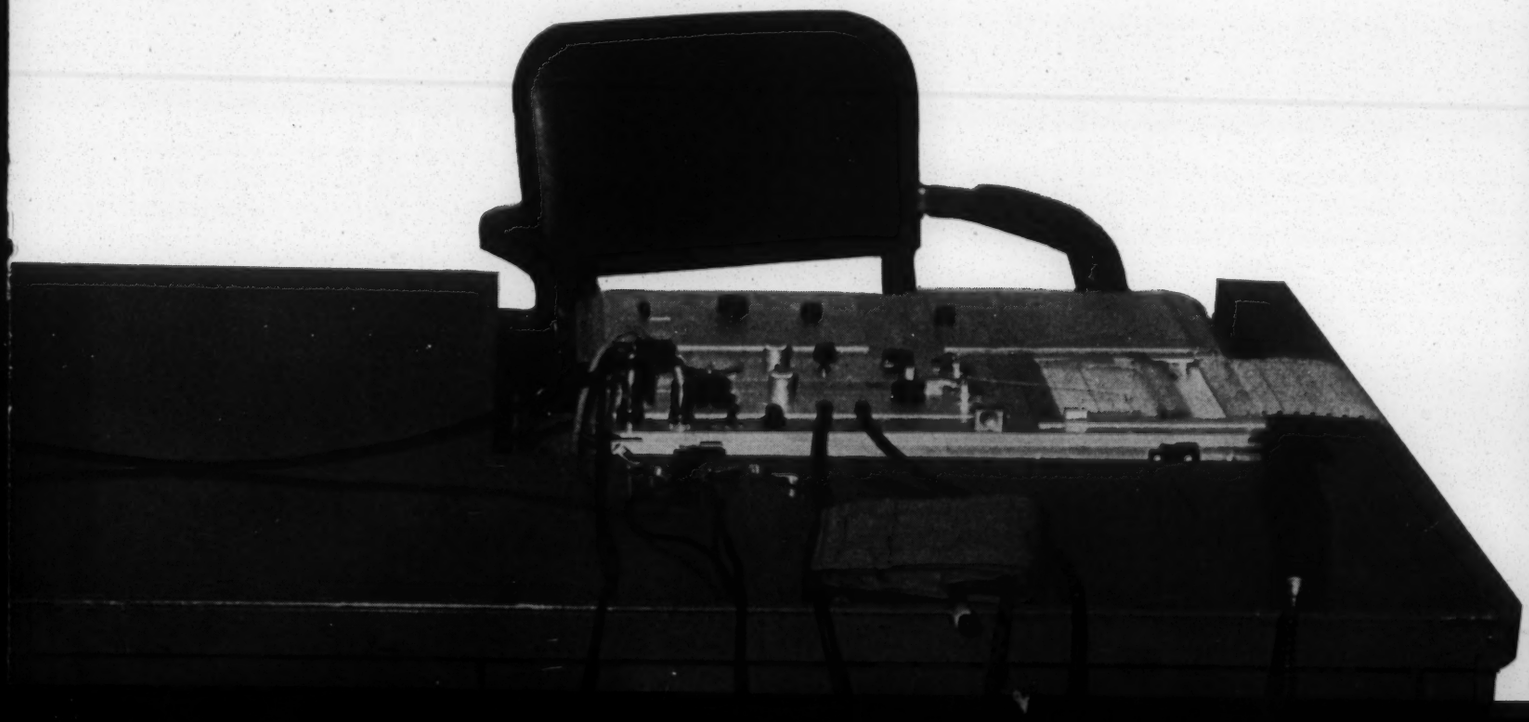
The extent of the problem, however, may be indicated by the following information.

One witness from a Chicago lie detector firm, appearing before a congressional subcommittee investigating the use of the polygraph in government, testified there are about 1,500 private lie detector operators in the United States. His own firm, one of over 30 such firms in Chicago, gives over 3,500 tests each year. The New York City phone book lists over 50 "lie detector" outfits.

The Wall Street Journal reported on a firm with offices in three Texas cities. It gave 4,985 tests one year, 6,896 the next and expects to test 26,000 people in its third year. A good example of the lie detective boom is the case of a firm started in 1959 in Austin by two University of Texas graduates. Two years later this firm had offices in 10 cities in the United States and Canada. Texas may be the heaviest user, with an estimated 7,500 companies requiring employes to take periodic "lie detector" tests.

Business Week estimated that business organizations, by hiring "lie detector" firms to find out if employes are honest, are responsible for 80 percent of these firms' incomes. The cost of a test varies from a minimum of $25 for a routine screening test to hundreds of dollars for tests designed to locate "guilty" workers.

The Wall Street Journal reported that among polygraph users are major companies in steel production, copper refining, auto manufacturing, meat packing,



food processing, oil, electronics, mail-order retailing and supermarkets. The Journal said that "examiners and polygraph manufacturers are benefiting handsomely from the machines' upswing."

But private industry has no monopoly. Local, state and federal governments are major users of "lie boxes." The federal government seems sold on polygraphs. A survey of the House Subcommittee on Government Operations, headed by Representative John E. Moss (D-Cal.), recently revealed that 19 federal agencies use them. Seventeen of these agencies, employing 639 operators and using 512 machines, spent approximately $4.5 million giving about 20,000 tests in fiscal 1963. Two agencies, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, have their totals classified as secret.

Government agencies use lie detectors for many reasons, including screening applicants for federal jobs, investigating thefts on military bases and in post offices, for information leaks and in other security cases.

Why the Lie Detector?

Proponents of the polygraph claim its use is justified by the need to reduce a claimed $4 million daily business loss due to theft, pilferage and embezzlement. Others justify its use in "screening out misfits" on such grounds as increasing employment costs and the need to protect company secrets.

Certainly the quest for truth is not new. One management newsletter likens the search for "honest employes" to Diogenes carrying his lantern through the streets of ancient Greece searching for an honest man. Proving one's innocence by walking on red hot coals, immersing arms in boiling water or licking a hot iron are repeated examples of trial by ordeal practiced by our forefathers. While these and other tests were founded on faith or superstition there were a few that had a psychological or physiological base.

In one ancient test the suspect was required to hold a handful of rice in his mouth while he answered questions. If the rice stayed dry he was clearly a liar since the theory was that a liar's salivary glands would dry up out of fear.

The "modern lie detector" is based on similar concepts. The premise is that most people have uncontrolled physiological reactions to feelings of guilt which can be measured electronically. "Lie detectors" are simply machines which are supposed to sense and record these reactions. The most common measurements are of blood pressure and pulse, breathing rate and electrical conductivity of the skin. Early "lie detectors" normally tried to measure one or the other of these functions while most "modern" machines combine the three. A pneumatic tube is fitted across the subject's chest to measure breathing, an inflatable rubber cuff is wrapped around the arm to measure pulse and/or blood pressure and a pair of electrodes is attached to the fingers to measure skin current. The latter is called galvanic skin response (GSR). These devices activate pens that draw lines on a rolling sheet of paper. It is from this process that the "lie detector's" modern name—the polygraph—is derived. Polygraph is the Greek word for "many writings."

When the subject is attached to the machine and before the questioning starts, the machine is "calibrated" to his "normal" patterns of breathing, blood pressure and sweating. Questions are then asked and the movement of the pens observed. The operator looks for any changes from the "normal" pattern that may occur as each question is asked. If, for example, the subject replies "No" to the question "Have you ever been fired from a job?" and wiggles of one or more of the pens change from the "normal" pattern, the conclusion drawn is that the subject is lying.

The whole process is based on the following assumptions:

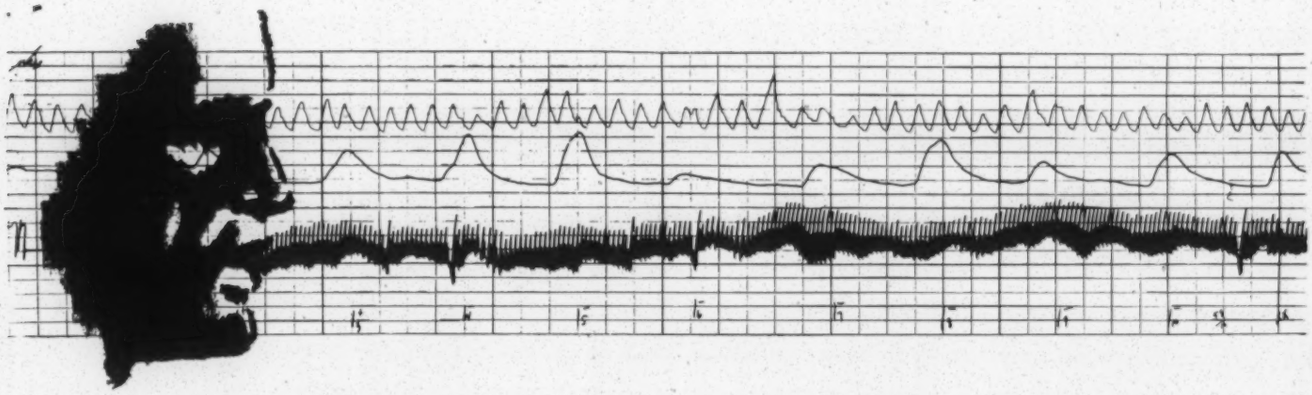
1. A person becomes emotionally upset when he lies.
2. The emotional disturbance causes certain physiological reactions: breathing rate will change, pulse rate will increase, blood pressure will rise and more current will pass through the skin due to increased sweating.
3. The physical reactions cannot be controlled by the subject or, if control is possible, the effort to control will cause changes in the pattern.
4. These changes can be measured and recorded.
5. The recorded patterns are the result of either truthfulness or deception and not of any other cause and they can be interpreted by the polygrapher so that he can identify true or false responses to questions.

When the polygraph is used for screening applicants prior to employment a further assumption is made that future activity can be predicted, based on answers about past activities.

These assumptions should be examined closely to see how they measure up.

Belief: Lying Causes Emotional Upset

The basis of "lie detection" is that either the act of lying itself or the fear of being caught in a lie is upsetting and causes emotional disturbance. Now before a person can be bothered by lying, he must *believe* he is lying. If a person in a mental hospital says he is Napoleon and he believes this, the lie detector response (or lack of response) would indicate he was telling the truth. He believed what he said! But one does not have to be mentally sick to believe something contrary to accepted fact. The witness to an accident who describes a blue hit-and-run car as "green" is not lying. The underpaid store clerk who pockets the money from a small sale each day and uses it for bus fare may actually believe the money is "rightfully" his. The question, "Have you stolen any money from the store?" may evoke no emotional and, therefore, no polygraph response. The pathological liar who weaves his yarns without fear will not emotionally trigger the machine.



The fact is we frequently do not even know what a lie is. Testifying before the Moss subcommittee, Dr. Martin T. Orne, Senior Resident Psychiatrist, Massachusetts Mental Health Center and a Harvard Medical School professor, said:

"I don't know how to define a lie. . . . It is not a term which has been carefully defined by scientists. What a lie is, is a matter of point of view which varies with individuals. . . ."

The reality is that some people, either through training, practice or the pecularity of their individual psycho-physiological make-ups, just do not experience any emotion when attempting to deceive others. It is because this fact is known to "lie detector" operators that they practice their own form of deception. "If it doesn't bother a person to lie then we must induce a fear in him that we will discover his lie," they reason. This fear is built up by such claims as "you can't beat the lie detector" or that the lie detector is 99 percent accurate. This attempt to create an aura of infallibility is necessary since, as one lie detector expert wrote, "The only real deterrent is fear of the possibility of discovery and punishment. . . ." This writer then claims that, with the "lie box," when the ". . . possibility is turned into certainty, the effect is increased manifold." He calls getting caught on the "lie detector" a "moral vaccination, a shot of integrity in the arm."

It all comes down to the following exchange which took place between Benny Kass, Counsel for the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee and Professor Fred Inbau, Northwestern University School of Law and co-author of a leading "lie detector" text.

Kass: "Mr. Inbau, if a person doesn't have any faith in the polygraph, if he doesn't feel it is accurate or feels it is not completely infallible, will the polygraph still produce the desired results?"

Inbau: "He has got to have some fear of having his lies detected by this technique. He has to have some respect for it."

It is this process of inducing the "fear of the lie detector" that led one writer to call it "America's Mental Blackjack."

Belief: The Body Reacts to Emotion

There are many who have experienced the quickening of the heart beat, the gasping for breath, the sweating palm, the dryness of the mouth or the feeling of the need to urinate when they have been excited or afraid or nervous for any number of reasons. These physiological reactions occur to some people even when an event becomes almost routine. The nervousness of an athlete on the starting line or an actor as the curtain rises or a worker getting up to speak at a union meeting are examples. If these phenomena did not occur, there could be no "lie detector." The fact is they do occur. But, unfortunately for the polygraphers, it is also a fact that these reactions don't occur in all people at all times in the same way. It may be true that with the majority of people the attempt to deceive will cause some or all of the measured reactions. Even leading research psychiatrists and psychologists don't know for sure how many people do react to the polygraph and, possibly of more importance, whether or how a particular person will react. But even when a reaction is recorded there is no assurance that it was triggered by the act of lying or the fear of being caught in a lie. The testimony of a scientist before the subcommittee is revealing:

"The word 'emotion' is very difficult for the scientist to define. As a matter of fact, most scientists have given up defining it. . . . When we say this person is afraid, angry, fearful, sexy, depressed, sorrowful, excited, happy, all these words mean something; but they certainly do not mean the same thing to all people. . . . What is a lie? A lie is a very complicated concept. The physiological recordings will register disturbances, physiological responses, which mean many things. When a person lies or when a person is emotional, a variety of states, attitudes, transactions of the organism with the environment are implied. Some aspects are more emphasized in one individual than in another. We have no tools whatsoever for identifying with any degree of accuracy what these are. What are physiologic recordings measuring? Physiologic responses. Everything beyond that is inference."

Belief: Reactions Cannot Be Controlled

It already has been pointed out that some people do become disturbed by the act of lying or by the fear of being caught lying and that this disturbance does, in some people, trigger physical reactions. Obviously, however, if these reactions are controllable and a person can keep from "pulling his physiological trigger," then the lie detector is useless.

Once more the expert gives the answer. Before the

subcommittee, Dr. Orne summarized a rather lengthy discussion of the controllability of these reactions by stating: "Since we all have this ability at all times, we may consider the ability of the individual to produce a GSR response at will, to inhibit respiration at will, to increase his heartbeat at will as within the repertoire of the normal human being."

Dr. John Lacey of the Fels Research Institute and Antioch College agreed with Dr. Orne when he was asked if the "nervous system is entirely automatic." Dr. Lacey replied: "I think it is so clear today that it is not."

Belief: Physiological Changes Can Be Measured

Here lies the only "truth" to "lie detection." There is no question that there are instruments available today that can with high degrees of validity and reliability measure and record breathing, pulse and sweating (GSR). Once more, however, we find that even the modern polygraph is unsuited to the task. As Dr. Lacey said:

"The so-called lie detector polygraph is, as I understand it, a very simple and for the most part a fairly crude piece of instrumentation. . . . There has been no attempt to take advantage of the many, many things we have learned in the past two decades about the recording of physiological responses, the artifacts, biophysical and electronic, as well as those engendered by the nature of the examiner-examinee interaction. There has been no attempt to take advantage of new methods of display, new methods of computation . . . the lie detector operators still diagnose the record by visual scannings of the record. I may say I am convinced this is an impossible task."

But even if this were not true and today's polygraph was a highly accurate, consistent instrument, it could still only record body reactions. As Professor Inbau stated: "The instrument itself plays a rather minor role in the conduct of a lie detector or polygraph test . . . the instrument itself does not reveal the lie. . . . Consequently, the technique is no better than the man who is making the diagnosis."

And George Lindberg, President of the American Academy of Polygraph Examiners, backed him up by pointing out that one could not apply a percentage to the role of the instrument "because it is 100 percent examiner."

Belief: Only Deception Causes the Squiggles

We already have seen that any conclusion that a squiggle on the machine's graph is proof that the examinee is being deceptive is without foundation. When an operator sees movement on the graph he must determine if the movement is unusual and if it was caused by the answer to a particular question.

When he determines this, the only *fact* that he has is that one or more of the pens "jumped" or "wiggled" more than usual. What the cause for the change was can only be an inference, not a fact.

What are the facts? How valid and reliable is the "lie detector" in the hands of its users?

Congressman Henry Reuss (D-Wis.), questioned both Inbau and Reid on the statistics in their book, "Lie Detection and Criminal Interrogation," and asked: "What evidence can you give the Committee on the validity of your findings that they (lie detectors) work 99 times out of a hundred?" Congressman Reuss was unable to get a meaningful answer. Inbau and Reid were joined by Lindberg in an exercise of verbal gymnastics which boiled down to the following exchange:

Congressman Reuss: "Do I understand correctly that actual proof of the accuracy of the polygraph test was only obtained in 18.9 percent of the cases?"

Lindberg: "Yes."

Congressman Reuss then commented: "That 18.9 percent verified as correct is a far cry from 99 percent accuracy, is it not?"

In an article titled "Don't Trust the Lie Detector," three Harvard University professors came to the same conclusion as Congressman Reuss and stated: "In short, there is nothing to document the claims of accuracy or effectiveness except bald assertions."

Finally, Dr. Jesse Orlansky of the Defense Department's Institute of Defense Analysis, in a report declassified in May of this year titled "An Assessment of Lie Detection Capability" analyzed the whole field of lie detection, with specific reference to a 10-year period covering about 200,000 tests given by the Department of Defense Orlansky concluded: "Up to the present time it has proved impossible to uncover statistically acceptable performance data to support the view held by polygraph examiners that lie detection is an effective procedure."

"Quack" Operators

But the lack of evidence that the "lie detector" works does not bother the user. And, when definite proof that the process "goofs" is uncovered, the proponent usually shrugs it off as an isolated example. A few polygraph experts will agree with almost any criticism of the machine and its use but only when the instrument is in the hands of ill-trained, uneducated operators. It is these "quacks" who are responsible for the poor statistical evidence, they claim. On the other hand, they would maintain, in the hands of an honest, ethical, intelligent, well-educated, well-trained and experienced "professional" the polygraph is a useful, accurate and reliable instrument to protect the innocent and detect the guilty.

Once more this poses a quandary, however. Even if this were true there seems to be little agreement on what constitutes proper education, training and experience. Professor Inbau estimated that 80 percent of present operators were substandard. Dr. Joseph Kubis, a Fordham University psychologist, pointed out that "There are a number of individuals who buy these instruments, do not take any training, set up, as it were, a shingle and operate with this instrument. . . . There are more of them than we can see and identify." Inbau and his colleagues, Reid and Lindberg, felt that minimum requirements should be a college degree, six months' training in the use of the polygraph, plus six

On Jack Ruby's Test

". . . I wouldn't suggest a lie detector test to testify the truth . . . but if you want such a test, I will arrange for it."

—Chief Justice Warren, responding to Jack Ruby's insistence on a polygraph test, Warren Commission Report, page 807.

". . . In evaluating the polygraph, due consideration must be given to the fact that a physiological response may be caused by factors other than deception, such as fear, anxiety, neurosis, dislike and other emotions. There are no valid statistics as to the reliability of the polygraph. . . ."

—Warren Commission, interpretation of polygraph test, page 813.

"It should be pointed out that the polygraph, often referred to as 'lie detector,' is not in fact such a device. The instrument is designed to record under proper stimuli emotional responses in the form of physiological variations which may indicate and accompany deception. The FBI feels that the polygraph technique is not sufficiently precise to permit absolute judgments of deception or truth without qualifications. . . ."

—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, commenting on polygraph examination of Jack Ruby, Warren Commission Report, page 815.

months of closely-supervised internship.

The scientists felt that even more education, training and internship were needed. They stressed the need for education in the specific areas of physiology and psychiatry. Cleve Backster, a former CIA employe who set up its training program and, by his own testimony, has been "a consultant to most every government agency that is using the polygraph today" disagreed. Backster, who charges $500 for a six-week lie detector course in his New York school was obviously displeased with those who would require higher standards. "I don't understand," he said, "by virtue of these standards that are so stipulated how, with less than perhaps 50 people who have acquired their training by this method, the other 2,000-some examiners have managed to get along."

Half the federal agencies require no further background of a trainee than a high school diploma and the extent of federal training ranges from a five to eight-day course in the Navy to a seven-week Army course.

This record prompted Congressman Moss to conclude:

"I have a real concern—in fact, a firm conviction of the complete inadequacy of the training. You can take people and put them through courses and have them take these machines, the less they know about them the more they are inclined to regard them as some miracle that is going to give them a guide as to the truthfulness of another human being."

But even if a person facing a test insists that his examiner have the highest education and training qualifications, he still has little protection.

Professor Skolnick of Yale summarized the problem by stating:

"The scientific basis for lie detection is questionable. There seems to be little evidence that upholds the claim to a regular relationship between lying and emotion; there is even less to support the conclusion that precise inferences can be drawn from the relationship between emotional change and physiological response."

In other words, it is the technique that is at fault and no amount of education and experience can turn an imprecise, unreliable procedure into one of precision and reliability.

And what do you do if the polygraph seems to say you are lying when, in fact, you are being truthful? Cleve Backster suggests: "Get in touch with the Research and Instrument Committee of the Academy for Scientific Interrogation to see if there is a record of the examiner receiving bona fide training and whether he is listed as a member of a reputable polygraph professional organization."

But what is the "Academy?" It is simply a trade association of "lie detector" operators and Backster, for five years chairman of its "research" committee, runs his own "lie detector" school. All one needs to enter his school is a high school diploma and $500. At the end of six weeks one receives a diploma and is called a "graduate," eligible for the "Academy."

No Recourse

Employers and examiners make sure they are protected against victims of polygraph mistakes. Companies normally require employes and applicants to sign a statement of consent and release before taking the polygraph examination. This release usually states that the test is being taken voluntarily and absolves the company of any liability in connection with the test. Some releases give blanket authority for using the test result for any purpose desired by the company which would, of course, allow it to turn over the test results to other employers. The release may confer upon the employer the right to discharge at any time if the employe refuses to take the test or fails to be cleared by such a test.

When an employer contracts with an outside polygraph firm to give tests, the usual procedure is to have the applicant or employe execute a second waiver; this time for the protection of the agency and its examiners. These waivers are required by even the most "professional" examiners. Refusal to sign a waiver is a refusal to be tested since the test will not be given without the waiver. A polygraph examiner may report an innocent worker "guilty" of a theft causing loss of job and serious impairment of future job opportu-

nities and the waiver relieves the examiner of any responsibility for such action.

And Secret Surveillance

The very people who set themselves up as objective "truth" seekers are themselves most guilty of deception. They practice spying, seek to make innocent people informers and create a myth of infallibility for the lie detector. Spying begins as soon as a worker or applicant enters the reception room of the "lie detector" firm. Unknown to the subject, the receptionist is trained to observe his actions and report them to the examiner. In the words of Inbau and Reid: "The recorded observation of a competent secretary or receptionist as to the subject's general conduct and behavior while in the waiting room will be very helpful to the examiner."

Inbau and Reid also instruct examiners to warn workers that even if they are innocent of a theft they will show upon the machine as guilty if they have any suspicion of a fellow worker as the culprit. The solution is tell the examiner who they suspect. If the worker responds: "Well, I don't like to say if I can't prove it," examiners are instructed to "make it clear to him that what he says will not later on be attributed to him or used as proof of any sort, but that a divulgence of the suspicions is necessary for the subject's own test purposes. He should then be urged to name the person he suspects. Usually the innocent subject who harbors any suspicion will name the person or persons he suspects; the guilty subject will seldom identify another person as a suspect."

But the deception and spying are not over. While not necessary to the use of a polygraph, it has become standard procedure to give these tests in a room containing a hidden microphone and a two-way, see-through mirror enabling persons outside the test room to observe and listen to an examination without the examinee's knowledge.

Lindberg: "Most polygraph laboratories are also afforded the psychological mirror, as it is called, or the two-way mirror."

Lindberg then explained that secret observation was only used for training new examiners and, on occasion, to have a female observe when a male operator is testing a female examinee.

Congressman Reuss then asked:

"Do you ever use that to give prospective clients, or police officers, or company officials, or governmental officers who might be contemplating the employment of your agency as a lie detector unit, do you ever use that double mirror to give them an opportunity to observe polygraph tests in action?"

Lindberg: 'Yes, so long as they have no interest in the individual case itself."

Reuss: "When they do observe, this is done without the knowledge of the subjects that they are being observed by these people?"

Lindberg: "Yes."

The Deputy Secretary of Defense, Cyrus Vance, was so shocked when he found that this practice existed that he issued an order to the armed services secretaries, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to the Director of NSA which, among other items, required that no polygraph test could be conducted without first advising the subject "whether the area in which the polygraph examination is to be conducted contains a two-way mirror or comparable device and whether the examination will be monitored or recorded in whole or in part by any means." Since the same order required written consent in advance of a test, a subject objecting to this secret prying could simply refuse the test if these conditions existed.

In private industry, however, an examinee does not know if he is being observed or monitored.

There are even graver and more basic objections to the lie detector test than that it is unreliable and that its administration is almost inevitably accompanied by gross abuses. Those objections are that any method of extracting information from people involuntarily violates individual rights of privacy and the principle that no person should be made to incriminate himself. Such practices encourage a police state environment and, since witnesses may talk about others as well as about themselves, a nation of informers.

Let us suppose that an absolutely reliable method can be found of inducing people to talk freely and truthfully, insofar as it is given them to know the truth. For example, would the use of such a "truth" drug be any less objectionable, even assuming its absolute reliability, than a lie detector test? We submit it would not.

The United States Constitution guarantees, in the Fourth Amendment, "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. . . ." The Fifth Amendment declares that no person "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Above and beyond these formal constitutional guarantees, democratic societies have always placed a high value on the right of individuals to privacy and to freedom from unreasonable scrutiny of their private affairs. Democracies believe that the protection of these rights outweighs the likelihood that industrial pilferage may go undetected or even

Lie detector room with secret mike and 2-way mirror.

Government Should Ban Lie Boxes

"After months of investigation, including many hours of sworn testimony before my Subcommittee, I am firmly convinced that there is no such thing as a 'lie detector.' The American people have been fooled into believing that an electronic gadget used by an investigator with no scientific training can detect truth or falsehood. This is absolutely not the fact. Yet the federal government owns hundreds of polygraphs and spends millions of dollars to give thousands of 'lie detector' tests each year. Until competent scientists complete the most careful study of the many problems involved in the lie detection process, the government should halt the use of the polygraph as a 'lie detector.'"

—Rep. John E. Moss (D-Cal.), Chairman, House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee.

that some criminals may go unpunished.

The constitutional guarantees protect only against action by the government or someone acting by authority of the government. They likewise apply only to forced testimony and to the seizure of evidence, while persons submitting to lie detector tests are asked to give their consent.

But there is nothing voluntary about submitting to a lie detector test when submission is a condition of getting or keeping a job. And the invasion of privacy, and of the principle against compelled testimony, is as great whether the invasion is by a private corporation or a government agency. If any distinction can be drawn, collateral abuses are more likely in the former than in the latter case. The federal law against wiretapping applies alike to private citizens and police officers; and the use of lie detectors by private individuals is at least as objectionable as by government agents.

Four states—Alaska, California, Massachusetts and Oregon—have statutes prohibiting its use in all private employment and (with the exception of California) public employment. State AFL-CIO organizations led the fight for passage of these statutes in the four states. Currently similar bills are under consideration in several other states, including New Jersey where, in backing the bill, State AFL-CIO President Vincent J. Murphy said: "It has been found in many cases that lie detector tests are inaccurate and unreliable and the requirement of submission to such a test is, we believe, a subversion of our American principles of freedom."

Arbitrators and Lie Detectors

In those states where the use of the "lie box" is not prohibited by statute, arbitrators frequently have been faced by attempts to introduce "lie detector" test results to justify the discharge of employes. Uniformly, arbitrators have refused to admit the test results or to consider them as evidence. And where workers have been discharged for refusing to submit to a test, arbitrators have upheld the workers' right to refuse.

In one discharge case, arbiter Norman Eiger declared that polygraph tests "have no probative value and are not admissable as evidence in these proceedings." The discharged worker was ordered reinstated since without the lie detector report there was no proof of theft and therefore the grievant had been discharged without "just cause."

In another case, four union members were discharged for refusing to take a lie detector test after some company property had disappeared. Six workers supposedly had access to the "stolen" merchandise. Two took the test and the company laid off and then fired the other four for refusing to submit to the polygraph. The company viewed the refusal as insubordination. Arbitrator Daniel Lewis felt otherwise. He said: "Under such circumstances the company's demand that the four men take the 'lie detector' test or face discharge for insubordinaton was an invasion of privacy and an unreasonable and unwarranted exercise of management's right."

Even when an employe signed a pledge at the time of hire that he woul submit to a "lie detector" test whenever the company asked—on pain of discharge for refusal—his later refusal was held not cause for discharge.

A wholesale drug company had instituted a "lie detector" program in an attempt to prevent drug and narcotic pilferage. New employes were required to sign a pledge agreeing to take the test and giving the company the right to fire them for refusing or failing to pass a test. Ten years later, after the program was started and after a burglary thought by police to be an "inside job" the company requested that employes take "lie detector" tests. The grievant, along with some others, refused the request either as a volunteer or in obedience to an order.

In holding that the refusal was not proper cause for discharge, arbitrator Peter Kelliher observed:

"As a matter of the 'common law of labor relations,' it must be found that the great weight of both arbitration and legal authority is opposed to the use of lie detector results as competent evidence."

Kelliher did not feel that the release signed at the time of employment was binding and in fact felt it was "clearly an invasion of the collective bargaining rights of this union and could not be upheld." In commenting on the requirement to take the test he stated:

"In view, however, of the overwhelming weight of impartial scientific authority that these lie detector tests are not accurate and legal authority that they do not constitute competent evidence and invade the right of privacy and the constitutional rights against self-incrimination, this Board cannot uphold such a requirement in this case."

Of course, the applicant for employment or the non-union employe who either does not get a job or is dis-

States Outlawing Lie Detectors

On April 2, 1964, Alaska joined California, Massachusetts and Oregon in becoming the fourth state to outlaw the use of lie detectors in employment relations. The text of the Alaska statute follows:

"Lie-Detector Tests. (a) No person either personally or through an agent or representative may request or suggest to a person in his employ or to a person who has an application for employment pending before him or require as a condition of employment that the employe or applicant submit to an examination in which a polygraph or other lie-detecting device is used.

"(b) The provisions of (a) of this section do not apply to the state or a political subdivision of the state when dealing with policemen in its employ or with persons applying to be employed as policemen.

"(c) In this section 'person' includes the state and political subdivision of the state.

"(d) A person who violates this section is guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction, is punishable by a fine of not more than $1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both."

charged for failing a "lie box" examination has no recourse in arbitration. This led one writer to say:

"If carried to its ultimate conclusion, widespread or universal use of the polygraph as a personnel selection device would create a pool of unemployable individuals who would be rejected from any employment because they failed to pass the polygraph test. No doubt there would be some in this group who probably should be excluded and for very good reasons. But there would also be in this group others that would be denied employment because the polygraph examiner detected or thought he detected tendencies or characteristics that rendered the individual undesirable for most types of employment. This pool would also contain others who would be denied employment because they refused to submit to such a probing, by waiving their right to privacy, in order to obtain employment. The sociological implications of the universal use of the polygraph in personnel administration could assume monumental proportions."

Contract Protection

Unions cannot depend only on courts and arbitrators to prevent workers from being victimized by the "lie box." As already noted, the unsuccessful job applicant has no recourse to an arbitrator or judge. In addition, the damage to an individual may be an accomplished fact before a judge or arbitrator can rule. Failing a "lie detector" test frequently brands a worker as guilty not only by the company but, unfortunately, also by fellow workers who may have accepted the "myth of infallibility" created by "lie detector" purveyors. Prohibitions against the use of "lie detectors" included in labor-management agreements will prevent this danger. Workers should not be required to submit to this indignity..

A clause which protects both workers and applicants might say:

"The company shall not require, request or suggest that an employe or applicant for employment take a polygraph or any other form of lie detector test."

The fact that a particular company has not used or says it does not intend to use the "lie box" should not persuade a union to neglect closing the door before the approach of the lie detector seller. It may be much easier to negotiate a preventive clause than to convince a company to end its "lie detector" program.

There have been suggestions that unions join with management in working out "rules of the game" governing the use of the polygraph in employment relations. The trouble is that, while some protective guarantees might reduce or even possibly eliminate some of the abuses detailed in this report, they cannot remove the basic inadequacies of the polygraph in its use as a "lie detector."

The only sure protection for the worker is not to gamble on the "lie box" game. And, when he refuses the gamble, he joins such distinguished Americans as Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, the Director of Naval Intelligence, Rear Admiral Rufus Taylor and Rep. John E. Moss.

When the suggestion was made during an investigation of an alleged information leak that Defense Department officials take a lie detector test, Secretary Sylvester refused. And, as the following exchange between Congressman Moss and Admiral Taylor shows, both shared the Secretary's views:

Moss: "Of course, Admiral, I have since April of last year been directing a staff study of polygraphs. We have been attempting to get together a great deal of information so that we would be in a position to understand the full subject and prepare for the hearings.

"I started this assignment with no definite opinion on polygraphs. I had never given them much thought but, as a result of the experience of the past 12 months, I would refuse most emphatically to take one, unless perhaps I had my personal physician, a psychiatrist and my lawyer with me and had their evaluation of what was going on."

Admiral Taylor: "I really can hardly blame you for taking that view, particularly in view of some of the things I have heard in sitting in this hearing on the sidelines . . . I have misgivings about this thing, too. What I feel to be a lot of pseudo-scientific nonsense that has been discussed here . . . But if you want my considered opinion as someone advising you to what your rights and where your best interests lie, I would say don't take a polygraph examination."

~~Union~~ Civil Liberties — Unions.

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIBERTIES

UNION EDUCATION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

by

Mr. Harry Fleischman

Director, National Labor Service Institute of Human Relations

American Jewish Committee

Prepared for the

Conference on Vocational and Adult Education in American Liberties

Arden House

March 11-13, 1966

UNION EDUCATION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

by Harry Fleischman, Director,
National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee

A cartoon in the New Yorker showed a wife complaining to her bearded artist-husband, "Why do you have to be a non-conformist like everybody else?"

Would that it were so. Unfortunately, non-conformity is still viewed by the American people as a dangerous disease to be shunned like the plague.

A Purdue University poll of teen-age opinions revealed that more than half of our high school students believe that wiretapping and the third degree should be legalized to help the police maintain obedience and that police should censor books, movies, radio and TV to shield us from improper thinking. Moreover, 41 per cent would abolish freedom of the press and 33 per cent would deny freedom of speech to people who hold unpopular views.

Nor can we turn for defense of free speech to our temples of learning. Two professors who polled a "random sample" of University of Wisconsin students found that the students "overwhelmingly rejected the principles of the Bill of Rights" -- the right to freedom of press, assembly and worship. Indeed, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court said several years ago that he doubted the Bill of Rights would win approval if it were submitted to this generation of Americans in a referendum.

Businessmen follow along in the accustomed pattern. Gallup and Roper polls commissioned by the Fund for the Republic a decade ago disclosed that a third of college-educated businessmen would ban a person who favors government ownership of big industry from teaching in a college. Where businessmen had less than college education, 58 per cent would ban such a teacher.

An example of business views was a pamphlet, "So You Want a Better Job?" by Paul W. Boynton, a personnel officer of Socony Vacuum Oil Company, which included this passage:

"Personal views can cause a lot of trouble. Remember then to keep them always conservative. The 'isms' are out. Business being what it is, it naturally looks with disfavor on the wild-eyed radical or even the moderate pink."

When Socialist leader Norman Thomas wrote to the company, Boynton came to see him but couldn't understand why Thomas was exercised. After all, 300,000 copies of his pamphlet had been circulated for years, and Thomas' was the first word of criticism that had reached him.

Happily, after a short time, C.F. Beatty, Socony's industrial relations director, wrote Thomas that the pamphlet had been revised to proclaim that "the world needs different viewpoints; blind conformity means stagnation. You won't get far unless you think for yourself."

Unfortunately, Norman Thomases are rare. How strong is the current pressure for conformity in the business world today?

With high school and college students, to say nothing of businessmen, so fearful of dissent, should we expect more of the labor movement? Ideally

we should, since organized labor learned the need for civil liberties the hard way. As early as 1806, when Philadelphia shoemakers went on strike, they were brought to trial and found guilty for forming "a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages." In 1894, in the Pullman strike, a labor injunction -- termed by union leader Eugene V. Debs a "Gatling gun on paper" -- helped crush the strike and smash the American Railway Union. Lockouts, blacklists, yellow-dog contracts, labor spies to undermine and betray unions and the use of troops and deputized thugs to terrorize workers and organizers were all parts of the employer arsenal in the past.

Even today, as a recent convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pointed out, "Freedom of speech, assembly, association and solicitation of membership for union organizers and factory workers are virtually non-existent in the rural South and all efforts to exercise these rights have been and are being frustrated, despite the guarantees of the Constitution." In 1965, organizer Henry Jenkins of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union received death threats just before a National Labor Relations Board election in Greensboro, Alabama. In 1961, two organizers of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers were brutally beaten by hoodlums in Ellijay, Georgia, and then arrested for "fighting, disorderly conduct, inciting a riot and soliciting membership without a license." A union organizer was beaten and kidnapped by a job in Franklinton, N.C., while the city police and the county sheriff turned their backs. When two organizers of the Textile Workers Union were knifed in Fitzgerald, Georgia, police blandly wrote off this incident with a report that they got into a fight and knifed each other.

The right to dissent, to hold unpopular views, to try to convince others and change existing practices by peaceful and lawful means is the very cornerstone of American liberty. As Labor, the paper of the railway brotherhoods, eloquently said:

"Our forefathers fought a bloody seven-year revolution to insure these rights and bequeath them to their descendants...What distinguishes an American from the citizen of a Communist land or from the subjects of any other tyrant is not chiefly the American's standard of living. It's that we are more nearly free men. And the Bill of Rights is what protects our freedom."

Yet, while every AFL-CIO convention has unanimously passed strong resolutions in defense of civil liberties, there is a wide gap between the positions voted at conventions and the views of local union leaders. Rank and file unionists score even lower in concern for civil liberties.

Back in 1954, the Fund for the Republic polled 5,000 rank and file Americans and 1,500 community leaders on their attitudes towards communists and civil liberties. The survey's results, summarized by Harvard Professor Samuel A. Stouffer in a fact-packed book, "Communists, Conformity and Civil Liberties," included data on 1,537 rank and file unionists and 107 presidents of local unions.

The following year, Ben Segal, then with the Trade Union Program of the Fund for the Republic, and I conducted polls of local union leaders at union leadership training institutes. Union educational directors joined in. The answers to our institute quizzes, covering 1,301 local union heads at more than a score of institutes from 1955 to 1964, were remarkably similar to

those listed by Stouffer. They disclosed that union members' enthusiasm for the traditional American principles embodied in the Bill of Rights, their tolerance of people whose ideas and opinions differed from their own, were lukewarm at best.

What do we mean by "tolerance?" Not necessarily approval. We mean that, even if we disagree strongly with other people's opinions, we uphold their rights of free expression, the civil liberties guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO stresses that "one need not accept the doctrines of democratic socialism to realize that its adherents are true democrats who are uncompromising enemies of communism and all other forms of dictatorship. As a matter of fact, democratic socialists have often shared with free trade unionists the honor of being the first and main target of communist hostility, abuse, persecution and liquidation." Yet two out of five local union leaders would bar a socialist from teaching and one out of five would expel a socialist from his local union.

Although the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, more than half of our local union leaders would deny an atheist the right to teach and one out of four would keep him out of the union.

As to communists, two out of three local union leaders would strip American-born communists of their American citizenship, while five out of six would fire a communist working in a defense plant. Almost half would fire a communist who clerked in a store.

During the McCarthy era, labor was fearful of the witchhunts which spread throughout the land. Unions are not opposed to investigations per se. They hailed the LaFollette probe into labor spying, but AFL-CIO spokesmen have criticized "loosely-conducted congressional investigations where unfounded accusations and unproved charges had the effect of character assassination of good, loyal Americans." Such inquiries were critized as wandering from any proper legislative purpose into attempts "to enforce uniformity of opinions and to stifle the traditional American right to dissent." Yet two thirds of local union leaders polled backed the McCarthyite notion that Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American."

How is it that such a wide gap exists between the views of top union spokesmen and those of local leaders and rank and filers? What kind of union education is there on civil liberties, civil rights, public affairs and voter participation? Has union education failed to contribute effectively to union members' understanding of American liberties?

Perhaps we can best answer these questions by examining the nature, scope and function of labor education. First of all, we must realize that the raw material for union education -- workers in mines, mills, factories and offices -- comes out of our primary and secondary school systems with woefully inadequate teaching about civil liberties and the primary place it should hold in our American way of life. The reasons for this are being dealt with in other papers before this conference, so I will not attempt to enumerate their causes.

Second, we must recognize that labor education on the formal level -- classes, institutes, conferences -- reaches only a very small proportion of union members. For all practical intents and purposes, labor education is leadership training. It is directed at shop stewards, committeemen, shop chairmen and paid union officials such as organizers and business agents. It tends to focus on practical training rather than general education, concentrating on such subjects as steward and officer training, collective bargaining, public speaking, union structure and administration. In the broader subjects, as Lawrence Rogin, AFL-CIO education director, has pointed out, the study of economics starts out with unemployment and wages, and political science with the need for passage of a minimum wage law or a Wagner Act. That education which has been most successful starts with the immediate problems of the workers and builds upon them. In many cases, he concedes, the training is conceived narrowly and becomes self-defeating, limited only to training.

Where, instead, the educator builds upon the immediate problems to take the student to an exploration of the broad principle, the theoretical concept, he can help develop the ability of "learning how to learn" which Jack London once described as the characteristic of the liberally educated individual.

Thus, suggests Rogin, the problem of legislative reapportionment can open the way to an analysis of the concept of democracy. The pressures of Negroes for jobs and housing creates immediate problems for unions to consider, plus the possibility of understanding history, anthropology, psychology and sociology.

The AFL-CIO Education Department conducts no schools or classes under its own direct sponsorship. It assists, guides and inspires those international unions and state and local labor bodies which do carry on educational activity. It prepares teaching materials, conducts professional conferences for labor educators, and urges unions without educational programs to venture into the field. It maintains the major labor film library in the United States, which contains many films dealing with civil liberties and rights. It encourages the development of university labor education centers and assists in promoting effective cooperation between them and the unions.

In preparation for this paper, we wrote the nation's union educational directors and university labor specialists to find out what kind of education union members were receiving in civil liberties, civil rights and citizenship participation. We received almost forty replies, with extensive samples of programs developed. In addition, Mrs. Judy Marine, research assistant at the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties, interviewed many education directors in Washington and New York. The results of those inquiries will be compiled and passed along to you following this conference. Broadly speaking, they indicated that of the more than 130 national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, only about 40 have staff in the national office charged with the specific responsibility of developing educational programs. Most of the larger unions, covering approximately half the AFL-CIO membership, are in this number. Many large unions also have regional education directors throughout the country. Frequently they carry on massive programs, including the development of special materials and the constant involvement of their local unions in a variety of educational

activities. Even where education is ignored or frowned upon by the national offices of some unions, many of their local and regional organizations carry on extensive educational programs.

The most prominent union educational activity is the one-week resident labor school, usually sponsored by a national union, but some also by state federations. Approximately 150 to 200 such schools are held each summer, with 10,000 to 15,000 students. Most of them meet on university campuses and are held in cooperation with university labor education centers, but others take place at summer camps, hotels and other conference centers, including a few owned by unions.

About 50,000 trade unionists participate in weekend educational conferences, also of an intensive nature. These are primarily sponsored by individual unions, but many involve a number of unions. The programs of weekend conferences range the gamut of union concerns -- the "tool" subjects, plus economic, social, political and international problems.

In recent years, training of full-time union personnel in longer resident programs has been growing, with much experimentation to find the most effective methods and content for this activity.

Many university labor programs and local unions also carry on a variety of classes held in the evening or at other times workers can attend without taking time off from work. These classes generally meet once a week, with most lasting from six to ten weeks. In one recent year, universities reported conducting almost 450 such courses, with about 12,000 students. This does not include the large number of classes run by unions on their own. But, at most, only 100,000 unionists attend any classes -- 15,000,000 union members remain without any formal union education.

What subjects are the students given? One area of concentration is concerned with the "tool" subjects, union administration, shop steward training, collective bargaining, arbitration procedures, communication and related subjects. Another seeks to develop effective union citizenship, teaching labor history and an understanding of the role of the union in industry and society. A third area deals with labor legislation in all its aspects. More and more attention is being given to the political role of unions, and their broad legislative objectives, with courses in economics, civil rights, reapportionment, the threat to democracy posed by the ultra-right, political science and international affairs. Unions are increasingly concerned lest their gains at the bargaining table be lost in the halls of Congress and state legislatures. Finally, especially in the long-term schools, there is an attempt to provide an understanding of the total society, with a concentration on the social sciences, but with some attention to the humanities as well.

Are unions democratic? By and large they are, especially in the locals. They are far more democratic, by their very nature, than business organizations which are run on a hierarchical principle. Now, more than in the past, there is acceptance of dissent and some knowledge of the traditional methods of democracy. To some extent this is due to the internal democracy provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act, which eliminated some of the grosser aspects of union autocracy, i.e., no elections, dictatorial control, expulsion of opposition members, which prevailed in a few unions.

Democracy does not mean that decisions are always wise or progressive. In some craft unions, when union officers urged their locals to accept Negro members, the members democratically threw out their officers. It is interesting to note that many business critics of unions, who protest "boss rule" in unions, at the same time are unhappy when rank and file workers vote to reject contracts union leaders have accepted. Then the cry becomes, "what kind of leaders are you when you can't even control your rank and file?"

One factor that induces unions to promote teaching about civil rights and civil liberties is the need to promote unionization in difficult situations. Thus, attempts by textile workers and other unions in the South to organize have been met by ordinances requiring organizers to pay license fees up to $2,500; meeting places have suddenly become unavailable; local papers and radio stations carry only anti-union messages; race-hate and allegedly anti-Communist propaganda smears the unions; police and vigilante brutality break out. Therefore, unions had to teach about the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In doing so, unions found themselves having to teach that the same rights apply in situations some unions would prefer to ignore -- such as civil rights. When school desegregation was a hot issue in the South, and many union members opposed such integration, some union educators used an indirect approach to deal with the issue. They would focus on the right to picket, but give illustrations that would parallel experiences on school desegregation. For instance, Bill Elkuss of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers used this theoretical case:

The South Carolina legislature outlaws picketing. An employer decides this is a good time to destroy the union. He cuts wages, eliminates paid holidays and vacations. What would you do?

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS: We'd go on strike and carry picket signs.

EDUCATOR: Suppose the Governor calls out the National Guard, not to enforce the First Amendment on free speech, but to stop your picketing.

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS: We'd go to court -- all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

EDUCATOR: Okay, the court rules you have the right to picket peacefully and enjoins the Governor from using the National Guard to stop your picketing. But a "Citizens' Council to Stop Picketing" comes to the plant gates, shouts "Kill those dirty Communists," and throws bricks and stones until you fall. If you were President of the United States, what would you do?

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS: Issue a Presidential Proclamation calling on the mob to disperse and ordering the Governor to enforce the law.

EDUCATOR: What if the mob and the Governor pay no attention to the Proclamation and continue to beat up union pickets?

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS: Only one thing to do. Federalize the National Guard or call out the troops.

In this case, union students who were segregationists were led by the logic of the situation to conclusions they would have bitterly resisted

before dealing with this case study.

In the 1950 Senatorial primary in North Carolina, Frank Graham received 90 per cent of the Negro votes. That fact was the major issue in the run-off. The unionized mill villages stayed with Graham, while the non-union ones voted on the basis of race. The result indicated the effects of intensive union education. Education didn't eliminate prejudice, but it enabled even segregationist workers to put the race question into some kind of perspective, balancing it with other issues favored by the candidates.

Where unions support civil rights, they find that they must carry on a good deal of education in the South to carry their members along with them. And now that the spirit and elan of the civil rights movement in the past few years has provided a shining example to the labor movement, unions are increasingly playing up the theme of a Negro-labor-liberal coalition in their organizing efforts in the South. The International Chemical Workers Union, which had a number of segregated locals only a few years ago, has made a movie, "Union and Freedom," telling of the victorious strike against the Scripto Company in Atlanta. It shows Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking at strike meetings and marching with union President Walter L. Mitchell on the picket line.

Southern unions sponsor an annual month-long Southern Labor Training Center for full-time staff plus a number of week-long institutes which stress the same coalition concept.

Civil liberties situations which led unions to attempt to educate their members include the industrial security problem. A number of years ago, the AFL-CIO sponsored a pamphlet on "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions," and many conferences on the subject took place. Labor's vigorous activity against abuses in the various government security programs was reflected in our poll, which showed nine out of ten local union leaders supporting the right of those accused as security risks to confront and cross-examine their accusers. It was not until 1960 that the Supreme Court held the government's industrial security program invalid in an 8-to-1 decision because denial of confrontation and cross-examination of government witnesses, without statutory authority, was illegal.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates, recognizing that wiretapping constitutes a serious threat to personal liberties and that technological developments have made it very difficult to control, has urged a law permitting wiretaps only to federal agents under specific court orders, in an area clearly defined to cover espionage, treason and kidnapping. All other taps should be banned, said the AFL-CIO, including a prohibition on using tapped information at congressional hearings. Fittingly, the Communications Workers of America has led the fight against wiretapping.

The use of so-called "lie detectors," says the AFL-CIO, violates basic considerations of human dignity, raises issues of invasion of privacy, self-incrimination, and implies the concept of guilty until proven innocent. Therefore it is waging a broad campaign for federal action to ban the use of such devices by both private employers and government, and the issue comes up at many union schools and in union papers.

Seven unions and a farmers' group have joined the American Civil

Liberties Union in challenging the constitutionality of the non-communist affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. The oath was attacked as a bill of attainder (legislative punishment without judicial trial) prohibited by Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution.

The brief was filed in support of leaders of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who were convicted of falsely denying affiliation with the Communist Party. Section 9(h) of the Taft-Hartley Act barred access to NLRB services to organizations failing to file such affidavits. The petition was backed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Meat Cutters, Teachers, Typographers, Transport Workers, Auto Workers, Packinghouse Workers and the National Farmers Union.

The brief says that the groups are especially interested in the case "because (we) are opposed to government-imposed loyalty tests...as a prerequisite for holding office...in a private organization. (We) are opposed in particular to such tests as a condition for the receipt of a benefit otherwise made freely available by statute."

Noting that the Mine-Mill Union was expelled from the CIO in 1949 because it was found to be dominated by the Communist Party, the brief contrasted that action by a private association with governmental compulsion that the Taft-Hartley Act's affidavit represents.

One important area where most unions have been discouraging, rather than encouraging, the right to dissent deals with the war in Vietnam. The official position of the AFL-CIO strongly backs the Administration's position on that war and union papers and educational programs reflect that policy, with very few exceptions. District 65, RWDSU, did carry on open debate at special membership meetings and printed the debate in its paper, but that educational effort is almost unique. There are a handful of other unions permitting debate on the issue, such as the American Federation of Teachers, but most have made it a sacred cow. True, the AFL-CIO sponsors the daily broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan over the American Broadcasting Company network, despite his frequently critical comments, but I am afraid that that is the exception that proves the rule.

Since only 100,000 unionists attend union classes or institutes, what kind of education do rank and file members receive from their unions? The one main line of communication which reaches all union members is the union journal. Yet in many cases the union paper is narrowly parochial with its main stress on bread and butter issues. While most such papers rarely deal with civil liberties, the coverage of civil rights issues in recent years has risen markedly.

Educational and citizenship themes are often discussed at local union meetings, but unfortunately such meetings are infrequently well-attended unless contract negotiations or a strike vote are on the agenda.

At the same time, because unions are vitally interested in legislation, increasing emphasis has been placed on political education and COPE (Committee on Political Education) has engaged in vigorous voter registration drives and distribution of simple educational material. This has reached far more rank and file union members than union educational departments.

In addition, the AFL-CIO Community Services Department has trained 75,000 union counselors, ready to lend a hand when a worker gets into financial trouble, steer unionists to appropriate social agencies when they run into difficulties, help on welfare and mental health problems, and serve on boards of many community agencies. In a broad sense, both COPE and the Community Services Department are engaged in union education for better citizenship.

Nevertheless, civil liberties remains an abstraction for most local union leaders and rank and file unionists' zeal for civil liberties is depressingly low. Is the prospect of educating unionists in civil liberties then a hopeless one?

Far from it. We mentioned that the questionnaire we distributed at union summer schools brought discouragingly negative responses, but we didn't reveal the whole story. We distributed the attached questionnaire at the opening institute session. Local union leaders filled them out immediately -- without any discussion. We told the participants not to sign their names and emphasized that this was an opinion poll, not a test. After the questionnaires were handed in, we kept the results secret until the closing session of the institute, so that knowledge of the results would not color classroom discussion.

In class the next day, we asked the students to define democracy. Invariably, and usually without much prodding, the answers -- which we put on the blackboard -- included:

* Freedom of Speech
* Freedom of Press
* Freedom of Worship
* Freedom of Assembly
* Majority Rule with Protection of the Rights of the Minority.

Then, as we asked for discussion on the specific questions, a fascinating process started. In dealing with subjects like collective bargaining, labor economics, political issues and civil rights, a good many of the local union leaders are aware of and accept the union viewpoint, but civil liberties is virgin territory for most of them. Thus, prior to discussion, the questionnaires revealed that two out of five would keep a Socialist from teaching.

We called on students who backed each side of the issue to explain why. "I don't want a Socialist giving my kids propaganda about socialism in class," said one. (We had to lay down ground rules and explain that any teacher who propagandized for any point of view was not teaching -- he was indoctrinating. The purpose of teaching, we continued, was not only to present facts to students but lead them to think for themselves about the meaning of those facts. For the sake of our discussion, we added, we had to assume that the teacher was following the approved curriculum, or else he could be fired for not doing his job.)

"I still don't want a Socialist as a teacher. He's opposed to our economic system, and if he's a good teacher, he will have influence on the children, even outside the classroom." Back we went to the blackboard. How did this answer square with the definition of democracy he had previously

approved? Brows were furrowed.

The same process, only more so, occurred when it came to atheism. Some stressed that if the atheist was a good teacher and a man of impeccable morals, he would be even more "dangerous," because then his example would be more attractive to the children. Most, however, despite strong personal misgivings, expressed the view that freedom of speech required protecting the rights even of an atheist. Some, backing that view, pointed out that the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

What about Communists? "They're enemies of our country. Why let them use our freedoms to destroy freedom?" "They tried to bust our union before. We won't give them another chance." "Yes," replied another, "but what good is freedom of speech if we allow it only to people with whom we agree? Unless those whose views are obnoxious are free to speak, freedom is a fiction." The arguments waxed hot and heavy -- never completely resolved, but certainly with much greater thought given to the complexities of the problem.

When almost half said they would fire a Communist who clerked in a store, the question arose, "Should Communists have the right to eat?" Almost all said yes, and then puzzled out their replies when asked, "If you would deny a job as a store clerk, what jobs should a Communist be allowed to hold? Or should he just be on relief, with our taxes supporting him?"

When two-thirds of the local union leaders voted to strip American-born Communists of their citizenship, we asked what did the Constitution provide on revoking citizenship for native Americans. They were usually flabbergasted to learn that citizenship can be revoked only for treason against the United States, which consists "only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" and that "no person shall be convicted of treason unless on testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court."

We applied similar Socratic dialogues to each item on the questionnaire, to the accompaniment of pained expressions, heated debate and eventual enlightenment. One union staffer put it this way, "You're really unfair. You're making us think!"

This technique, of course, is not the only successful way to teach unionists about civil liberties. But it demonstrated that open, informed discussion on the issues invariably made support for civil liberties soar dramatically.

If civil liberties views can be reversed so easily, suggest some observers, we need not fear the anti-civil liberty attitudes of most Americans. They're only skin-deep. That's correct, but only if we can provide effective civil liberties education for all Americans. Today, neither the school system, corporate programs or union education is doing an adequate job. We need not only to develop additional materials and techniques but also to place civil liberties higher on our list of priorities.

Writing on "Strengthening Union Democracy" in the <u>American Federationist</u> some years ago, Jack Barbash of the University of Wisconsin noted that "the

democratic process is of the essence of union functioning because if the union is not an instrument of interest representation it is nothing. The union's ability to represent its constituents has been and is its chief stock in trade in a way that is not true of any other private association. A failure of the union to function democratically is therefore a failure in its central function."

To give vitality to democracy in the union within the framework of union goals, suggested Barbash, "the union leadership must first act out of conviction that democracy is worthwhile even if it is occasionally inconvenient. And secondly, union leadership must communicate to the membership an awareness and sensitivity to the responsibilities and the occasional inconveniences involved in the exercise of democratic rights."

How can this be done? In addition to the use of civil liberties questionnaires as a basis for discussion courses, many other approaches are possible. In 1962, for instance, the National Institute of Labor Education published a pamphlet on "Teaching Ethics in Labor Education" which included case materials, a bibliography, and ways of adapting the case method to labor ethics education. That project was financed by the Fund for Adult Education.

Certainly today it ought to be possible to secure the financial support needed to prepare a pamphlet which could bring together under one cover a wide variety of methods and materials on teaching civil liberties. The pamphlet might well include:

1. Purposes and goals in teaching civil liberties.

2. Ways in which civil liberties concerns can be salted into traditional labor subjects, such as steward training, grievance procedure, collective bargaining, organizing, public speaking, etc.

3. Ways of teaching specific aspects of civil liberties -- due process of law, free speech, right of assembly, etc.

4. One shot sessions for summer schools and institutes that would emphasize civil liberties.

5. Case studies in a union setting designed to stimulate discussion of alternate approaches on the theme of "how would you handle this situation?"

6. Selected list of films and pamphlets useful in teaching civil liberties.

7. Resources for teaching civil liberties. Descriptions of government and private agencies, universities and unions experienced in this field and types of persons they have available.

8. Brief reading excerpts from great historic figures associated with the idea of democracy.

9. The Democratic Practices Code of the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices.

10. Obstacles to look for when teaching about civil liberties and how to overcome them.

It should not be assumed that having materials available will automatically assure their full use. Training or demonstration programs may need to be developed, and conferences held to bring the full range of trade union education to bear on this subject.

At best, however, we must remember that trade union education reaches but a fraction of union members. We need to supplement this education with a constant flood of materials in the public schools, in corporate programs, in the daily press, magazines, radio and TV. Only such a massive educational development can create the climate and soil in which full democracy can flower.

2/27/66

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

NOTE TO UNION MEMBERS: Please fill out carefully. Many union members disagree on the correct answers to the questions below. All we are looking for is your opinion. PLEASE DON'T SIGN YOUR NAME.

Put a circle around Y (for Yes) if you agree with a statement below; if you do not agree, circle N (for No).

1. Should a man who favors government ownership of the railroads and big industry

   (a) be allowed to teach? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

2. Should an atheist (a man who doesn't believe in the existence of God)

   (a) be allowed to teach? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

3. Should an admitted Communist

   (a) be allowed to teach? Y N

   (b) be expelled if he is a member of your union? Y N

   (c) be fired if he works in a defense plant? Y N

   (d) be fired if he is a clerk in a store? Y N

4. Should an American-born admitted Communist have his citizenship taken from him? Y N

5. Should admitted Communists be jailed? Y N

6. Is it more important to identify all the Communists even if some innocent people should be hurt, than to protect the innocent even if some Communists are not found out? Y N

7. Should those accused as security risks under federal security programs have the right to confront and cross-examine their accusters? Y N

8. Should Government security tests be confined only to sensitive positions involving military, atomic, government or international affairs and not be required for other positions? Y N

9. Is everyone who invokes the privilege against self-incrimination guilty as suspected? Y N

10. Should Congress investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American?" Y N

11. Should employers be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers? Y N

12. Are people born with prejudices just the way they are born with instinctive reactions to heat, hunger and loud noises? Y N

13. Should a union member who joins a White Citizens' Council or the Ku Klux Klan be expelled from the Union? Y N

14. Should all children, no matter what their race or religion, be allowed to go to the same public schools? Y N

15. Are universities justified in using a quota system to limit admission of members of certain racial and religious groups? Y N

16. If a Negro were to become your neighbor, would you

    (a) try to find another place to live? Y N

    (b) welcome him? Y N

    (c) join a committee to urge him to move? Y N

    (d) do nothing? Y N

17. Should trade unions be entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion, or national origin? Y N

18. Should unions put anti-discrimination clauses in all their collective bargaining contracts? Y N

19. Should unions enforce equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or religion, in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotions? Y N

20. If the employer in your industry hires no Negroes, should your union try to make him change his policy? Y N

(Distributed by National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y.)

4/14/61

EVC — Civil Liberties

TEACHING THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA

The American people are devoted to their Constitution and to the individual rights it guarantees, but they have repeatedly demonstrated their difficulty in translating the broad principles of freedom into action in specific cases. The problem, almost invariably, is ignorance of the practical, everyday meaning of these principles. To make sure that future generations are better informed about their rights and responsibilities as Americans, the Constitutional Rights Foundation (609 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017) is cooperating with public education agencies in California to improve teaching about the Bill of Rights in the state's schools. The foundation is a nonprofit organization made up of public-spirited educators, lawyers, businessmen, labor leaders, and motion picture personalities. The state-wide program it is sparking is described here by the editor of the California Teachers Association Journal.

By J. WILSON McKENNEY

ONE OUT OF FOUR U.S. high school seniors believes that "the government should prohibit some people from making public speeches." Sixty-three per cent of these graduating teenagers would not allow Communists to speak on the radio in peacetime, and 42 per cent agree that the police or the FBI may sometimes be right in giving a man "the third degree" in order to make him talk.

These are the findings of H. H. Remmers and his associates at the Purdue University Division of Educational Reference. Since 1951 they have tested repeatedly the attitudes of young U.S. citizens, and have concluded that these young people display an appalling lack of comprehension of the content and meaning of the Bill of Rights.

But failure to understand that liberty is indivisible is far more widespread. Many Americans who recently tested their own elementary knowledge of the Bill of Rights by participating in the Columbia Broadcasting System's "National Citizenship Test," demonstrated that ignorance is not limited to the young (see box on page 88). The evidence indicates clearly that Americans are fervently attached to the concept of freedom—in many wars they have fought bravely in its defense. Yet, too often, their understanding of the practice of freedom has been as superficial as the war-time slogans for which they fought. Young and old, they are largely ignorant of the basic charter of their freedom and, in practice, are often oblivious to—even approving of—its violation in specific, emotion-laden instances.

In California, however, something tangible is being done about this gap between principle and practice. The State Board of Education, the State Department of Education, and the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF), have combined forces to see that future generations of high school graduates are better educated concerning their freedoms, their liberties, their rights and responsibilities as citizens, through better teaching of the Bill of Rights.

California's attack on ignorance of the principles of individual freedom was launched in 1963 when CRF representatives persuaded the State Board of Education to look into the nature and extent of teaching about constitutional rights in the schools of the state. It was found that a few school districts had prepared resource materials for their teachers, but the record was spotty, and no comprehensive approach to the subject had been developed.

"Howard had committed the 'crime' of ordering, for a voter registration drive, the drawing of a poster showing a chained Negro in prayer."

As a result, the Board prepared a policy statement that strongly endorsed teaching about the Bill of Rights in the schools and called for improved instruction in the field (see box on page 69). Methodist Bishop Gerald Kennedy of Los Angeles was appointed chairman of a four-man committee of members of the Board charged with responsibility for seeing that the policy was implemented, and a fourteen-man advisory committee of attorneys, educators, and civic leaders, headed by Richard C. Maxwell, Dean of the School of Law at the University of California at Los Angeles, was appointed to aid the committee.

The immediate need, the Board decided, was for a teachers curriculum guide for use within the existing social studies program in the last two years of high school. With a $30,000 grant from CRF, State Superintendent of Schools Max Rafferty set up a Department of Education project to develop a guide that would provide tangible aid to teachers in treating the subject in greater depth. This guide, the *Bill of Rights Source Book* for teachers of American history and government, is now being published and will be distributed to eleventh- and twelfth-grade teachers throughout the state. It presents applications of the Bill of Rights to current controversies—from school segregation and sit-ins to school prayer and released time—with legal and historical background. The *Source Book* does not aim at developing a particular point of view, but at stimulating an informative dialogue among those with differing points of view.

While the guide was in preparation, CRF launched, in 1964, the first of an annual series of Bill of Rights Teachers Contests to encourage more secondary school teachers to venture into the field. Modest cash prizes and state-wide recognition are offered to teachers who have developed effective classroom approaches to constitutional liberties.

Among the first year's contest winners, the direct approach appeared to be most popular. For instance, Gregory L. Goodwin, a Bakersfield American history teacher, reported how he had presented to his classes "a petition to insure personal liberties."

He wrote at the top of a sheet, "We, the undersigned, urge that the following points of personal liberty be considered legal and binding upon the government of the United States of America. If necessary, they should be added to the Constitution in the form of Amendments." He then listed seven brief statements which, with minor word changes, accurately

identified seven provisions in the Bill of Rights.

Few of his students volunteered to sign the paper, and even fewer recognized that the petition had been drawn from the Constitution. He then asked his students to offer petitions to a few neighbors and relatives. Only one-fourth of the adults recognized the source of the wording. Goodwin used this shocking demonstration of ignorance as an effective introduction to case studies of the application of the Bill of Rights to specific individual liberties.

Even more realistic was the first-prize entry submitted by Joyce Fulton, history teacher at Woodside High School, San Mateo county. Convinced that the increased concern for Bill of Rights protections in recent years has been the result of the dramatic exposure by Negroes of the freedom gap between principle and practice in America, Miss Fulton used as the core of her study "The Due Processing of Asbury Howard," an article by Jeffrey Fuller, which appeared in *The Reporter* of April 16, 1959. Fuller's account tells of the arrest, courtroom "trial," and subsequent courthouse beating of the Alabama Negro by angry whites. Howard had committed the "crime" of ordering, for a voter registration drive, the drawing of a poster showing a chained Negro in prayer.

Miss Fulton took her students step by step through the gripping, tragic story of Howard's experience to enable them to understand the practical applications of due process, search, and seizure, and Fourteenth Amendment protections. She plunged her students into vigorous discussion of human rights and liberties to illustrate the complexities of Supreme Court interpretations in relation to state laws. And after using these methods for two years she had ample evidence that this realistic case study approach had helped her students to understand better the true meaning of the Bill of Rights.

FEW teachers, however, are as imaginative or as informed as Miss Fulton and Mr. Goodwin, and the problems of presenting the subject in the classroom are many. As Miss Fulton pointed out, when she was invited to speak before the State Board of Education last June, there are numerous barriers to good teaching and learning in the field. The complexity of the issues (often stumping well-trained lawyers), the necessity of obtaining and using pertinent and current materials, and the difficulty of translating fast-changing policies and events into appropriate study units, all present obstacles that must be overcome.

Furthermore: "To teach the Bill of Rights meaningfully," she said, "the teacher must make a conscious choice, immersing himself and his class in controversy. The teacher becomes a target for critical parents—and many teachers are understandably reluctant to open up Pandora's box.

> NO STUDENT SHOULD leave our schools without a lively knowledge of the American Constitution, for here are found the main principles of our heritage. Our democracy can be kept strong only by the dedication of every new generation to the discipline of liberty. In knowledge of the Bill of Rights and in loyalty to its propositions rests our faith in the future.
>
> We believe the teaching in this field, no matter how controversial the issue, should be conducted within the framework of free discussion. Not only the history of the Bill of Rights should be taught, but contemporary issues it raises, such as the debate over separation of church and state embodied in the First Amendment, and the privilege against self-incrimination as provided in the Fifth Amendment, should be discussed. Now is the time to help our young people to become aware of the risks, the privileges, and the personal demands of freedom.
>
> We urge all school superintendents to give this subject the highest priority. We hope that the very conduct of the classes studying the Bill of Rights will reflect its spirit and be a demonstration of civil rights in action.
>
> —*Excerpt from Policy Statement, California State Board of Education*

"Discussing the Bill of Rights with highly verbal students who enjoy a clash of beliefs is stimulating and challenging," she continued, "but the young people we must be concerned with are the vast majority of average or remedial students who leave high school—and they couldn't care less about interpretations of law by the courts. Hundreds of students are marching into society with little true understanding of the tolerance they must have if freedom of the individual is to prevail."

In order to meet these and related problems in classroom presentation, CRF is cooperating with educational agencies in sponsoring a variety of programs. In cooperation with the State Department of Education and a number of colleges and universities, CRF has sponsored, since 1964, a series of summer workshops for teachers interested in improving their teaching of the Bill of Rights. During the summer of 1966 workshops will be held at UCLA, Humboldt State College, San Diego State, San Fernando Valley State, and the California State Colleges at Hayward and Los Angeles.

As soon as adequate financing is secured, another effort to develop effective teaching materials and procedures, and to identify the best means for introducing them into all high schools in the state, will be launched. The new *Bill of Rights Source Book* will be thoroughly tested in two representative school districts during the next two years. In El Monte and in Riverside high schools all social studies teachers will participate in a pilot program supervised by CRF staff members and consultants. Not only will the guide itself be refined and improved, but new methods for training teachers and techniques for introducing the subject in the classroom will be developed.

To help provide better community understanding for teachers who raise controversial issues about individual rights in the classroom, the California Teachers Association and the State Board of Education are cooperating with CRF in sponsoring a series of conferences and institutes for teachers, administrators, and community leaders. The objective is greater public and professional awareness of the importance of such teaching, and increased understanding and support by the public generally.

Finally, to help make sure that more children in the state are exposed to teaching about the Bill of Rights and its meaning for contemporary life, CRF is joining with education agencies in sponsoring two programs. The first is a cooperative effort of the State Department of Education and the CRF staff and consultants to develop a Bill of Rights teaching program at the elementary school level. The State Department of Education has just received financing from the U.S. Office of Education for exploratory work on this project. The second project, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Public Schools and the National Urban League, provides weekend programs in a camp environment for students from six senior high schools in the curfew area of Los Angeles created during the "Watts riots" of last summer. These young people from one of the city's most depressed areas are introduced to the rights and the responsibilities that are theirs under the Bill of Rights. Both students and teachers, in a relaxed environment, have an opportunity to work out means of communication that will enhance effective presentations in the classroom. Financing for this project has been received from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

California is not alone, of course, in recognizing the necessity for effective teaching about constitutional liberties. During the past year bar associations in New York, Wisconsin, and Illinois, as

(*Continued on page* 88)

identified seven provisions in the Bill of Rights.

Few of his students volunteered to sign the paper, and even fewer recognized that the petition had been drawn from the Constitution. He then asked his students to offer petitions to a few neighbors and relatives. Only one-fourth of the adults recognized the source of the wording. Goodwin used this shocking demonstration of ignorance as an effective introduction to case studies of the application of the Bill of Rights to specific individual liberties.

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"Discussing the Bill of Rights with highly verbal students who enjoy a clash of beliefs is stimulating and challenging," she continued, "but the young people we must be concerned with are the vast majority of average or remedial students who leave high school—and they couldn't care less about interpretations of law by the courts. Hundreds of students are marching into society with little true understanding of the tolerance they must have if freedom of the individual is to prevail."

In order to meet these and related problems in classroom presentation, CRF is cooperating with educational agencies in sponsoring a variety of programs. In cooperation with the State Department of Education and a number of colleges and universities, CRF has sponsored, since 1964, a series of summer workshops for teachers interested in improving their teaching of the Bill of Rights. During the summer of 1966 workshops will be held at UCLA, Humboldt State College, San Diego State, San Fernando Valley State, and the California State Colleges at Hayward and Los Angeles.

As soon as adequate financing is secured, another effort to develop effective teaching materials and procedures, and to identify the best means for introducing them into all high schools in the state, will be launched. The new *Bill of Rights Source Book* will be thoroughly tested in two representative school districts during the next two years. In El Monte and in Riverside high schools all social studies teachers will participate in a pilot program supervised by CRF staff members and consultants. Not only will the guide itself be refined and improved, but new methods for training teachers and techniques for introducing the subject in the classroom will be developed.

To help provide better community understanding for teachers who raise controversial issues about individual rights in the classroom, the California Teachers Association and the State Board of Education are cooperating with CRF in sponsoring a series of conferences and institutes for teachers, administrators, and community leaders. The objective is greater public and professional awareness of the importance of such teaching, and increased understanding and support by the public generally.

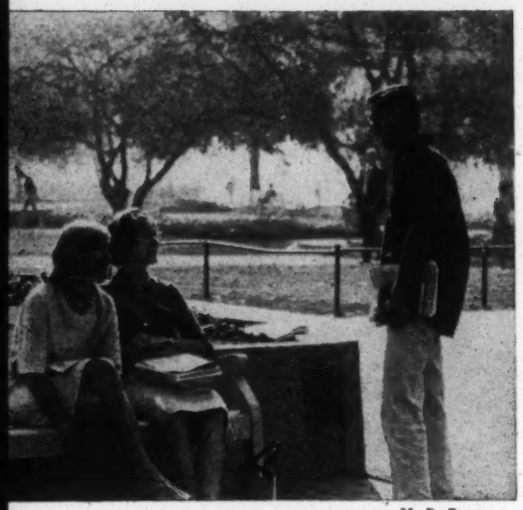
Finally, to help make sure that more children in the state are exposed to teaching about the Bill of Rights and its meaning for contemporary life, CRF is joining with education agencies in sponsoring two programs. The first is a cooperative effort of the State Department of Education and the CRF staff and consultants to develop a Bill of Rights teaching program at the elementary school level. The State Department of Education has just received financing from the U.S. Office of Education for exploratory work on this project. The second project, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Public Schools and the National Urban League, provides weekend programs in a camp environment for students from six senior high schools in the curfew area of Los Angeles created during the "Watts riots" of last summer. These young people from one of the city's most depressed areas are introduced to the rights and the responsibilities that are theirs under the Bill of Rights. Both students and teachers, in a relaxed environment, have an opportunity to work out means of communication that will enhance effective presentations in the classroom. Financing for this project has been received from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

California is not alone, of course, in recognizing the necessity for effective teaching about constitutional liberties. During the past year bar associations in New York, Wisconsin, and Illinois, as

(*Continued on page* 88)

> NO STUDENT SHOULD leave our schools without a lively knowledge of the American Constitution, for here are found the main principles of our heritage. Our democracy can be kept strong only by the dedication of every new generation to the discipline of liberty. In knowledge of the Bill of Rights and in loyalty to its propositions rests our faith in the future.
>
> We believe the teaching in this field, no matter how controversial the issue, should be conducted within the framework of free discussion. Not only the history of the Bill of Rights should be taught, but contemporary issues it raises, such as the debate over separation of church and state embodied in the First Amendment, and the privilege against self-incrimination as provided in the Fifth Amendment, should be discussed. Now is the time to help our young people to become aware of the risks, the privileges, and the personal demands of freedom.
>
> We urge all school superintendents to give this subject the highest priority. We hope that the very conduct of the classes studying the Bill of Rights will reflect its spirit and be a demonstration of civil rights in action.
>
> —*Excerpt from Policy Statement, California State Board of Education*

WHAT ABOUT THE "SINFUL" STUDENT?



—M. D. Paterson.

"The student would rather consider that morality is a matter of personal choice not to be affected by inflexible authority."

—Hugh Rogers.

"Today's student has a deep interest in a meaning for life far more fundamental than the issues of sex, cheating, and excessive drinking."

—Hugh Rogers.

By EDWARD D. EDDY, *President, Chatham College.*

IF ONE were to take at face value the popular press these days, he might well explode hourly with derisive comment about college students. The magazines scream to us that youth has gone to hell in a sexual basket. The student has been subjected to continued "revelations" regarding his deterioration. Article after article explores the sex life of the student, his drunken orgies, his ability to cheat without being caught or without feeling even a twinge of remorse, and his craving for "the magic fix."

The exposé is so persistent that one begins to wonder whether it is youth that is deteriorating or whether we are being treated to a purging of the guilt-ridden adult conscience. Like most questions involving education, the answer is not a clear-cut affirmation either for or against. Indeed, there is by no means unanimous opinion over whether or not colleges and their faculties ought even to recognize the charges.

We have, on the one hand, the disinterested approach of the articulate and widely read Jacques Barzun. In a little booklet, *The Tyranny of Idealism in Education,* Barzun concludes: "Because the persons to be subjected to our schemes are young and weak and have no money and no vote, we think we can force them to embody every ideal imagining that occurs to us. The fact that no school has ever succeeded in imposing anything but superstitions and prejudices does not daunt the theorist." Barzun goes on to accuse those interested in stressing values of being guilty of panting "at the task of procreating an ideal type" of their own choosing. He terms this a remote kind of artificial insemination, which fails in its purpose at the same time that it "leads to the neglect of everything properly scholastic."

On the other hand, many educators join Albert Norris in concluding: "We do have an obligation to the student. . . . We need to help him look inside himself, to examine his own thoughts and feelings, to help him to confront and not to evade his own anxiety and loneliness, to treasure the idea, the hope that is his alone. The development—not just the care and feeding of the individual—this should be the ultimate goal of a university, of a society, of each one of us." And this development cannot take place, of course, without conscious emphasis on articulated values—against which the student may react.

Where does all this leave the "evil-ridden" college student? In the midst of such discussion, accusation, and national hand-wringing, the college student sits bemused and occasionally intrigued. "What's the matter, fellers?" he asks. "Can't you remember when you were young?"

In all fairness, we must admit that there are cogent reasons why the college student is accused of being a voraciously immoral tiger. More than at any other time in our history as a nation, we talk openly and almost continually about immorality. Curiously, we do not also talk as openly or continually about morality. In any case, the college student is far more outspoken and does not particularly shy away from talking about matters that previous generations preferred to conceal and snicker over. So, too, the colleges as a result are more aware of the problems of students. We are all being more honest in attempting better identification of what actually happens to a student as he passes through college.

In keeping with this trend, we are also providing better facilities for help. People have always had problems; college students, strange as it may seem, are people. But colleges have not always felt an obligation to help students help themselves to solve their own problems.

At the same time we cannot ignore the plain fact that there is in our society a noticeable decline in the influence of family and of church. In particular, the church has failed badly to answer the moral questions of youth. Many young ministers, priests, and rabbis, fresh from their training, are unprepared to answer with cogency the pleas of young people for honest, intelligent reasoning on these questions. And many of the older ministers, priests, and rabbis are content merely to attack students from the pulpit and disappear behind the chancel as soon as the service is over.

Those who used to put their faith in

"the right community setting" are also at a loss. The mobility of modern youth is a fact of life. Even in some of the most rural areas of America, "the old home town" has ceased to be the confining, protecting atmosphere many of us knew in our childhood. "The old home town" is a place to get out of, particularly during the times when temptations toward excess are greatest.

FINALLY, youth today is far more clever than many of us wish to acknowledge—possibly because when we were their age, we had neither that degree of cleverness nor sophistication. Today's student plays a game with adult reactions—a truly fascinating game. He knows which button to push to elicit anger, shock, sympathy, or pity. When an eager-eyed reporter descends on a campus to pry open Pandora's box, he is met by veteran button-pushers. If the reporter is silly enough to believe all that a student tells him, the student is sure to tell him *all*—and quite a bit more.

Thus the books and articles flow forth with apparently ever increasing intensity. Dr. Max Lerner, who ought to know better, wrote the introduction to a volume entitled *Sex and the College Girl*. In it, he asserted authoritatively that the world of the college girl "is that of motels, parked cars, drive-in movies, fraternity houses, dormitory rooms during 'parietal' hours, apartments loaned for the weekend. . . . It is a world of buzzing booming internal confusion, of sex without bed, of bed without love, of hedonism without joy.

This may be true for a few unfortunate students—as it always has been—but somehow the good Professor Lerner has not peeked into college libraries recently. He has ignored the pressures on every college librarian to keep the reading rooms open almost twenty-four hours a day. He has ignored the statistics that indicate an enormous jump in book circulation in practically every college library. And he has ignored the far larger number of students who are plainly disgusted and dismayed by their contemporaries who do indeed seek bed without love, and hedonism without joy.

Last fall, as an example, the headlines were captured by "college student riots" at Hampton Beach in the East and several California beaches in the West. I cannot recall seeing a single item that noted that, at the same time several hundred American students were also on their way back from Operations Crossroads Africa after giving two and a half months of service to those less fortunate than themselves. I cannot recall a story or a picture about the thousands of college students who spent the summer working in settlement houses or psychiatric hospitals.

All of this does not deny, of course, the very real fact that moral questions do figure largely in the life and thinking of students. Errors in human judgment are bound to occur, and regrettably the nation is so intrigued with the student that it cannot seem to resist the temptation to overdramatize and sensationalize the occasional stubbing of the student toe.

Those of us who believe that the American college has a larger responsibility for the student must be realistic about the moral problem. When Paul Tillich visited Chatham College recently, he stated that "the moral life is not slavish conformity to an unrelenting code." And yet, this notion of a code and of slavish, unquestioning commitment to it prevails on the surface of our society.

The student would rather consider that morality is a matter of personal choice, not to be affected by inflexible authority. Many students are unable and unwilling to comprehend and to make significant in their lives what they term to be the "vestiges" of a God-centered system of self-discipline to which their grandparents had subscribed and their parents less so. They contend that this system of moral taboo has been diluted by generations of growing questioning. And it involves more compromise and hypocrisy than they wish to tolerate in themselves.

Thus the student finds it relatively easy to rationalize a double standard in many aspects of morality. On the campus, one may separate life here from living later on. There are those who think it's perfectly acceptable to cheat now on an examination—but it would be all wrong to give false information on an income tax return later on. There are those who profess the conviction that integrity must be a fundamental value for the human race—and then use another's identification card to buy beer or bourbon. Or who think it is within reason to have their kicks in the name of love while they are in college—but who would consider adultery later as a denial of the sacred institution of marriage.

It is this curious blend of plain old rationalization with a basic lack of trust in a "moral code" of any sort that leads the student to intellectualize morality. In turn, it is the intellectualizing rather than the ready acceptance that leads others in our society, perhaps especially the clergy, to conclude that immorality among college students is far more widespread than it actually is. The college student has every right to subject anything he wishes to questioning, provided only that the questioning is consistently intelligent. We must not misunderstand this questioning and interpret it to be doubting. Unfortunately, the closed mind does not always sense the difference.

Today's student has an especially deep interest in meaning—indeed, in a meaning for life which is far more fundamental than the issues of sex, cheating, and excessive drinking. In his volume, *Human Nature and the Human Condition*, Joseph Wood Krutch observes that we have become a nation of "generous materialists—in the very simple sense that we believe everything worth having *can* be had if we are willing to spend enough money to get it." Krutch goes on to identify the nature of our values and concludes, "What philosophers used to call 'the good life' is difficult to define and impossible to measure. In the United States today . . . we substitute for it 'the standard of living,' which is easy to measure if defined only in terms of wealth, health, comfort, and convenience."

MANY students today are engaged in an often desperate and usually naïve search for what philosophers used to call "the good life." How else does one explain the fact that the issue of civil rights has done more to arouse college students to fervent concern and action than any other single problem in the memory of most of us? Or that the Peace Corps has succeeded in convincing youth of the usefulness of youth?

Nevertheless, the situation thus far seems to offer little comfort to the fretful parent and restive alumnus. In response, I do not believe that any problem of immorality on a college campus is solved by public, presidential proclamations. Too many colleges lean on such professed standards in order to protect their own good name, without first placing emphasis on the individual human being. If institutions have any value to society, they will survive the occasional incidents of human weakness—but the individual so involved may not be as lucky. In other words, people are far more susceptible to damage than institutions—and the college's primary, overriding concern ought to be for people, not for its institutional image in the mirror or in the local mind.

Perhaps the student is best served by the opportunity and encouragement to take a hard look at societal assumptions. Colleges need to press home the truth that all choice is *not* necessarily the reflection of environment and that one need not capitulate to the contagion around him. Recognition of this truth is the first genuine step toward any return to personal responsibility among educated people. The ancient Greeks noted emphatically that the crucial test is the ability to make a critical response within one's self when alternatives are presented.

Again, Krutch has observed that "our seemingly great growth in social morality has oddly enough taken place in a world where private morality—a sense of the

(*Continued on page* 87)

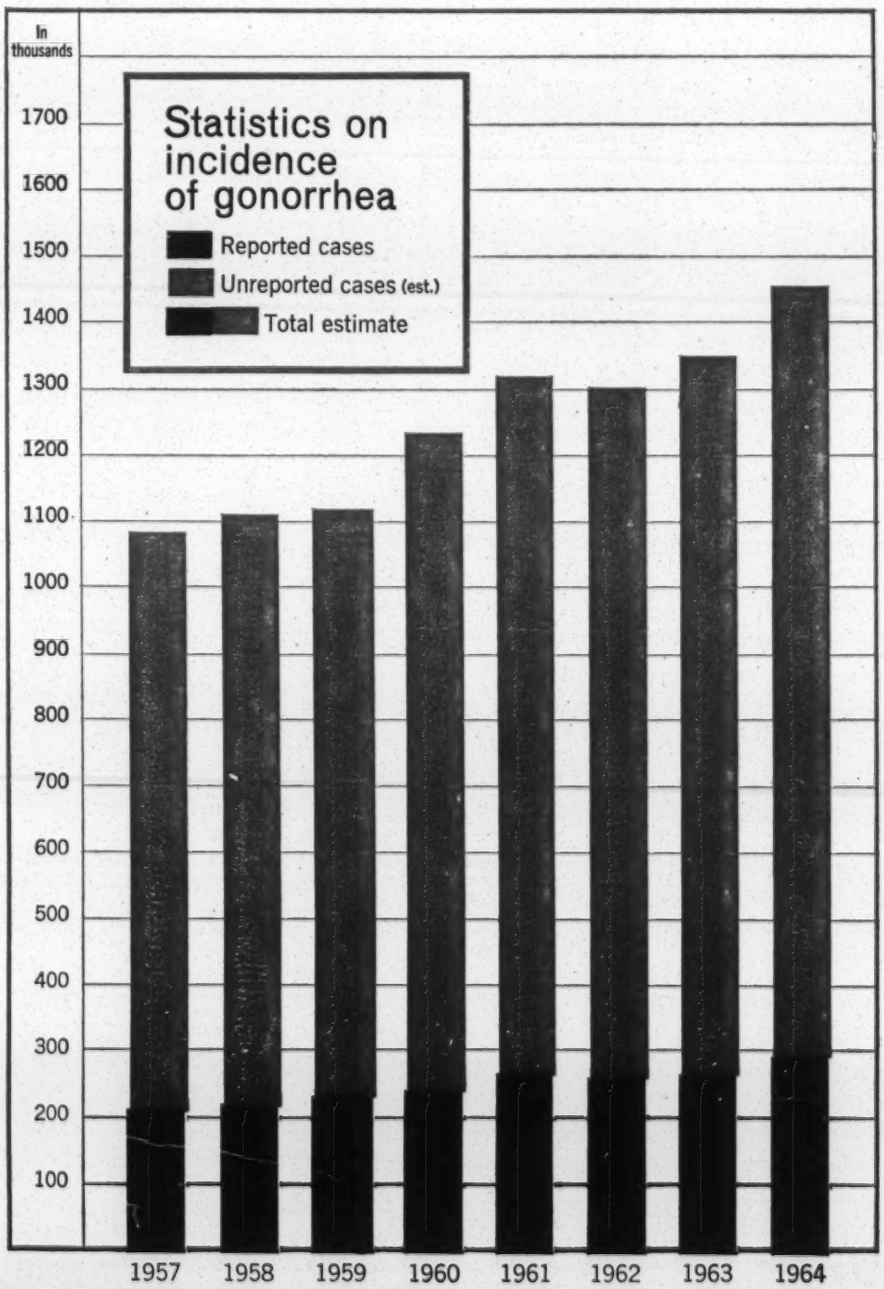
Shall Our Schools Teach about Venereal Disease?

By SIMON PODAIR, *Chief, VD Education Unit, Department of Health, New York City.*

FOR MANY YEARS the venereal diseases were among the leading unmentionables in our society: one did not speak about syphilis and gonorrhea in polite conversation. VD to most Americans was lewd and loathsome and talk about it was restricted to the street corner or the smoking car.

Then, in 1937, Surgeon General Thomas Parran made the first breakthrough in bringing the subject from its secret corner out into the open spaces of community discussion. His *Shadow On The Land,* sought to arm the American public with the basic information on VD and to delineate a practical program for its eventual control. Above all, Dr. Parran wanted to replace public apathy with public action.

Today, almost thirty years later and despite extensive progress in diagnosis and treatment, VD is still a threat to the nation's health. According to the United States Public Health Service, there has been a nationwide increase of more than 200 per cent in infectious syphilis among teen-agers since 1957. The American Medical Association recently termed venereal disease the nation's most critical communicable disease problem. Actually, there is now a VD epidemic throughout the country: over 22,000 cases of infectious syphilis and over 290,000 cases of gonorrhea reported annually. Syphilis, especially, can kill, cripple and blind, if untreated.



Many of our middle-class citizens see VD as a problem primarily of the poor. Yet—like crime and other antisocial manifestations—VD is increasing in the suburbs. The New York State Department of Health, for example, reports that infectious syphilis has increased tenfold over the past seven years in the leading suburbs of New York City. Syphilis and gonorrhea are found not only in the noisy, dirt-infested slum, but also in the quiet, tree-shaded suburb. The sons and daughters of the business and the professional man as well as working class youth need education on the subject.

A study conducted by the American Social Health Association revealed that —despite AMA support of VD control— approximately 90 per cent of infectious venereal disease treated by private physicians is not reported to state health departments. Including unreported cases, infectious venereal disease afflicts over 1,400,000 Americans annually—55 per cent of whom are under twenty-five. Similar statistics for polio, measles, or other communicable diseases would most likely have resulted in an outraged citizenry clamoring for immediate action.

After World War II, the discovery that penicillin cured the venereal diseases lulled public health agencies and the medical profession into a false sense of security. Governmental appropriations for VD education and control programs were drastically reduced. Penicillin was to lead us, once and for all, to victory over the spirochete and the gonococcus, the two organisms which cause syphilis and gonorrhea. But penicillin turned out to be only a skirmish in the battle: in the 1950s the number of cases began to increase. Weighted against the therapeutic powers of penicillin were the social forces unleashed in the post-World War II years: family disorganization, changes in sexual attitudes, increased mobility. VD as a medical problem was solved,

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EV Invasion of privacy — workplace

NAL, FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1966 WSJ

Psychiatry & Jobs

Should Employes Have to Submit Findings to Their Bosses?

By HERBERT G. LAWSON

PITTSBURGH — John Torrence, a state social worker, lost his job here last June because he refused to submit to a psychiatric examination. His legal battle to get back on the payroll ultimately could touch the lives of all employes.

The issue, as Mr. Torrence's counsel from the American Civil Liberties Union sees it, is how far a government agency legally can go in prying into the life of an employe in order to determine his fitness for his work.

The Torrence case may be settled by the Civil Service Commission on the relatively narrow ground of whether refusal to take a psychiatric exam is "just cause" for dismissal under state civil service rules. But if the dismissal is upheld, the ACLU is expected to appeal the case to the courts on the broader Constitutional question of invasion of privacy.

Whatever happens, it's clear that the case adds fuel to an increasingly fiery national controversy over the right to be left alone. Attorneys on both sides of the case here find no precise legal precedent to guide a decision. But Federal courts and labor arbitrators recently have blazed a new trail in defining the citizen's right to privacy.

The U.S. Supreme Court last year struck down Connecticut's anti-birth control law, asserting that it violated both the First and Fourth Amendment guarantees of privacy. The court said the state had no right to involve itself in such individual decisions of a husband and wife. Several relatively recent labor cases have upheld the right of an employe to refuse a polygraph, or "lie detector," test. In one, involving two discharged Illinois Bell Telephone Co. employes, the arbitrator said, "To punish for refusing to consent on the basis that this is a lack of cooperation appears to supply an overtone of being required to self-incriminate, a proposition repugnant to Anglo-Saxon legal codes."

"Eavesdrop at the Couch"

On the other hand, courts have upheld an employer's right to require a medical exam and certification by a doctor that an employe is able to work. The question is whether this right extends to requiring psychiatric tests and full disclosure to the employer. To the ACLU, the latter meant for Mr. Torrence that the welfare agency wanted to "intrude itself into the examination room and eavesdrop at the couch."

At the heart of the case—now pending before the Pennsylvania Civil Service Commission—is Mr. Torrence's contention that the Allegheny County Board of Assistance, a state agency, demanded that he authorize a psychiatrist to examine him and to discuss his findings with the agency. His attorneys contend this would destroy the cherished confidentiality of the doctor-patient relationship as well as violate Constitutional rights.

"If it is truly necessary to the functioning of good government that a welfare case worker must allow his employer to probe the innermost recesses of his mind, it is much later than we think," argued attorneys James Carter and A. E. Lawson in a brief before the commission. "If the perimeter of a man's skull cannot draw the boundary of governmental invasion of privacy, then the right is utterly lost."

The fears voiced by the civil liberties group here are similar to those that have found a wide national audience in two recent books, "The Naked Society" by Vance Packard and "The Brain Watchers" by Martin Gross. Mr. Gross attacked the widespread use by industrial personnel men of psychological tests that probe an employe's fears, tastes, sex habits and other personal factors. Mr. Packard described the "moral squalor" arising from employer use of lie detectors and other psychological spying techniques.

It's possible that the dangers have been exaggerated, of course, but a close look at the details of Mr. Torrence's experience does little to reassure one about the threat to the right to reasonable privacy.

Mr. Torrence, formerly a practicing attorney, joined the Allegheny County Board of Assistance as a case worker in November 1962. He won several promotions and his written performance ratings by his superiors were uniformly "good" or "excellent." No one told him before his suspension in June that various supervisors were questioning his mental stability.

On June 28, Mr. Torrence submitted a report to the board at its request from a medical doctor who stated Mr. Torrence was in good health. The doctor told a personnel official of the board that he couldn't make a psychiatric diagnosis. Mr. Torrence was asked to consult a psychiatrist and refused. On July 9 Frank Setcavage, executive director of the board, told Mr. Torrence in a letter that he would be removed from his job unless he saw a psychiatrist and authorized the psychiatrist "to discuss his statement and recommendation with the executive and personnel officers." Mr. Torrence again refused and lost his job.

At the civil service hearing recently testimony of the board's personnel supervisor, Evaline Chalfant, was revealing. She disclosed that the agency "has had a great many telephone conversations with psychiatrists who are treating staff members in order to determine whether or not it is wise, from the standpoint of both employe and department, for them to continue in their present assignment."

Miss Chalfant was asked whether the Torrence case differed from any of these previous instances. "No," she replied, "except with this one exception—that we had to let Mr. Torrence go because he refused to provide us with the information."

Miss Chalfant's statement buttressed the ACLU's contention that refusal to undergo the psychiatric exam was the sole reason for dismissal. The agency, however, sought to broaden the case by asserting the dismissal also stemmed from the fact that his superiors considered Mr. Torrence's behavior as a case worker unusual. One, for example, said she observed Mr. Torrence leafing through files in a "highly disturbed" manner and "slamming them down on the floor."

Psychiatry Used Elsewhere

The Pennsylvania agency is by no means unique in using psychiatry as a personnel tool. Raymond M. Hilliard, director of Cook County's big public aid department, which includes Chicago, says, "I think an agency has the right" to demand psychiatric examination and disclosure in order to "prevent turning a psychotic loose in this welfare area." Mr. Hilliard adds that he sees "absolutely nothing wrong" with polygraph tests for employes.

In the Los Angeles County Department of Charities, W. I. Witherill, chief deputy superintendent, notes that psychiatric exams can be required of civil servants there. Refusal "can result in disciplinary action but I'm not aware of any employe who has refused," he says. Upwards of 20 employes a month in Los Angeles County undergo psychiatric exams, but Mr. Witherill insists that the county never requires anything more than a certification from the doctor of an employe's fitness for work.

Strangely enough, at least one top Pennsylvania personnel official disagrees with the Allegheny Board of Assistance. Bernard Bertolino, who heads recruitment and employe services in the Department of Public Welfare, declares, I think we're obligated to respect" an employe's refusal to see a psychiatrist. "I don't think we can force someone to have an exam, but we can insist that an employe measure up to certain work standards." Local agencies of the department, he notes, have considerable autonomy in personal practices.

Whatever Mr. Torrence's fate in all this, there is at least the consolation that the right questions are being insistently asked—perhaps for the first time—about the proper role of psychiatry in personnel administration. The ACLU's challenge here may well speed the process whereby rules and legal precedents emerge to restrain society from invading the sanctum of the individual's mind.

Notable & Quotable

Albert A. Thornbrough, president, Mas-

AL, MONDAY, APRIL 4, 1966

The Obscenity Decision

Will Supreme Court Get Mired in a Flood of New Cases?

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court, having arrived at a plateau in its civil rights and reapportionment achievements, may be ready for a new great crusade: Protecting the nation's morals from corruption by the books and magazines and movies. Or, as Justice William Brennan put it, guarding the people against "exploitation by those who would make a business of pandering to the widespread weakness for titillation by pornography."

There were times in the past year or so when the Supreme Court seemed to be turning to a less activist role, less disposed than in the decade past to make history—or, as its critics like to say, "make law,"—by extending the law to reach novel ends.

Moreover, the court's liberal bent had led scholars to predict that, when it got around to deciding the three obscenity cases on its calendar, it would further weaken the power of Federal, state and local censors of obscene matter. Thus one authority predicted: "The suspense is not over whether the court will rule against censorship, but whether it may go so far as to make further prosecution impossible."

The Supreme Court last month not only ruled for censorship, but went so far as to make further prosecution inevitable—and further Supreme Court involvement a certainty. The court proved itself as activist as ever; Earl Warren at 75 appeared as much an activist as the younger Earl Warren who is credited with leading the court to its civil rights and voting law accomplishments. But there end the parallels. The court's stand on the obscenity issue necessarily curtails individual rights, arousing the wrath not of the conservatives who decried the school desegregation and school prayer decisions but of the liberals who applauded them.

The Court's Image

And the difference may involve the image of the court in another quite different way. However popular or unpopular the court's decisions on civil rights and the like, the nine black-robed justices were dealing there with matters of high purpose and fundamental import. Will that image remain intact as the justices are obliged to rule on an endless parade of dirty books and sexy movies that in themselves are inconsequential? Thus friends of the high court worry about its new concern with obscenity.

The First Amendment to the Constitution says there shall be no "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." But for many years there have been Federal laws censoring the publication and distribution of obscene material. The question always has been how to reconcile these restrictions with the Constitutional guarantees.

Those justices (notably Douglas and Black) who believe all sex censorship laws to be unconstitutional have long been in the minority, but even the majority — until last month—consistently voted to keep the censors tightly reined.

True, their reins were progressively loosened, but ever so slightly. In the 1940s the Supreme Court said the First Amendment doesn't protect utterances that present a "clear and present danger" to society. In the 1950s, trying for the first time to write a specific definition of obscenity, it said material dealing with sex does not enjoy First Amendment protection if it is "utterly without redeeming social importance," if it is so offensive on its face as to deviate from the contemporary standard of decency, and if its "dominant theme appeals to the prurient interest."

That attempt at clarification was less than successful. Indeed, the justices themselves in subsequent cases differed greatly on what was meant. Still, the majority consistently held the three "ifs" to be large indeed. The censors had won not a single Supreme Court case since the 1957 Roth decision.

Little wonder, then, that the Supreme Court astounded legal scholars last month by finding a hard-cover book, the slick magazine Eros, a newsletter and 50 paperback books obscene, and ordering to prison the two entrepreneurs who published the assortment.

The two rulings made history with a novel extension of obscenity law, saying "the publications themselves might not be obscene" but if the purveyor advertised, packaged and distributed them "solely as a claimed instrument of sexual stimulation . . . that fact may be decisive in the determination of obscenity." In all the anticensor rulings since 1957, the decisions were based on content alone, not on motive for distribution. Even in last month's third obscenity decision, a finding that the 1749 novel "Fanny Hill" was not obscene, the court remarked that only the book was on trial, not its publisher or distributor; "evidence that the book was commercially exploited for the sake of prurient appeal . . . might justify" a finding of obscenity, Justice Brennan declared.

All three cases presented the Supreme Court as much a moral as a legal decision. Five of the justices quite apparently had decided in their own minds that the court's zealous protection of freedom of expression was to blame for a flood of girlie magazines, sexy paperback books and worse that threatened to subvert the public morals. Justice Brennan, a Catholic, did most of the talking for the majority. But the personality and the convictions of Earl Warren seemed to some Washington court-watchers to be the force that moved the majority to crack down on "those who would make a business of pandering to the widespread titillation by pornography."

"The Chief Justice has his puritanical strain," said one such court scholar. "Maybe he saw the junk that's for sale right here on Ninth Street. But he and the four others were disturbed by the amount of questionable material that's for sale. They felt there was a problem and they were going to be blamed for it." Not very surprisingly, Tom Clark, a sort of homespun Texan, and Byron White, who tends to conservative views, went along with the Chief Justice and Mr. Brennan. It was surprising that Abe Fortas, President Johnson's sole appointee to the court, who looked like a real liberal, also went along.

A Flood of Prosecutions?

Without question, Justice Department officials predict, Federal, state and local prosecutors throughout the land will run with their new power. And the possibilities look large indeed. The Government told the Supreme Court that as much as 90% of the material Federal prosecutors have challenged is worse than Eros magazine. Moreover, books the courts in other years have held not obscene—not only "Fanny Hill," but "Tropic of Cancer," "Ulysses" and "Lady Chatterley's Lover"—might be banned now if they are purveyed in ways that judges or juries find objectionable.

And, beyond that, where might the prosecutors run? Will art theaters be closed for "pandering"? a Justice Department lawyer wonders. And what of advertising? "The advertisements of our best magazines," Justice William Douglas remarked in dissenting from last month's decisions, "are chock-full of thighs, ankles, calves, bosoms, eyes and hair."

Justice Hugo Black in his dissent predicted the prosecutors will run wild, trampling on the First Amendment with a ferocity the majority never imagined. "It is obvious," said the 80-year-old justice, "that the effect of the court's decisions is to make it exceedingly dangerous for people to discuss either orally or in writing anything about sex."

Justice Black probably went too far. But it is certain that now the Supreme Court will have to rule on many, many more obscenity prosecutions, and in the process will have to define the outer limits of the crackdown. Those scholars who have expressed concern lest the court become a "high court of obscenity" will have a great deal more to worry about.

Civil Liberties

Vital Issues

(REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.)
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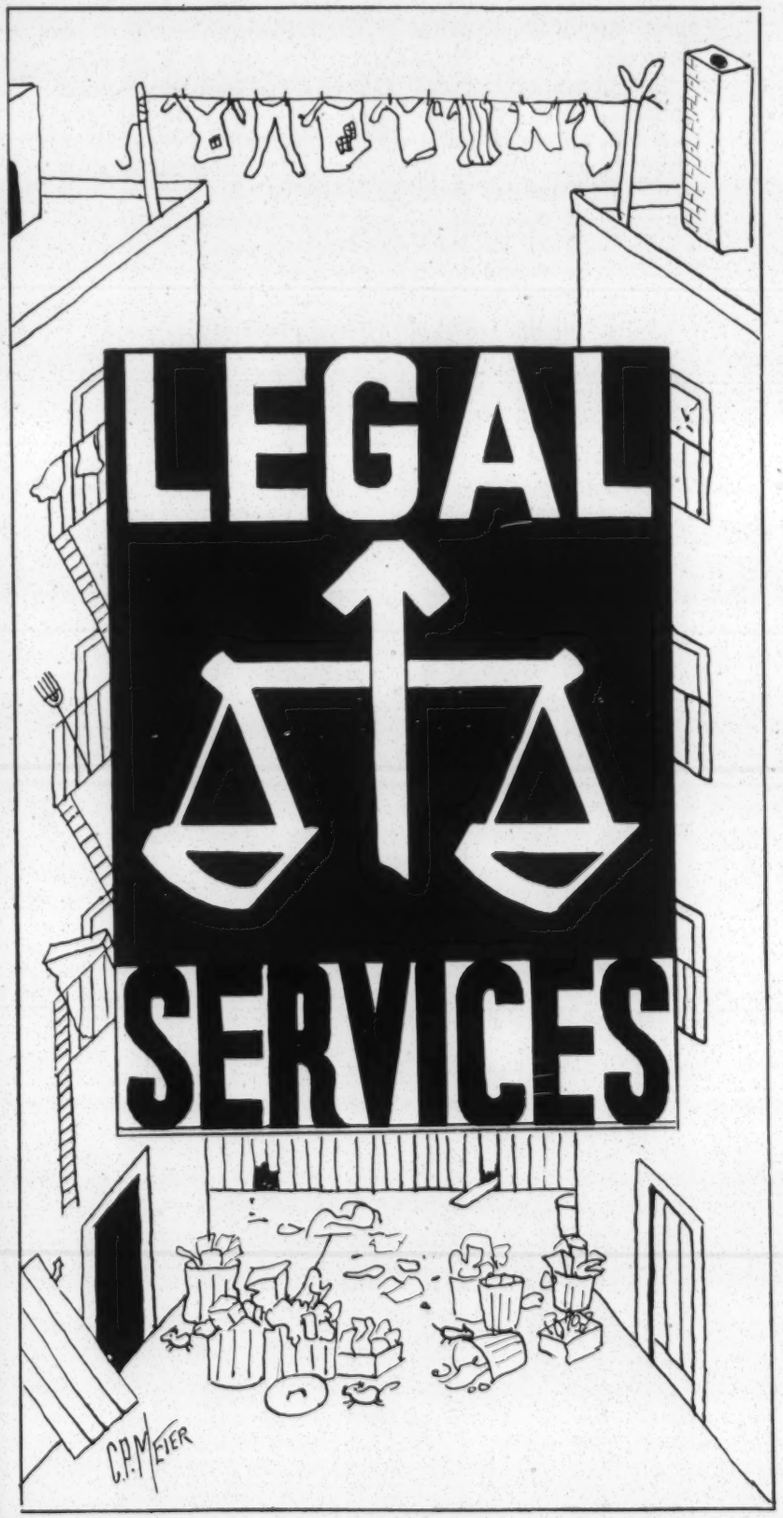
CENTER FOR INFORMATION ON AMERICA
WASHINGTON, CONNECTICUT
Volume XV, Number 8



Drawings by C. P. Meier

LEGAL ASSISTANCE:

How Is It Being Supplied To Those Who Can't Afford It? With What Results?

The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Gideon versus Wainright* has started a revolution in the traditional ways of doing things with reference to legal procedure and law enforcement. The Court's judgment in this case, identified officially in the records as 372 U.S. 335 (1963), held that state and local governments must provide indigent criminal defendants accused of a felony (i.e., crimes subject to a year or more imprisonment) with free legal assistance. It has started innovations and reformations the ultimate consequences of which may stretch far into the future.

If the practical results of *Gideon* were merely the assignment of a lawyer at time of trial to some defendants, then we could hardly call the change revolutionary. After all, even before *Gideon,* many states already were providing public defenders for those who could not afford legal counsel. The Supreme Court's opinion, however, had wider implications which flow from its major premise that "in our adversary system . . . any person haled into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him."

Let's follow a few of the developments that occurred in one American city, New Haven, Connecticut, since the Supreme Court's action.

SOME DEVELOPMENTS

In early 1963, a few concerned New Haven lawyers were advocating a modest increase in the budget of the city's Legal Aid program to raise it to $25,000. In 1966, those same persons had succeeded in establishing a pair of so-called neighborhood law offices (with four more contemplated) working on a budget of $358,000. Each neighborhood law office was located in one of the city's impoverished areas. Staffing each office were two lawyers, with full-time secretarial help, investigators, and access to specialists in fields ranging from psychiatry to chemical analysis. The free services of these offices were available to "indigent" persons (i.e., single persons whose weekly

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EDITOR: Townsend Scudder, President of the Center.

First Printing, April, 1966

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income was less than $35, married persons whose weekly income was under $50). The idea of several "neighborhood law offices," as distinguished from a single legal assistance center, was that the relationship of one lawyer to a small, neighborhood population would result more quickly in cultivating the necessary trust between the attorney and his impoverished clientele. By taking advantage of shorter patterns of communication within the neighborhood, his reputation for usefulness would spread more rapidly and attract needy persons sooner.

Whether all the poor in New Haven who need legal services are *now* being served by these neighborhood law offices is doubtful. Ignorance of and reluctance to use the neighborhood lawyer are still widespread. But what is undoubted is the considerable increase of services to some of New Haven's poor. To understand the consequences of this increase, let's look at an incident occurring in early 1966. Fictitious names are substituted in this and the other example given, to protect the actual participants, and the descriptions somewhat altered for the same reason, though the circumstances remain the same.

One day in January the New Haven police arrested a young man named Jones for burglary. The police, concerned about the spread of narcotics, chose to make a deal with Jones. In return for not prosecuting on the burglary charge, they asked Jones to inform on the narcotics traffic in his neighborhood.

Jones agreed, and when a young female addict asked him if he would drive her and three friends to Bridgeport to pick up some "stuff," Jones informed the police. The police urged him to undertake the drive in order to locate the Bridgeport source. Furthermore, the police planned a pick-up of the passengers after the narcotics were in their possession. Jones was to drive the four to Bridgeport, make the purchase, drive to a friend's home, phone the police to tell them he was en route, then stop at a certain gas station in New Haven, where police would surround the car and arrest the occupants. It was a well-planned and perfectly executed maneuver. Jones' car did pull into the gas station; two police cars did box the car in; and three policemen on foot did succeed in apprehending the occupants.

The only trouble was the split second between the time when the occupants of the car saw the police and when the police could reach them. In that time the suspects swallowed the drugs, glassine bags and all, with the exception of one defendant who threw his under the front seat. The police arrested the four suspects, searched the car, and retrieved the drugs under the seat. Later, one of the suspects, suffering withdrawal symptoms from lack of narcotics, made a confession as to his part in the purchase, and implicated his cohorts.

Now, once upon a time, that would have ended it. On the evidence of the narcotics found in the car, on the admission by one of the suspects, by the evidence of narcotics that could have been "pumped" from their stomachs, on the basis of statements elicited by grilling the suspects, the suspects would have volunteered a plea of guilty or been convicted forthwith; sentence would have been passed; and they would have been sent to prison for the term given to a second narcotics offender — not less than ten nor more than fifteen years. The police could be satisfied that they had rid the neighborhood of the potential (and highly likely) menace of a peddler of dope and committer of petty crimes. Each of the suspects had a criminal record as long as his arm, mostly consisting of the burglaries, forged checks, and petty thefts necessary to finance the heavy expense of his addiction.

But such was not the ending of this story in the era of the "neighborhood lawyer." One of the defendants, named Winfield, "hired" his neighborhood lawyer, i.e., simply called him up and asked for help. The prosecutor's office in New Haven, like all such offices, is overburdened with cases. A prosecutor depends on pleas of guilty in well over 80% of the cases. Were every defendant to insist his case be tried, the whole present process would break down. There would be too few judges and courtrooms and juries. Every defense lawyer knows that the prosecution, except in the rarest instance, cannot afford to go to trial, and he bargains with the prosecutor to reduce or drop the charge altogether by threatening to have a trial. An unrepresented defendant does not know this fact of life, and he will frequently "cop out" for no or substantially no reduction of charge.

The neighborhood lawyer, when he got Winfield's case, did what he should do. He defended Winfield with all the resources available to him, just as if he were representing a client wealthy enough to hire a lawyer. He objected to every constitutionally suspect action of the police: the use of an informant to inform, the use of the informant's car to enable the defendants to perpetrate the crime, the elicitation of the admission, the apprehension of the suspects before a formal arrest was made, and the search of the car and the arrest without warrants. In addition, the defense filed and argued motions for pre-trial discovery of out-of-court statements made by prospective government witnesses. It asked for a sample of the narcotics seized by the police so that it could make its own independent analysis. It employed psychiatrists to examine the defendants themselves, providing a basis for a plea of legal insanity (the compulsive need for narcotics). It argued the unconstitutionality of the Narcotics Drug Act that permits a person "in possession" of drugs for his own self-administration to be imprisoned in the face of a Supreme Court case holding that punishment of addiction by imprisonment is an unconstitutional, cruel, and unusual punishment.

The result was that one suspect was never prosecuted at all; the other three were sent to a state hospital for "treatment," and after a few weeks were released back to the street. Unfortunately, in the absence of sufficient counselors to advise them, and lacking jobs and good habits, they soon were back on narcotics, soon were committing an array of petty offenses, and soon were ready for arrest again. But the lawyer had done his job. He had given his poor defendant the same kind of legal defense a rich defendant could have purchased for $2500 to $5000. The injunction of the Constitution that the protection of the laws be "equal" had been satisfied.

But one must look at the real disequilibria established by the neighborhood lawyer. A perfectly planned arrest of persons violating the law, in which the police used no coercion (except to take advantage of a suspect's self-induced discomfort to get a confession), was rendered a nullity. Offenders were back on the streets, swiping from

liquor stores, thieving from used car lots, smashing car doors to steal valuables inside, forging stolen checks, making sales of narcotics, breaking and entering homes. Those were all petty crimes, never resulting in theft or profit of more than $30 to $100 at any one time, and all committed in order to finance each individual's drug habit. But though of a penny-ante nature, they were nevertheless crimes, and served to spawn new victims.

The above story is pertinent to the statement that the *Gideon* decision is of revolutionary proportions. It is becoming evident that the defense of poor defendants by these neighborhood lawyers is beginning to induce changes in the law which all the reformers of the past could not bring about. These changes are and will be in the substantive law governing narcotics addiction and use. The present pattern of federal and state laws dates back to 1914, when the federal government prohibited the unauthorized use of narcotics. These laws have never substantially been changed, largely because no feasibly economic alternative has been developed to cope with the problem. Well-intended plans to treat addicts as sick rather than bad persons have foundered on the fact that society believes that other social problems are prior and more urgent in demanding funds. After all, a hospital bed given over to the care of an addict is one not given over to an elderly person or a polio-stricken child. Thus, despite serious concern about addicts, no political effort has been mounted to alter the care of addicts. Yet the frustration of police efforts to enforce the law, as a result of the efforts of the neighborhood lawyer (and his increasing number of counterparts throughout the United States) is and will continue to be the stimulus to innovation and improvement that has long been lacking. When the neighborhood lawyer enters the enforcement picture, present law forbidding use of narcotics becomes almost impractical to enforce, and the difficulties of successful prosecution are demoralizing for police forces. The activity of the neighborhood lawyer has required a rethinking of the narcotics problem by the police chief and the prosecutor and by those others who would not otherwise have had time to bother about it.

What is true of narcotics law in particular is to a lesser extent true for the criminal law in general. The big problem of what to do with the so-called criminal is questioned more searchingly, for the plight of the poor is represented in criminal courts more and more touchingly, and the underlying causes of criminal behavior gain more frequent exposure. Reasserted day in and day out by the neighborhood lawyer, the vicious story of poverty gains drama and eloquence.

THE EVEN WIDER IMPLICATIONS

Gideon, as we have intimated, had an even wider meaning than merely application to the criminal law. If the poor were not fairly served as criminal defendants (where the customary safeguards are very great), they were not being represented at all in their day-to-day skirtings with the law: with the bill collector, the installment seller who seizes the television or automobile for delinquency in payments, with the landlord who fails to comply with building standards, and with the social worker who dispenses or withholds welfare checks.

It was this civil aspect of legal representation with which the "neighborhood lawyer" hoped to cope. And it is a case like Vincent Rossi's that illustrates what the neighborhood lawyer can do. Rossi had a small shoe repair shop in the "Hell" district of New Haven (one of the lower middle class areas served by a neighborhood law office), a hard-working wife, a son of whom he was immensely proud, and a lot of friends. He was urged to leave the "Hell" district and set up a new and larger repair shop in a new shopping center in New Haven. He drew a deep breath and took the risk. For six months business increased. To cope with his increased business he bought new machinery, and undertook a lot of debt which, based on his earnings, was not unreasonable. Then he was evicted; he had no written lease with the shopping center, and when the center became more profitable and rental space more valuable, Rossi was asked to leave. He went to a lawyer, whom he then paid $1000 to contest the eviction to no avail. Desperate, he moved his equipment to the most available space he could find. It was an unwise move: the rent was excessive; he was far from his old friends in the "Hell" district; and he no longer had adjacent shops that attracted customers. Within three months, he accumulated debts of $8000. His son, in the Navy, came down with an acute illness which the Navy refused to attend to, asserting it was a pre-service illness. What was more, Rossi's wife was hurt in an accident when her car was struck by a negligent motorist who carried no insurance.

Now Rossi was a man of industry and vitality, whose business judgment had led him to take a risk. The risk turned out far greater than expected. He was trying to make a living, and the world had sideswiped him.

He came to the neighborhood lawyer in his old district. The lawyer welcomed him. Rossi's plight was an opportunity for the neighborhood lawyer to show his usefulness in non-criminal matters. First things first: the neighborhood lawyer called up the Navy Hospital, and with threats of court action cajoled the Navy Hospital to provide the operation and hospitalization which Rossi's son needed. Then he turned to Rossi's business. Rossi was quick to be persuaded that his commercial future lay in getting back to the old district. The lawyer obtained store space at low rent. He called the creditors, and by persuading, threatening, and pleading, arranged for the $8000 of debts to be paid off after a period of years and not on the original rigid time schedule. He sold some of the now unnecessary equipment. Lastly, he turned to the wife's problem, saw how the Workmen's Compensation Law could be construed so as to cover her injury, and referred her to a private lawyer for representation (the neighborhood lawyer does not take plaintiffs' injury cases).

The major work on the Rossi case took a full week of that lawyer's time. The problems involved, in the legal marketplace, would have cost the shoemaker more than $1000 in legal fees. Such a bill would not have been unreasonable by any stretch of the imagination; a private lawyer's time is his only resource.

Vincent Rossi was a comparatively easy case. He had sound economic habits. He had a pretty good education. He knew how to raise a family and to make good economic decisions. He had skills and knowledge to start with. But

the next family to enter the neighborhood law office might not be so well-off. Suppose the family had never ever budgeted. Suppose there were a multitude of children. Suppose there were children involved but no fathers. Suppose the debts were more out of proportion to potential earning power than they were in the Rossi case. Suppose there were a racial dimension to this problem, causing housing shortages and high prices and commercial discrimination. One can imagine that a neighborhood lawyer, once started on straightening out a family's affairs, could have a month's or even a year's work ahead of him.

SOME QUESTIONS

The Rossi case highlights some of the questions raised by the neighborhood law program. Who should benefit? The market system is a device for rationing out time efficiently. The private lawyer with a limited amount of time has to allocate his time productively. Simplifying this tough task of rationing time is the price he charges for his services. Since every client wants to hire the best lawyers, the best lawyers charge a premium for their time, thereby discouraging persons with less complex problems from seeking their time. The good lawyer whose time is in far more demand than he can satisfy protects himself by putting a high price on his services. In this way only important problems come to him, important as indicated by the client's willingness to pay extra.

Now when one introduces poverty into this mechanism, one has a problem. Suppose the neighborhood lawyer is talented and intelligent, and his time is demanded. How is he, without making a charge, to allocate his time? Should it be to the Rossis, or to persons who are less productive than they are, or to the two-time losers like Winfield? If he devotes time to the Winfields, then he cannot help the Rossis, and vice versa.

If he helps the Rossis, is he really helping the poor, the really poor? After all, Rossi was a thriving little businessman who just hit bad luck. By chance, his plight so reduced his income that he fell within the indigency standards of the neighborhood law program. Should the neighborhood lawyer be set up to deal with hard-luck entrepreneurs? Good citizens, and well worth helping, but could not the Rossis' problem be dealt with in the marketplace rather than by charitable institutions? Yet anyone who knew the Rossis and knew what that week of help meant to this excellent family could not but feel that the neighborhood law program was functioning properly.

Not only does the mix of private legal representation and legal charity cause some tough problems. So does the question of paying for the legal charity. Should the State provide funds for it? Right now, the neighborhood law program in New Haven is paid for with federal funds and private grants. And is the provision of legal services in New Haven worth the cost of $358,000 per year, or would those funds be better spent on cheaper medical care, better schools, water pollution, or prison reform, or more extensive social services for narcotics addicts?

Obviously, there is no pat answer to this economic question. Yet it is important to point out the benefits of the neighborhood lawyer program. In addition to those already mentioned, perhaps the most dramatic benefit will be the unearthing of information about poverty in our society. This information will not come in synoptic, comprehensive research reports. It will come through articulation of the plight of the individual poor by lawyers in courts, before legislatures, and in judicial opinions. If the poor's lawyers are subsidized, they will refuse to shut up, and as a result the problem of poverty will be brought home again and again to a wealthy society. With neighborhood lawyers the plights of the Rossis and the Winfields can never be forgotten, and as long as their problems cannot be forgotten, they can be addressed and dealt with: piecemeal, yes, but nonetheless dealt with. Now it will be impossible to forget legal reform of the narcotics laws, for the prosecutor is being driven frantic with work and the police are being demoralized. And it will be equally impossible to forget the problems of medical care, housing, prejudice, ignorance, family instability and psychological disorder. Like a good protagonist, the neighborhood lawyer raises far more problems than he will ever solve. But his very contentiousness may help keep American society from becoming smug and static.

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Text of this vital issue by William K. Muir, Jr., associated with the law firm of Gumbart, Corbin, Tyler & Cooper, and Lecturer at Yale University.

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Can The Supreme Court Defend Civil Liberties?

by

Professor Edmond Cahn

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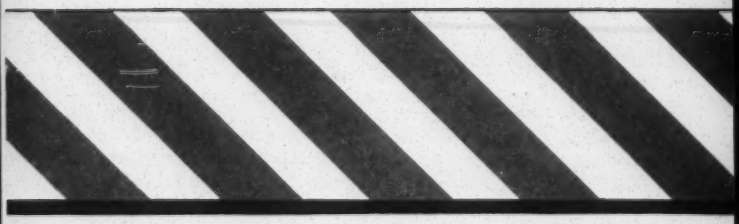
Communism and *Civil Liberties*

by
WALTER MILLIS

The Fund for the Republic
November, 1956

where governments may not trespass

by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER



Number Fifteen in the
Sidney Hillman Reprint Series

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as a public service

REPRINTED FROM:

Harper's MAGAZINE

Civil Liberties

Distributed with the compliments of:

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THE KEPT WITNESSES

RICHARD H. ROVERE

At least eighty-three people have been set up by the government in the trade of "professional witnesses." One calls it "a racket" . . . three are confessed liars . . . and all of them are exempt from security clearance.

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1955, a press conference was called at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City for the purpose of providing a young man named Harvey Matusow with an opportunity to make a public confession of fraud and perjury. Along with the confession—and necessary as a foundation for it—went some items of biography.

In 1947, Matusow, who was then twenty, joined the Communist party. He claims to have taken this step as a dedicated revolutionist. Within a year or two, he said, he became disillusioned and penitent. The way of transgressors is hard. Matusow did not leave the party he no longer believed in. Instead, he stayed on as a voluntary agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In 1951, he abandoned this masquerade and in 1952 appeared as a witness for the prosecution in the trial, in Federal Court, of thirteen leaders of the Communist party charged with conspiracy under the Smith Act.

Matusow's performance under oath—some 700 pages in the trial record—pleased the government attorneys, who won their case, and gained him an honored position as a kept, or professional, witness. That is to say, he made his living—and a very good one, he now maintains, for a man of his age and station—by being sworn and saying what those who paid him wished to have him say. Between 1951 and 1954, his services were sought, and easily obtained, by the United States Department of Justice; the Subversive Activities Control Board; the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations; the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; the House Committee on Un-American Activities; the Ohio Committee on Un-American Activities; and the New York City Board of Education. He claims to have testified in twenty-five trials, deportation proceedings, and the like, and to have made 180 identifications of Communists, or of persons he chose to call Communists, for the various agencies that employed him. He found a good deal of additional employment. He hired out as a speaker in Congressional campaigns, in which, for a fee, he would damage this candidate or that one with intimations of subversion. He composed memoirs and revelations for the Hearst newspapers, lectured on the American Legion circuit, and now and then exploited himself and his past as a night-club entertainer and radio disc-jockey.

In his New York press conference and in subsequent testimony before a Federal Grand Jury and two committees of Congress, Matusow repudiated his career as a professional witness. He

Civil Liberties and the Court

Not long ago, Professor Samuel A. Stouffer announced the results of a poll showing that some 60 percent of the people questioned opposed permitting an individual to speak against religion in their communities.

An even higher percentage replied negatively to the question: "Suppose an admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your town, should he be allowed, or not?"

Two similar polls, taken by professors at the University of Wisconsin and at Northwestern, produced the same results. Less than two percent of those interviewed agreed with all of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

The reactions of those polled indicate that while the Bill of Rights may be accepted from a theoretical standpoint, applied at the practical level, the civil liberties it seeks to insure are often condemned and criticized.

This was certainly true when a copy of the first ten Constitutional amendments was removed from a state house bulletin board because an official thought it "too controversial" for the state's employees. Although the amendments had been posted only as a reminder of Bill of Rights Day, they were not returned to the bulletin board until approved by the governor.

The trouble with civil liberties and civil rights is that they are too often abstractions. Cold war tensions abroad and desegregation decisions at home all too often overshadow philosophical beliefs and principles. Even when traditional liberties and rights are not forgotten altogether, they can be subordinated in the interest of seemingly more pressing problems.

Today, the question of relative importance as between individual liberties and internal security is being debated with only slightly less fervor than during the heyday of McCarthyism. What was once an attack on the legislative and executive branches of our federal government has now been transferred to the judicial arm.

Those who criticize the Supreme Court claim that since

1956, it has been "too soft on communism." They are joined by others whose distaste for the Court stems from its 1954 school integration decision. The attackers include extremists as well as responsible and honestly concerned men. Many are convinced that the Court has gone too far in protecting the individual at the potential expense of society. While the cries of the extremists are to be expected, the reasoning of prominent lawyers and legislators must be answered.

Early in February, the American Bar Association's House of Delegates adopted a series of resolutions calling on Congress to write new anti-subversive laws as the answer to recent Court decisions.

Long considered a bastion of conservatism, the ABA's action was unexpected only in that its resolutions were sharply critical of the Court's actions. In effect, the resolutions told the Court it was wrong in its judgment and urged Congress to amend internal security legislation to plug the loopholes used by the Court.

Harsh as the resolutions were, they proved to be weaker than a report supporting the resolutions that was presented to the ABA by a special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives.

The report—which was never actually endorsed by the delegates—contained little detailed criticism of individual cases and less in the way of specific suggestions on how the cases should have been decided. Instead, it contented itself with a general charge that the Court was too lax on subversion.

It asserted that "many cases have been decided in such a manner as to encourage an increase in communist activity. . . . The paralysis of our internal security grows largely from construction and interpretation centering around technicalities emanating from our judicial process which the Communists seek to destroy, yet use as a refuge to masquerade their diabolical objectives."

While the resolutions adopted by the House of Delegates sustained the criticism found in the report of the committee, they tried to make sure that this criticism would not become ready ammunition for those who would place restrictive limits on judicial review.

ABA Action

A preamble to the resolutions stated that the ABA disapproved "proposals to limit any jurisdiction vested in the U. S. Supreme Court by the Constitution." As if to show that the House of Delegates was not a reactionary body, before adjourning it elected as its new president, Whitney North Seymour, a lawyer who once successfully defended a Negro Communist before the nation's highest tribunal.

Despite the ABA's separation of the committee report from the resolutions it adopted, the interested public—based on press reports—failed to see any real difference. In Congress, the association's action was hailed as a "scathing criticism" of the Court and the committee report was twice reprinted in the *Congressional Record.*

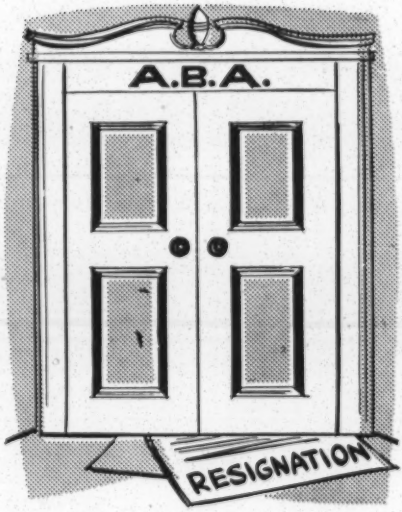
Local Groups

To combat this impression, a number of local and state bar groups have since publicly declared that they oppose curtailing Court jurisdiction.

Typical of such action was a statement made by the New York County Lawyers' Association that "if anybody construes the [ABA] resolution as an effort to curtail the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, we don't agree with the resolution.

A similar stand has been taken by Attorney General William P. Rogers, who defended the ABA's attitude toward the Court, claiming that "there is a lot of misunderstanding on this." Rogers told reporters that the ABA's president had assured him that the organization's call for new anti-subversive legislation did not attack the Court.

Rogers' view was apparently not shared by either Chief Justice Earl Warren or Warren Olney III, director of the administrative office of the U. S. Courts and former chief of the criminal division of the Justice Department. Chief Justice Warren resigned from the ABA late in 1957, presumably over the group's criticism of the Court, while Olney resigned this March after terming the ABA's Court resolutions "discreditable."



Six Decisions Opposed

The attack on the Court stems from six specific decisions. These are the opinions criticized by the ABA and by a number of Congressmen and Senators who have introduced legislation to correct the Court's actions and limit its jurisdiction. The decisions include:

- A ruling that only the federal government—not the states—may act against Communist subversion;
- A ruling that mere advocacy of violent overthrow of the government—as an abstract idea

—is not sufficient ground for conviction of a violation of the Smith Act;

• A ruling that confessions of a defendant cannot be admitted as trial evidence if the confession was made during a period of "unnecessary delay" between the arrest and arraignment of the defendant;

• A ruling that witnesses before Congressional committees cannot be convicted of contempt for refusing to answer questions if the committee has not spelled out its authority and its mandate from Congress;

• A ruling that government employees in non-sensitive jobs need not answer all loyalty questions asked by Congressional committees or by authorized officers of the executive or judicial branches of government;

• A ruling that an alien cannot be deported for Communist membership if he was not a member of the party after his last entry into the country.

In criticizing each of these decisions, the ABA—speaking for those who urge more effective control over communism — has urged remedial legislation.

Without questioning the integrity of the association's committee, it is interesting to note that a number of the committee's members were far from being disinterested spectators in these decisions. The chairman is a former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board and was also a counsel of record in one of the cases cited.

Another committee member was a counsel of record in two of the cases criticized and argued as an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) in a third case. Given these circumstances, it is hard to be objective.

The decision that aroused the greatest opposition involved the Court's ruling that only the federal government can act against subversion. Steve Nelson, a Pennsylvania Communist leader, was convicted of violating the state's sedition act. Under the language of the state law, he was charged with "bringing the government of this state or the United States into hatred or contempt" and sentenced to 20 years in prison and $23,000 in fines.

Although the state sedition act was so restrictive of free speech that its constitutionality was doubtful, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court did not consider the constitutional question. Instead, it reversed the conviction on the ground that the Smith Act had pre-empted the field of subversion for the federal government and made similar state statutes unenforceable. The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the state court's opinion.

Opponents of the Nelson decision have proposed two specific pieces of legislation. One bill—introduced by Senator Styles Bridges (R., N. H.)—would permit the states to enforce their

own laws against advocacy of the federal government's overthrow. The other bill—introduced by Representative Howard Smith (D., Va.)—would use the Nelson ruling as an excuse to prevent the Supreme Court from holding that Congress has pre-empted any field of legislation.

Smith's bill, H. R. 3, would not only narrow the jurisdiction of future courts, but it is written to be retroactive. Because of its natural appeal to the advocates of states' rights as well as the probability that it would drastically affect labor and welfare legislation, H. R. 3 passed the House last year by a 241 to 155 vote. It was defeated by only one vote, 41 to 40, in the Senate.

This year, H. R. 3 has again been introduced and has already been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. Despite Administration disapproval, 11 Republicans joined with eight Southern and border state Democrats in sending the measure to the Rules Committee.

Since the bill's chief sponsor is chairman of this committee, the measure is expected to receive prompt attention and provide the House with its first major test on anti-Supreme Court sentiment.

The Bridges proposal, with its less sweeping features, is considerably less controversial, but still raises important questions. Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh—who opposes H. R. 3—has testified that he favors the Bridges bill because it permits more people to enter the anti-sedition fight. He admitted, however, that he does not know of any gap opened in our national security by the Nelson case and that he could think of no one deserving prosecution who had escaped as a result of the decision.

Constitutional Problems

Although Walsh could see no philosophical objection to the Bridges bill, civil liberties groups were quick to point out constitutional problems. These organizations charge that state prosecution brings with it an interference with an essentially federal responsibility and a real danger of the persecution of those who hold unpopular but harmless views.

The American Civil Liberties Union has asserted that "there has been no illuminating evidence that sedition can ever be a purely local concern which does not affect the nation as a whole and does not require united federal protective action.

Pointing to the past as well as the present, the ACLU has warned that the wave of post-World War I persecutions of unpopular opinions as well as the present Southern state statutes aimed at preventing desegregation are indications of what can and will happen when state sedition laws are given free rein.

As an example, the ACLU asserted that in the Carl Braden

case, a Kentucky citizen was prosecuted for sedition under state law after he sold a house in a "white area" to a Negro and defended the Negro's right to occupy the dwelling. "In view of the record of Southern legislatures in the last four years," the ACLU has said, "such laws . . . will be used as a serious deterrent to the implementation of the Fourteenth Amendment insofar as it applies to desegregation in the public schools and other facilities."

Even more dangerous in the ACLU's eyes is the proposal of the bar association to make illegal the "theoretical advocacy of government overthrow as well as the present prohibition against incitement to action."

Legislative measures to end the distinction between an expression of free speech and actual incitement spring from the Court's 1957 Yates decision. In this case, the Court held that the Smith Act could not be interpreted to ban theoretical opinion.

The ACLU has charged that the passage of any law crossing over the "danger zone into unconstitutionality" would seriously hamper free speech and association and would be "unwise" and "ineffective."

Other groups have taken a similar position in regard to the so-called "Mallory bill"—a measure designed to overcome the Court's objection to confessions obtained after "unnecessary delay." Such a bill, they declare, might make it easier for law enforcement agencies to apprehend criminals, but this help for the prosecution must be balanced against the denial of civil liberties to the accused.

Best Protection

The ACLU has asserted that its major objections to the suggested laws center on the deprivation of individual rights in the name of national security. Attacking the bar association's resolutions, the ACLU declared that "our real security might be weakened by being unnecessarily restrictive of our civil liberties. The best positive protection for our security is scrupulous observance of our Constitutional guarantees. . . ."

If this argument is to be denied, those who seek strong legislation at the expense of civil liberties must be able to show that the security of the nation demands such sacrifices.

The record proves, however, that such a position will not stand up. Early this year, Representative James Roosevelt (D., Calif.) analyzed the House Un-American Activities Committee's own report of achievements from 1941 through 1958.

Representative Roosevelt pointed out that of the 79 recommendations made by the committee, 34 were duplications of proposals made in various sessions of Congress. He said that of this net of 45 proposals, relevant leg-

islation was adopted in 35 instances.

After checking these 35 pieces of legislation, the California legislator concluded that "the only legislation . . . which it can be said that the House Un-American Activities Committee was directly responsible for, is the Internal Security Act of 1950 and 1954 amendments thereto."

While it is true that Representative Roosevelt's measuring rod is not the sole test of a committee's values, the passage of only one major bill during a 20-year period does indicate an extremely ineffective operation.

Balanced against this one bill is the hardly debatable fact that the committee's activities have seriously invaded the area of civil liberties and impaired the nation's prestige among the people of the free world.

The numerous witch-hunting expeditions of the House Committee, the sponsorship by its chairman—Representative Francis Walter (D., Pa.)—of an immigration law with racial preferences, and the similar tactics of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, have done little to convince the world that the United States is proud of its tradition of individual rights and liberties.

View from Abroad

Proposals to limit free speech in a nation that points with pride to its Bill of Rights appear paradoxical in the uncommitted countries that judge democracy and communism by what they see and read.

To these countries, a legislative move to permit the government to deport an individual who at one time, perhaps many years ago, entered the United States as a Communist, but who later returned to this nation as an anti-Communist, seems to defy logic. Such a bill, aimed at overcoming the Court's Bonetti decision, appears to discourage Communist defectors, not help them.

To the people of the free world, restrictions on civil liberties in a time of national emergency is nothing new. But while these people may be convinced democrats in the cold war, they understandably see few examples of the United States being threatened internally.

To date, Congress has refused to support the Supreme Court's

school desegregation decision—a decision made five years ago. Not only has it rejected all efforts to enact necessary civil rights legislation, it has harassed the Court with legislative proposals aimed at overcoming civil liberties as well as civil rights rulings. Such harassment has been termed both "scandalous" and "appalling" by lawyers who have argued civil liberties cases before the Supreme Court.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., one such attorney, has declared that the assault on the Court is a "know-nothing attack" and that neither the desegregation decision nor the subversive decisions could "reasonably have been decided any other way."

Justice William O. Douglas has also voiced concern with the criticism of the Court. Speaking at the Columbia Law School, he warned that "despots dislike an independent judiciary." The Associate Justice stressed the importance of an independent judiciary holding the confidence of the people as essential to the continued success of American democracy.

No Back Seat

Douglas asserted that the Court "could not take a back seat" without disrupting the judicial check on executive and legislative action. He added that the American system has stability because the judiciary is viewed as a "great rock" unmoved by storms breaking over it, even when they lead to attempts at nullification."

Unfortunately, the logic of Justice Douglas is often swept aside by some who honestly believe their way of life is threatened. To these people, fear—based either on prejudice or a feeling of insecurity—overcomes the supposedly fundamental principles of civil liberties and rights.

Since the ABA's criticism and the reintroduction of H.R. 3, the Court has taken what the *Washington Evening Star* termed "a small turn to the right." Early in June, in two 5-4 decisions, the Court restricted the interpretation of two of its most controversial civil liberties rulings. Both of the new rulings amended decisions that had been under bitter attack.

In a case involving a state's right to enact laws prescribing state sedition, the Court upheld New Hampshire's right to convict Willard Uphaus of contempt for refusing to give its attorney general the guest list at a summer camp meeting of pacifists. The Court majority declared, in effect, that each state has an obligation to defend itself against subversion when such subversive activities are applied against the state rather than the federal government.

The second case involved the question of whether an individual could claim the first amendment as a constitutional reason for refusing to answer questions raised by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In this case, Lloyd Barenblatt —a former Vassar psychology professor—was convicted of contempt for refusing to tell the committee whether he was then (1954) or had ever been a communist. In refusing to testify, Barenblatt claimed that under the First Amendment he could refuse to divulge his "religious" and "political" beliefs or any other "personal and private affairs" or his "associational activities."

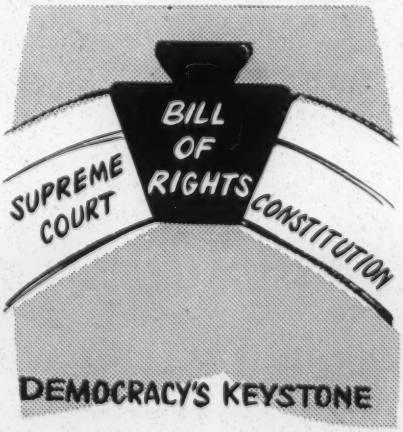
Without ruling on whether the Fifth Amendment would provide a witness with the Constitutional protection sought by Barenblatt, the Court held that it is necessary to strike a balance between the interests of the individual in remaining silent and the interests of the government in obtaining information which it might need for its own self-preservation. The Court majority made it clear, however, that its ruling in favor of the government was based on the circumstances of the Barenblatt case and was not to be construed as opening the door for unlimited Congressional investigations.

Despite these two decisions, the opponents of the Court have not noticeably eased up on their cry of "soft on subversion." Only days after the Court's Uphaus opinion, the 33-member House Republican Policy Committee endorsed H.R. 3 as "a logical vehicle for the elimination of the doctrine of presumed federal preemption of state sovereignty." Conservative Democrats also have reiterated their intention of continuing to fight for passage of the Smith bill.

The supporters of the Smith bill and other legislation aimed at restricting the Court fail to recognize that America's real security lies in its freedom. In the long run, curbing the Court can only destroy that freedom.

Once the nation begins to give up pieces of the Bill of Rights, it will have started down the bleak road of repression that leads to eventual totalitarianism. America needs above all else to understand that total security is the antithesis of freedom.

Civil liberties and civil rights can never be lightly modified. This, in essence, is the reasoning behind the Supreme Court's desegregation and subversion decisions. It would be well for those who condemn the Court to think twice before using national security as the axe that chips away at America's Bill of Rights.



Labor Arbitration— A Dedicated Calling

By Arthur J. Goldberg

General Counsel, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

I must frankly say that I regard the *IUD Digest* article entitled "Our Avaricious Arbitrators" to be an unfair and unwarranted attack upon an honorable and dedicated calling of men. Certainly there are arbitrators who are "avaricious" just as there is this type of so-called "labor leader" or politician or doctor. Yet surely an article dealing with the "avaricious labor leader" would properly draw labor's united condemnation.

Just as it is wrong to distort the impression of the labor movement by implying that its sinners are typical, so is it a disservice to permit an impression that arbitrators generally are guilty of the list of "crimes" depicted in the *IUD Digest* article.

The fact is that arbitrators have made an enormous contribution to labor-management relations, to union stability, and to the welfare of American workers. The arbitration method is not used by labor because of fear of strikes, but because we know that arbitration is the most beneficial way to settle unresolved disputes.

Labor gains more from arbitration than from grievance strikes in the long run. Arbitration is the best way to assure that gains won in contract negotiations actually accrue to the benefit of the members of our unions. This is especially true of labor's dealings with big and economically powerful corporations.

Competent arbitration is not easy to achieve. Naturally it requires an able man as the arbitrator, one who can grasp a wide variety of problems, understand facts often peculiar to a particular industry or plant or operation and exercise fairness, independence, and courage. Often management is absolutely convinced

it is right and cannot conceive how an impartial person can conclude otherwise. Perhaps even more often union members involved in a dispute believe beyond doubt that they are right beyond honest, fair question.

Yet the arbitrator must be prepared to decide against one party or the other. Inevitably great displeasure results from some decision. To protect the independence of the arbitrator, we should avoid undercutting the reputation and prestige of those who do a good job. The independence and courage of the arbitrator are important to us because the most important disputes that must be decided are usually the ones about which management feels most strongly. An arbitrator who curries favor instead of meting out justice as he honestly sees it will not stand up when the big test issues do arise.

Sharing Responsibility

The adequacy of the arbitration process is not determined by the arbitrator alone. The parties share a major responsibility. If a company seeks to undermine the process and goes about doing this cleverly, the arbitrator cannot defeat such efforts. He might try and can be helpful, but ultimately the union involved has the major responsibility for bringing the company to terms. If the union is helpless to do so, then we have a truly troublesome problem, but it is hardly fair or helpful to blame arbitrators for our own unresolved difficulties with a company that resists a mature, wholesome collective bargaining relationship.

In all honesty I must also note that a union can also block the effectiveness of the arbitration process. If the union's representatives do not present the facts and arguments adequately, the arbitrator has a difficult time determining the case fairly. Both parties have a major responsibility to the arbitrator: they hire him; he is not imposed on them. He is entitled to help from the parties so that he can reach a fair conclusion. He has no source of information or of understanding of the context in which to view contract clauses except the parties themselves.

The problems of costs and of delay do exist. These problems are not created primarily by arbitrators; where they exist, it is because of trends in the labor-management relationship itself.

A growing volume of arbitration and of more use of the process has led to overloaded arbitrators. Parties want a relatively select group of men, widely known and with extensive experience. These men feel an obligation to resolve problems for parties with whom they have worked and many times their refusals are met with pleas—"Can't you squeeze it in?"

Naturally this concentration of cases among the so-called "top

men" in the field invites delay—delay in getting a hearing date acceptable to many people (counsel for each side, officials of each side, and the arbitrator). And then the arbitrator has to find time somehow to study the case and write a decision which is fair, clear, simple, and convincing. Everyone knows it is harder to be clear and brief and simple and convincing than merely to record impressions and opinions as they first come out.

Delay is bad. It threatens the value of the whole process. Yet, there are many times when an arbitrator is blamed for a delay of several weeks or months when the parties themselves have piled up their own delays two and three times or more than the arbitrator's actual time in arriving at his decision. There are delays in the grievance procedure, delays in selecting an arbitrator, delays in preparation, delays in filing briefs or data. It is often convenient to blame all these delays on the arbitrator when in fact one or the other party or both have been to blame.

Make Views Known

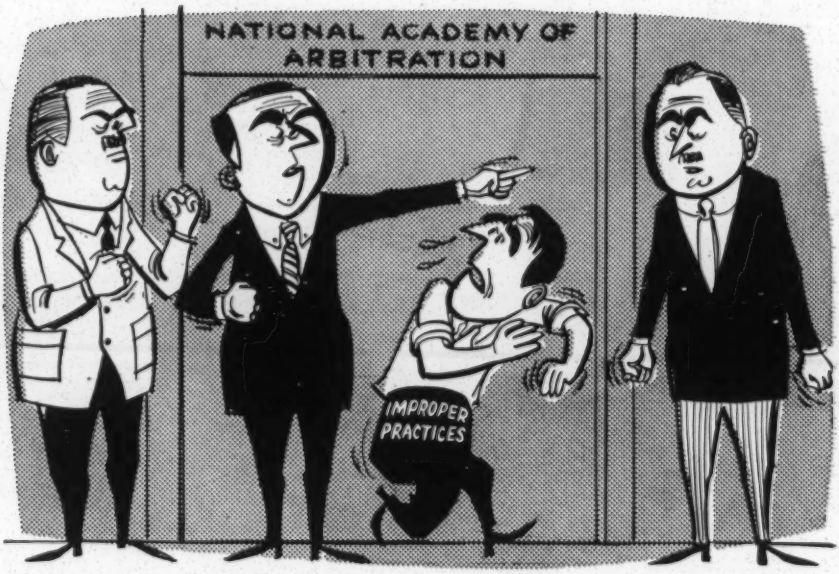
If parties do not want delay from the arbitrator, they can make their desires known beforehand. If the arbitrator is not able to meet the proposed schedule, then another man can be selected. If an arbitrator does agree to meet certain time limits and fails to deliver, then the parties need not use him again if that is their desire. After all, the parties initially decide who is to be appointed—and no one but the parties.

Agreement on Fees

Then there is the matter of fees. Some arbitrators have higher fees than others. The parties are free to decide what they are willing to pay. A union need not agree to a man whose fee is higher then they are willing to pay. A union need not agree to a man whose fee is higher than they are prepared to pay. And if an arbitrator's bill is too high in a union's opinion—be it because of alleged padding or any other reason—the union is free to refrain from using that person again. Most arbitrators, in fact the overwhelming majority, are honest and most scrupulous in their financial arrangements.

If a man charges an improper fee (as distinct from one based on a rate higher than you care to pay), then there are ample means to bring the matter to light. Between the National Academy of Abitrators (a professional group), the American Arbitration Association, and the Federal Mediation Service, arbitrators guilty of improper practices would soon be former arbitrators for all practical purposes.

What we need desperately are many good arbitrators whose fees are moderate. This would help solve both the delay problem and



the cost problem for those who need economical arbitration.

One of the major things we in the labor movement can do is work with other interested groups in recruiting, training, and assuring the use of more young arbitrators. Small locals cannot afford the higher-priced men and much as these men try to adjust fees to ability to pay, they cannot be expected to provide the solution in this manner. The top men among the arbitrators recognize the problem and we ought to help them devise appropriate relief.

However, there are other matters of cost primarily controlled by the parties. Transcripts often cost more than the arbitrator's fee. Use of procedures so elaborate as to require countless witnesses and leisurely days of filibuster all boost costs.

If arbitration hearings are not made expeditious means to grapple forthrightly with issues at hand and drag on at great expense to the union, it is not the arbitrator who is at fault, it is the union which permits such tactics to go unchallenged. No union need sit idly by and watch what should be a simple and direct process turned into a self-defeating, drawn out, overly expensive farce.

Union Responsibility

In short, unions must assume the burden of shaping the arbitration process. The arbitrator should be fair and competent; if not, get another. The fees should be those within the ability to pay

of the union; if this is important, then this matter should be set forth clearly at the outset and no one should be hired if his fee is unacceptable.

The hearing should suit the parties and the case. If transcripts are wanted, they must be paid for. If not wanted, vigorous opposition should be made and the union can refuse to pay. Attorneys should be used only when needed. Insofar as arbitration is a rehash of the grievance procedure, competent grievance men usually do a good job.

If speed is wanted, the entire procedure should be designed to provide speed. And the arbitrator should be a man readily available for the hearing and in a position to decide the case promptly.

There are many difficult problems connected with arbitration of labor-management disputes. Unions have the major responsibility in solving them. We cannot watch the process undermined. We ought not to contribute to loose, if clever, talk of a nature likely to undermine the whole process.

Perhaps a union will run into obstacles with an employer not willing to cooperate. If this happens, the union has a tough problem just as unions have many difficulties not easily overcome. But the real argument is with the employer, not "arbitrators" as a group. The arbitrator is truly the creature of the parties, fashioned by our mutual desires. To some extent the nature of the arbitrator's role results from our pressure and the skill and potency of our participation in the process.

Thus, the union's role is a matter of major concern. To get the best results for our members we should arrange to learn the most from each other's experiences and views. Generalized complaints and name-calling will serve no useful purpose.

We want to get at the crooks. We assume that's what Congress wants to do. We respectfully suggest that we get on with the job.

—*AFL-CIO President George Meany*

THE VANISHING RIGHT OF PRIVACY

Ever since man first learned to communicate with his fellows, somebody not included in the conversation has been trying to listen in.

The difference today is that the motive for eavesdropping has changed from idle curiosity

Photo: John Burwell

to an all-consuming desire to know everything you do or even think. And the stakes are about as high as you can go. On the line are your personal dignity, your good name and reputation, your job.

Big business, big government and big education are all in on the act.

Do you work for a living? Own an insurance policy? Carry a credit card? The file on you is growing.

Ever use the telephone? Members of your own family or your employer may be listening to every word you say by means of a completely harmless-looking item called a telephone extension. It is without question the most widely used eavesdropping device in the world.

Beyond that, the bugging business is so brisk that it now honeycombs the nation's communications network. A professional estimate made

Your privacy is getting less private all the time in the electronic era.

By Lee White

in May 1965, for example, reveals that the city of Miami, Fla., has as many as 10,000 telephones tapped at any one time.

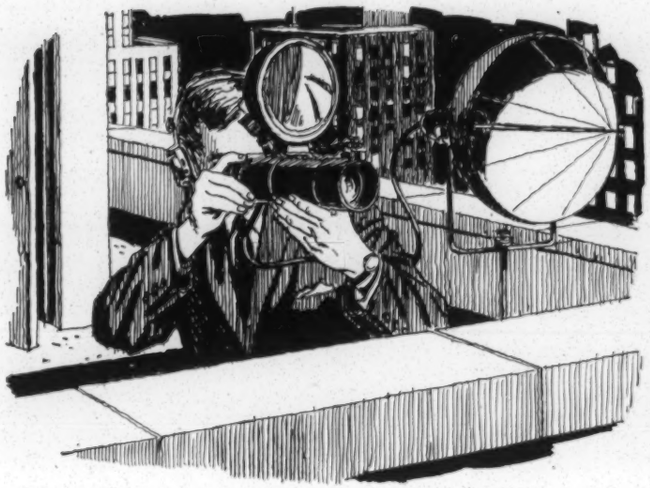
But even wiretapping—universal as it has become since the early 1940s—accounts for only a portion of the surveillance in commerce, in government, in everyday life that is infiltrating and destroying privacy from the cradle to the grave.

The super-snoopers are collecting information about millions of private citizens by the use of a wide variety of sophisticated techniques, including personnel questionnaires, polygraphs (the so-called lie detectors), hidden microphones no bigger than a sorority pin, tape recorders that look like a pack of cigarettes, two-way mirrors, peep-holes in the most unexpected places, cameras and spy-glasses that see as well in the dark as in broad daylight, the mail watch, penetration of secret places by laser beam, computers—and dozen of others.

All of this may make privacy totally obsolete in our own lifetime.

When George Orwell's "1984," gave us a new and frightening prediction of things to come, just four years after World War II ended, the public did take notice. "Big Brother Is Watching You" kicked up such a storm of discussion that any prognosticator could see it would have a profound effect on at least one full generation of Americans.

Yet the fact is that today, when "somebody"



really is watching most of the time, the public seems unaware of or indifferent to what is happening.

The arrest by computer of a housewife in New York who failed to pay up after getting a ticket for passing a red light, got the circus treatment in the tabloids, but at least one sober editorial noted the resemblance to Orwell's nightmare.

And somewhere, already, they may be watching Big Brother.

The situation does have its amusing side—for example, the Internal Revenue Agent who couldn't answer satisfactorily a question about his use of the super-snooperscope: Was he watching the suspect on the roof of that house, or the nude sunbathing of the suspect's wife? But it's really not funny.

Vance Packard made a valiant effort to arouse public indignation with his book, "The Naked Society," published just a year ago.

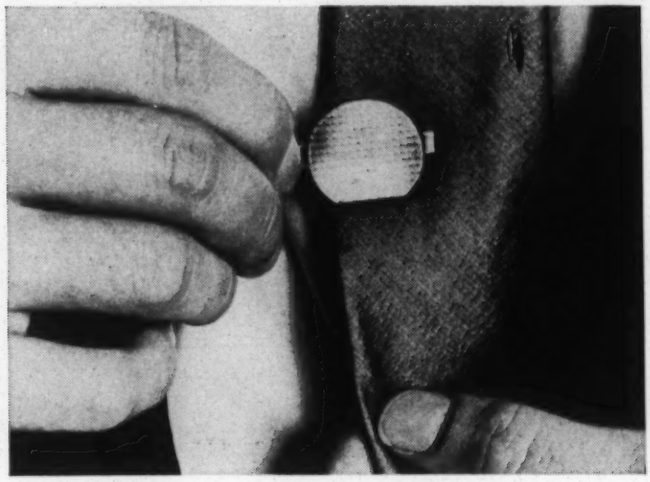
Packard's picture of a reasonably successful family in a typical city of the Land of Liberty, 1964, showed that by telescoping time just a bit, these examples of surveillance could all be happening simultaneously:

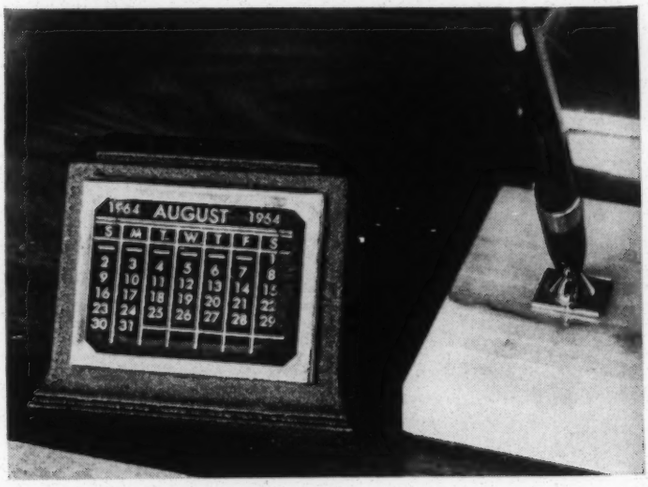
While Mom is trying on a new dress in a department store, her every move is being watched via closed-circuit television.

Dad, a junior executive at the company where he works, is being watched by an undercover agent who seems to be just another employee but is in reality a private detective; the company wants to keep tabs on its key subordinates. At the same time, Dad's bank account is being investigated by an insurance company because Dad recently applied for an insurance policy on his personal property.

Meanwhile, young John is taking a lie detector test as part of applying for a job as a salesman.

Photos: John Burwell





Some of the snooping devices in all-too common use, complete with an infra-red spy glass and various forms of concealed microphones

This is supposed to probe his honesty, his possibly dangerous habits, and his manliness. And at still another location, John's college professors are being interrogated about the boy's political opinions. All of this will go into a lifetime record.

Now here is a direct quote from the book:

"Daughter Mary, sweet girl, is still only a sophomore in high school. She is in the classroom struggling with a 250-item questionnaire. It asks her to reveal whether her parents seem to quarrel a lot, whether they have ever talked to her about sex, and whether she is worried about menstrual disorders. If Mary's parents happen to hear about this probing, they would be denied any information as to her various responses and how they were scored."

This vivid dramatization of a growing trend in American society faded almost at once into the dark stacks of the public library.

Hardly anybody noticed it except a few of the "sick" comics who milked it for gags. And even the gags never got off the ground.

Obviously, the public was not up in arms about the loss of its privacy. As a matter of fact, it would be easy to build a case for the existence of a new breed of citizens who actually enjoy life in the goldfish bowl.

Among those who make up this new breed might be mentioned the teenagers who swoon over the Beatles (in front of the camera), ladies who identify with the "housewives" in TV commercials for soap, etc., voluntary participants in the "Candid Camera" television program, and all of those who have been corrupted by the presence of wiretap and eavesdropping equipment installed for "legitimate" purposes.

Now, it is over the use of the word "legitimate" that the real dialogue has begun.

As a basic part of its current investigation of invasions of the privacy of individuals by government agencies, Senator Edward V. Long's Judi-

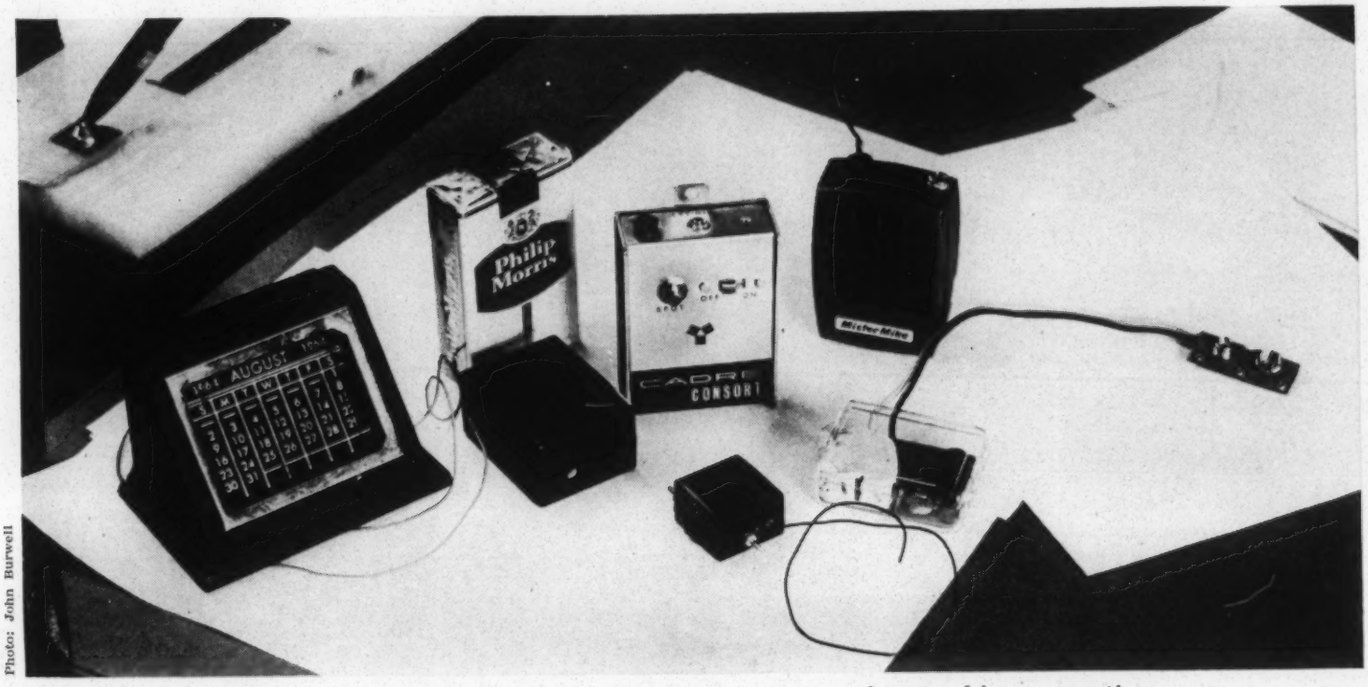


Photo: John Burwell

What the well-equipped snooper uses for listening to other people's conversations

ciary subcommittee is seeking to define, according to the *New York Times*, "the admittedly thin line that might separate legitimate law enforcement activities from unconstitutional snooping."

There are strong differences of opinion on the subject.

Law enforcement officers point to court action upholding convictions where mail surveillance provided vitally-needed leads to criminal activity including fraud, espionage, sabotage, organized gambling, racketeering and smuggling of drugs.

Specific examples: the Frank Costello income tax case, the capture in Mexico of a rapist-murderer, health insurance frauds that victimize elderly persons.

On the other hand, Judge Archie Dawson of New York termed the mail watch reported on Roy Cohn as "shocking," and the American Civil Liberties Union joined in the uproar caused by the revelation at Cohn's recent trial.

Defending wiretap for "selected targets" in the war on crime, Chicago Superintendent of Police W. W. Wilson said that the higher-ups in the Cosa Nostra, the syndicate, "or whatever name you choose to call it," are, under our present law, given complete immunity in their oral and telephonic communications.

Thus the only persons who are charged with crimes are the minor figures in the rackets, according to Wilson: "the lowly policy runner, the prostitute, or the narcotics pusher, all of whom are at the bottom of the ladder."

He points out that wiretapping is not unconstitutional. Even if it were, he maintains, "the Constitution does not make any of our rights absolute. Our homes are our castles but they are not immune against search and seizure—only against unreasonable search and seizure. And so it should be with our telephone communications."

Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Superintendent Wilson posed a clear choice:

1) Put court-authorized wiretapping on the side of the prosecution, or

2) Recognize organized crime as a fact of life in the United States "for which society must continue to pay a frightful cost in life and property and ever-mounting insurance rates."

Answering for those who want more, not less privacy, Senator Long said, "Our country was not founded that its citizens might be spied upon at the whim of a government bureaucrat.

"Our Constitution was not framed by men who doubted the value of personal liberty.

"Our vast continent was not tamed and settled by persons who wanted to weigh every word of their every conversation against the possibility of its being overheard by official ears."

Feeling that the gain to be won by the legalization of wiretapping would never offset the loss of personal liberty, the Missouri Democrat concluded:

"Wiretapping for domestic law enforcement should be prohibited."

Organized labor is firmly committed to a pol-

icy of outlawing telephone tapping—except in matters of national security—and on a wider front is waging a determined battle against snooping on workers by employers in the personnel office, in the plant, and off the job.

So far the most effective means of forcing management to draw back on the use of peepholes and hidden cameras has been instant retaliation in the press and solid membership resistance to such practices, when discovered.

When members of Communications Workers of America found a hidden camera in the men's room of a telephone company building in New York, they promptly filed a grievance—and also called the *New York Times*. Result: no more hidden cameras.

In Baltimore, according to *UAW Solidarity*, management of the Chevrolet plant installed a closed-circuit TV surveillance system, with cameras all over the plant.

"They installed the cameras," UAW Vice President Leonard Woodcock recalled, "but the union chairman called up the UAW GM Department and said, 'What are we going to do about it?' We at the international said, 'Are your people prepared to fight?' He said, 'Yes, they are.'

"We said, 'Call a membership meeting and then go in and tell management—and we will tell Chevrolet here—that when the cameras go on, the plant goes down.' At this moment the cameras have not gone on."

The American Newspaper Guild found that Hearst management on San Francisco papers was monitoring telephone calls made by classified advertising employees. Admitting the charge but arguing that monitoring was "a constructive tool" of supervision, management refused to stop the practice. This and other developments in California have brought about one of the most heartening developments in the unions' concerted attack on spying and snooping of all kinds.

On July 27, 1965, the Public Utilities Commission of the State of California ruled that management could no longer listen in on monitoring, service observing and training equipment, without notifying those under observation of that fact.

This means that telephone company supervisors, classified newspaper sales supervisors, and all other management persons who use monitoring equipment, must "beep" at regular intervals or "by clearly, prominently and permanently marking each telephone instrument" indicate it may be monitored.

To all who have had dealings with supervision in labor-management affairs, the California Commission's instructions—to mark each instrument not only clearly, but clearly and prominently, as well as permanently—will remain a classic of its genre.

Sen. Edward V. Long (D. Mo.) examines a wristwatch microphone device

In another world altogether, the world of the supermarket where a good deal of the worker's income is spent, the peeping-tom techniques are eroding what's left of our average citizen's privacy.

"Heaven knows, the American consumer has for years been the object of an unrelenting scrutiny that measures everything from his salary to his saliva, from his pulse to his purse, from his libido to his liver," complained Marya Mannes.

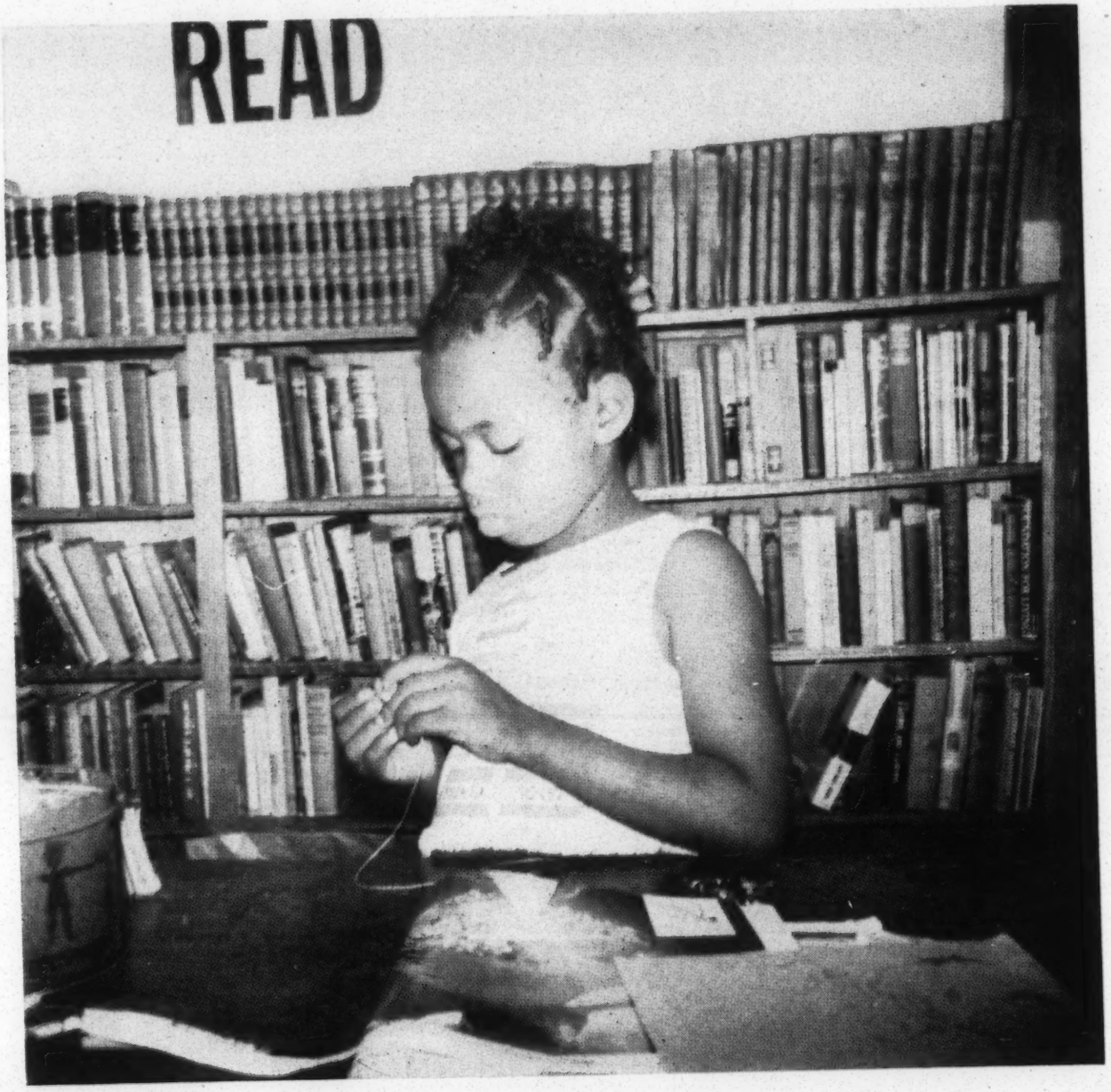
"Now they've got a secret eye camera that checks up on your pupil dilations. A fellow looks at a package of Fig Newtons, say, and if he likes Fig Newtons, his pupils dilate, and if he doesn't, they contract."

It would seem that there is no place left to hide.

And if the citizen's right of privacy is, as Louis D. Brandeis said, the most comprehensive of rights as well as "the right most valued by civilized man," there is much to be done to protect it.

That is, by those of us who don't mind being overheard—and recorded—in defense of the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution.

Lee White, author of this article, is a journalist with a long interest in civil liberties. He is public relations director of the Communications Workers of America.



FREEDOM SCHOOL

By Eugene A. Kelley

(Faculty Distribution Recommended by University Committee)

SOME THOUGHTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

(An Address delivered by Regent Arthur DeBardeleben at the Fall Banquet of the AAUP, October 17, 1963, Madison, Wisconsin.)

Last May your president, Doctor Van R. Potter, for the express purpose of promoting a greater exchange of ideas between the Faculty and the Regents, invited me to speak on "academic freedom" at this banquet. I was delighted to accept the invitation. I do not flatter myself that these thoughts on academic freedom have not been presented and considered before this, but I do hope that these remarks will serve to show what one, I trust not too untypical, member of the genus regens thinks about academic freedom at this time.

Because I am a member of the Board of Regents of this University, I owe it to the Board and to its other members and to you to state, and I do state, without qualification, that in addressing you this evening I speak for myself only and not as a representative of the Board of Regents or of any other regent.

The guarantee of academic freedom, with the concomitant protection of tenure, is closest to the heart of the academic enterprise. Because certain groups and individuals have, while purporting to speak in defense of academic freedom, sought to destroy it by saying that we can't have true academic freedom until some creed or belief has been suppressed and because attacks on academic freedom have not been limited to persons who have been disassociated from our institutions of higher education, it may be necessary for one speaking on academic freedom, even though he be a regent of this University, to define the term to which he addresses himself. Permit me to do so, briefly.

In order to define the term, academic freedom, as that term is intended by me when used in these remarks, it is necessary to look first to the mission of the University — to look at the mission of the scholar. The objective of the University — of the scholar — is primarily the seeking and ascertainment of truth and is secondarily, although also of great importance, the dissemination of truth. Truth, in this sense, is that which is discoverable by man through his powers of investigation and the exercise of his ingenuity. Truth, in this sense, does not refer to any doctrine or belief depending for its origin or validity upon any source or theory of divine inspiration or disclosure. Attackers of academic freedom have often argued that the role of the educator, particularly in the areas of the humanities and social studies, should be that of merely presenting "the facts" and letting "the facts speak for themselves"; in short, that the teacher should not be concerned, in the classroom, with theories or conclusions. Truth, in the sense spoken of here, does not mean merely "getting at the facts". Truth, as the term is used here, is concerned with facts because of their significance, their relationship, within a system of knowledge. Truth thus consists, in short, of the body of conclusions, opinions, and even theories and beliefs, which the scholar draws or derives from his observations and investigations. Truth includes the scholar's explanation of the structure and relationship of things and concepts, and has the same meaning whether thought of from the standpoint of the humanist, the social scientist, or the physical or biological scientist.

In pursuing his mission to discover the truth, the scholar, merely by investigating, suggests that there are or may be grounds for questioning previously

accepted precepts, and in the search for truth, the challenge to existing doctrines, conclusions, and beliefs is never-ending so long as there remain data, relationships, concepts, or other things which require explanation or which may seem to require explanation.

Society has an undoubted interest in seeing that you who are engaged in furthering knowledge shall be free to interpret your data and to announce your conclusions, in and out of the classroom, without the fear or reality of sanctions of any kind whatever, whether direct or indirect, or whether pecuniary or related to status or advancement, or whether from within or from without your institution. This societal interest is independent of and different than, although not superior to, the right of the individual scholar as a citizen to the exercise of freedom of inquiry and expression.

We arrive at the question: What has caused attacks upon or attempts to dilute academic freedom?

First, it is clear that the principal objective of the promoters of some of the attacks upon academic freedom during the last three-quarters of a century has been to still criticism of the exercise of unregulated freedom or license by certain economic interests. It is certainly no secret that there are educators who are critical of some aspects of the operation of the capitalistic system. Attacks on professors whose investigations lead them to question something old in the quest for something new which will be better than the old rarely take the form of direct argument, contention, or exposition upon the merits. Rather, the economic groups which may be affected, or which think they might be affected, by an educator's investigations or teachings, attempt to counter such activities by the use of bias words such as "fellow travelers", "pinks", "reds", or "statists", "socialists", or "un-American" or "anti-Christian". In using these examples of bias words employed by attackers of academic freedom, I do not intend any distinction depending upon whether the attack comes from the right or from the left, but it must be admitted, I think, that in this country and at the present time the attacks upon academic freedom are coming entirely, so far as I have observed, from right-wing groups, as the use of the bias words with which all of us are familiar so clearly shows.

The most unfortunate characteristic of attacks currently made against academic freedom, particularly in the area of the social sciences, is the tendency to equate nonconformity or unorthodoxy with communism or with the taint of communism. These anti-academic freedom pressure groups are run by a few individuals. They and their organizations consistently and insistently convey the impression that to either advocate economic changes or point out weaknesses in the working of the capitalistic system is about the same thing as supporting communism. They seek to impress academic people, indeed, our entire populace, with the credo that it "does not pay" to think, to dissent, or to raise the voice of conscience.

The noteworthy thing about these attackers of academic freedom is that although their number is small they do have the capacity of painting themselves as the protectors of "free enterprise" and of thus appealing to considerable numbers of persons in the business world who, because their interest in education is solely as a means to a practical end, that is, the earning of more money than they could earn without it, have never been inspired by the challenge of acquiring knowledge for its own sake, and who are, therefore, susceptible to the argument that the academic social scientist is "impractical" or "unreliable".

The outstanding leaders in the business world, the leaders in the professions, some of them members of the boards of trustees or regents of colleges or universities, of course deplore such attacks on academic freedom and recognize that any curbing of freedom of thought or inquiry in our universities or on the part of our faculties strikes at a major resource of our democracy, strikes in fact, at the very groundwork, tradition, and meaning of the United States.

Are there other sources of attacks upon or attempts to dilute academic freedom?

The answer to this question, unfortunately, is yes. All of us have been disturbed, at one time or another, about the attacks made upon our institutions of higher learning in the name of religion — attacks which range all the way from characterizations of universities as being "godless", "atheistic" or "anti-religious" to demands that professors be appointed who will "Christianize" the students. Often those who attack academic freedom in the name of religion are also active in the attacks upon our scholars in the name of economic nonconformity. As Professor Robert M. MacIver in his book, Academic Freedom in Our Time, points out, " . . . it seems to be as easy for certain minds to identify the divine law with their economic predilections as with their religious tenets."

Another source of attack upon academic freedom comes from those who, although they would concede that the scholar should not be fettered by religious dogma and, indeed, cannot be constitutionally so fettered, nevertheless believe that there should be an establishment of morality, a conventional wisdom governing social relations, which may not be questioned by the scholar, either as investigator, teacher, or citizen. The more generally troublesome problems in this area are those that center about views concerning sex relationships, for example, birth control, premarital and extramarital sexual conduct, and related subjects. The attack on academic freedom in the name of protection of the mores of sexual conduct is doubly outrageous because in addition to involving an attempt to destroy freedom of inquiry (common to any attack on academic freedom), it involves, in most instances, an utter disregard on the part of the attackers, of the gulf which exists between the so-called mores sought to be protected and actual prevailing social practice. The removal of Assistant Professor Leo F. Koch from his position at the University of Illinois about one year before the expiration of the term of his appointment is a case in point.

In announcing his reasons for dismissing Professor Koch, President Henry fell back on the old cliches:

> " . . . I consider Professor Koch's letter a grave breach of academic responsibility. The views expressed are offensive and repugnant, contrary to commonly accepted standards of morality and their public espousal may be interpreted as encouragement of immoral behavior. It is clear that Mr. Koch's conduct has been prejudicial to the best interests of the University."

I ask that you bear with me a little longer on the Koch case because, it seems to me, that it is illustrative of the form which attacks on academic freedom may be expected to take in the future, whether these attacks originate from distaste for a professor's views on so-called moral subjects or his views on social, economic, or political subjects. For example, in the June, 1963, issue of A G B

Reports, published by the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions, a synopsis of remarks made at a panel discussion of regent responsibilities shows one regent (not from Wisconsin) advocating the fostering of an "academic climate which guarantees freedom of responsible thinking and research." Another trustee (not from Wisconsin) who said, "It is fatal to select or promote only those faculty members who conform to an acceptable political, social or religious code," saw no inconsistency in declaring that trustees and regents have the duty of "initiating dismissal proceedings for a faculty member who may be found to be a member of the communist party." I have read the reasons given by President Henry for the dismissal of Koch. What did the Board of Trustees have to say on the subject? After finding, among other things, that Professor Koch's letter "was not a reasoned statement, marshaling evidence in support of views held by him, and . . . that the language of that letter was not in keeping with those standards of temperateness, dignity, and respect for the opinions of others which should characterize public expression by members of the faculty of the University of Illinois," the Board concluded that it believed "that any responsible expression of views by the members of the faculty, even though unpopular and even, possibly, untenable, is in order."

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Koch case answered the Board's contention concerning irresponsibility by stating:

> "The concept of 'irresponsibility' is exceedingly vague. Any one of us can easily call to mind statements by our colleagues which might be termed by some as unrestrained, undignified, or lacking respect for the opinion of others. Any serious application of the standard would tend to eliminate or discourage any colorful or forceful utterance. More likely, as Mill observes, the standard would be reserved as a sanction only for expression of unorthodox opinion . . . "
>
> " . . . it seems clear to us that, had the letter dealt with any subject other than sex mores, religion, or some other acutely sensitive area, its language and tone would have passed unnoticed. We do not believe that a faculty member writing on these subjects should be held to higher standards of responsibility than one writing on less controversial topics."

One more word about the Koch case. Both Committee A and the Ad Hoc Committee referred, unfortunately in my opinion, to what Committee A called "academic responsibility" and to what the Ad Hoc Committee called "a standard of discipline." As Professor Warren Taylor pointed out in his dissent, teachers are citizens and are to be accorded the same freedom of expression as is allowed to all other citizens. He said: "There is no need now to seek or to create a new standard to silence teachers. To fire a teacher for his utterances the administrator cannot rely on such an ambiguous test as that of 'academic responsibility'. The opinions of a teacher as citizen are not enough to justify termination. The administrator will have to establish proof that beyond the utterance lies unfitness to teach: professional incompetence, dereliction of duty."

A recital of the sources of danger to academic freedom would hardly touch the more important points without mention of the influence of political controls

and governmental activity upon freedom of inquiry. The iniquitous loyalty oaths and disclaimer affidavits still required by at least one federal enactment (not to mention the statutes which have been adopted by a few states) show the political influence in its most obvious and obnoxious form. The existence of such pernicious requirements underlines the need for effective liaison between our universities and the legislative and executive branches of the government if our universities are to receive the federal support necessary to enable them to perform their mission in a free society unhampered by restrictions which tend to negate the philosophy underlying the giving of support.

A good deal has been said lately about further implications of governmental support. John Speicher, in the current (October 10th) issue of The Reporter, says that the high degree of specialization in government-sponsored research has created divisions within the natural sciences that make the cultural gap which has been said to exist between the humanists and the scientists seem paltry by comparison. There can be no doubt that the federal government now determines the subject matter and direction of the majority of research going on in our universities. It is entirely appropriate that the federal government should support higher education not only in research and the area of graduate education where the universities may serve a need more national than local, but also in the support of instruction and the construction of physical facilities. The appropriation and acceptance of such support should be, however, conditioned in such a manner as not to deflect scholars from productive work of a theoretical nature in favor of research which offers the promise of practical results and benefits over the short term. In my opinion, it cannot be considered other than an infringement upon academic freedom when a scholar can only get support for research likely to lead to fairly immediate practical results or when the ebb and flow of support for research and scholarly investigation depends upon the current fashion in weaponry, space technology, or the existence or absence of crises in foreign relations. If the universities are to pursue their mission with effect, scholars in each discipline must be afforded opportunities of research and scholarly inquiry about equal to the opportunities of scholars in each other discipline. None of this means that research which may result in practical benefits should lack encouragement and support. The University of Wisconsin is justly proud of its outstanding scholars whose investigations and discoveries have made possible many great practical benefits to mankind just as it is proud of those whose scholarly inquiries have advanced knowledge in areas having no immediate apparent practical consequences. The encouragement of advancement of basic knowledge at this University should never be dominated by considerations of practicality, popular whim, or current crisis. Freedom in research and scholarly inquiry demands the provision of support, unencumbered by restrictions of any kind, sufficient to permit all faculty members having research competence and inclination to pursue the lines of scholarly inquiry which they decide are worthy of investigation.

Having considered the sources of attacks upon or attempts to dilute academic freedom — having considered some of the dangers to academic freedom, what are the proper respective roles of the governing board, of the administration, and of the faculty in meeting these attacks, attempts, and dangers? Let me discuss my conception of the respective responsibilities of the board, the administration, and the faculty in that order:

The governing board of this institution has, over the years, approved university legislation which establishes, I believe, rules relating to tenure

which are fully in accord with the recommendations of the faculty and which are completely consistent with the statements of principles adopted by your Association. Aside from the matter of appointments, promotions, and dismissals, and the rules relating thereto, the governing board has the responsibility, in the area of academic freedom and tenure, of safeguarding and fostering an atmosphere — an environment — unqualifiedly conducive to the free and untrammeled search for truth. It is the duty of the governing board to resist and protect the faculty against the pressures, clamors, and demands of ideological and other special interest groups — against all who do not appreciate the goals of scholarship, whether alumni, politicians, private donors, the press, or segments of the public.

A president of a university protects and implements academic freedom by interpreting to the public the values and goals of higher education and the primary importance thereto of freedom of inquiry. A university president also protects and implements academic freedom by encouraging it and by resisting attacks upon it from without and from within the institution. A university president protects and implements academic freedom by normally following faculty recommendations concerning appointments and promotions, so long as they are within budgetary allotments.

When we think of what the faculty should do to protect and implement academic freedom, we are thinking of what the university itself should do because in reality and in the minds of the public and of other educators and institutions, the faculty is the university. We, here in Wisconsin, have a great university. It is without doubt the greatest resource of the State of Wisconsin and one of the most important assets of our nation. It overwhelms one to be a part of this enterprise. The greatness of this institution is directly attributable to the ability and attainments, the dedication, and the inspirational qualities of its faculty.

When we speak of what the faculty should do to protect and implement academic freedom, we can, I think, answer the question very simply and very briefly. The faculty must continue to exercise, and insist upon its right and duty to exercise, academic freedom without any qualification whatever. When an academic freedom question or issue is presented, it should be met head-on and forthrightly. No quarter, no accommodation, and no compromise can ever be given or made with the opponents of freedom of inquiry and expression. There have been some examples in the academic history of this institution and of other leading institutions where attempts at accommodation, avoidance, or compromise were attempted. Let us look at some:

The words on the plaque spell out Wisconsin's Magna Charta of academic freedom.

As Professors Curti and Carstensen have pointed out, it does not take away from the importance of the statement to recognize that it was not responsive to the inquiry before the regents' committee. Professor Ely was charged by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and tried by a committee of the regents for believing in "strikes and boycotts, justifying and encouraging the one while practicing the other." He was alleged to have threatened to boycott a local firm whose workers were on strike; to have stated that a union man, no matter how dirty and dissipated, was always to be employed in preference to a non-union man, no matter how industrious and trustworthy; and to have entertained and counseled with a union delegate in his home.

Unfortunately, in my opinion, Ely denied the charges rather than, in effect, demurring to them. Although Professor Ely had declared privately, according to Curti and Carstensen, that academic freedom was the vital issue, he did not mention this in his answer to the charges. In fact, Professor Ely stated that if the charges were true, they would "unquestionably unfit me to occupy a responsible position as an instructor of youth in a great university."

Although Professor Ely did have valuable allies throughout the academic world, at Wisconsin and elsewhere, it seems clear that except for the antipathy which the rest of the members of the board felt toward Ex-officio Regent Wells, except for the warm support and helpful guidance of President Charles Kendall Adams, and except for the sagacious suggestion of Professor Olin, this University's Magna Charta of academic freedom might have had to wait for another occasion. Professor Edward W. Bemis, who ran afoul of the authorities at the University of Chicago at about the same time on similar grounds, when he wrote to congratulate Ely, quickly perceived that although Ely had won the particular case, he had sacrificed the important principle. He stated, according to Hofstadter and Metzger, "that was a glorious victory for you. I was sorry only that you seemed to show a vigor of denial as to entertaining a walking delegate or counseling strikers as if either were wrong, instead of under certain circumstances a <u>duty</u>."

The California loyalty oath debacle of a decade ago is also instructive. This case points up emphatically the danger of making any concessions to or of any appeasement of opponents of academic freedom. It shows that concessions are not only wrong in principle but disastrous in application. Under the threats of the infamous Tenney Committee, the President of the University of California actually drafted and submitted to the Board of Regents a loyalty oath which was to be required of every faculty member. It was the hope, no doubt, of the President and his advisors that the taking of this step would stave off the more drastic assaults on academic freedom which were being threatened by the Tenney Committee. The result of the adoption of a requirement for the loyalty oath was to invite greater excesses by the Tenney Committee in its assaults on academic freedom and civil liberties.

On the other hand, in 1910 when the Regents of the University of Wisconsin undertook to make promotions and adjustments of salaries without the recommendations of the appropriate departments or the president and failed to make promotions recommended by the departments and the president and consulted directly with members of the faculty concerning their own work or that of other departments, thereby showing, as reported by Curti and Carstensen, "a disposition to take the initiative in strictly educational matters, even extending to the point where one regent attended and in a critical way took part in a doctoral examination," upon strong representations being made by the faculty, the regents backed off and concurred in a statement, as to the future, to the effect that they had "no intention of interfering with the customary methods of educational administration by the faculty; . . . they will continue to allow the faculty the initiative in formulating educational policy; . . . they desire appointments to be made through the regular channels as developed in the custom of the University."

The opposition to the Illinois Broyles Commission investigation of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College by the administrations and faculties of those two institutions shows us, again, the effect of a solid faculty position on the matter of academic freedom. Eight of the proposed measures failed to pass the Illinois Legislature and the ninth, Broyles' major bill, was vetoed by Governor Stevenson.

An important part of the responsibility of the faculty to oppose, without equivocation, compromise, or accommodation, every assault upon or threat to academic freedom is the duty of faculty members to sustain each other. In this day of increased specialization, it may be difficult for a faculty composed of accountants, economists, fashion designers, home economists, military scientists, marketing experts, mining engineers, physicians, physicists, geneticists, chemists, botanists, political scientists, astronomers, and zoologists to see how violations of academic freedom that affect colleagues in departments remote from their own should be matters of great concern. In this connection we return to our original precept. Although each scholar has his own field and his own viewpoint, the University which brings all scholars together has no particular field and no particular viewpoint. The institution which brings all scholars together is concerned with the whole field of knowledge, with the whole body of truth; it has one goal, the discovery and the dissemination of truth. It makes one demand upon its members, but it makes that demand insistently and unceasingly — the demand for sincere and unremitting devotion to the cause of knowledge in all of its aspects.

QUIZ ON DEMOCRATIC VALUES

1. The government should prohibit some people from making public speeches.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

2. In some cases the police should be allowed to search a person or his home even though they do not have a search warrant.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

3. Some religious groups should not be allowed the same freedom as others.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

4. If a person is accused of a crime, he should always have the right to know who is accusing him.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

5. Certain groups should not be allowed to hold public meetings even though they gather peaceably and only make speeches.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

6. Local police may sometimes be right in holding persons in jail without telling them of any formal charges against them.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

7. In some cases, the government should have the right to take over a person's land or property without bothering to go to court.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

8. The police or FBI may sometimes be right in giving a man the "third degree" to make him talk.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

9. Persons who refuse to testify against themselves (that is, give evidence that would show that they are guilty of criminal acts) should either be made to talk or severely punished.
   Agree Undecided Disagree

10. The government should have the right to censure movies, books and magazines.
    Agree Undecided Disagree

11. A person tried and found innocent should be tried again when new, incriminating evidence is discovered.
    Agree Undecided Disagree

EVC — Civ Rts.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND DIRECT ACTION IN THE URBAN NORTH

George D. Blackwood
Boston University

Prepared for delivery at the 1964 Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois
Pick-Congress Hotel September 9-12, 1964

Although the values which characterize American society may be dismissed as commonplace platitudes by sophisticated observers, they must be the starting point in any analysis of the emergence of the American Negro--and what may be called "Negro syndicalism" or direct action for civil rifhts--as the central figure of domestic politics in the 1960's. Politics in the United States has always been shaped by a profound social ethos which is widely understood and frequently expressed; as Gunnar Myrdal pointed out, Negroes have always shared in American ideals if not in their realization.[1]

The essence of the American faith is a belief that democracy is designed for the common good as envisioned by a majority of adults at any given time. The underlying assumption is that there is a clear-cut identity between the interests of the individual, the interest of a specific group, and the interests of the nation as a whole; this principle of identity may be and in fact frequently has been threatened by a concentration on group interests. To mention three which will be central to the discussion in this paper: ethnic nimorities or "hyphenated Americans," labor unions and now American Negroes have all been seen at one time or another as groups which seem to stand out from the national interest.

These are all "minorities" which affect the "majority"--and basically the problem of civil rights in America today, the problem of demonstrations and "bloc voting" must be dealt with in terms of majority-minority relations. Although the great mass of voters is affected by varieties of political experience which are sometimes quite complex, they have a common perspective which might be called "majoritarian national interest." To this majoritarian ideology is added the corollary of America as a success story, as the land of opportunity for everyman, the land of abundance, optimism and progress. One of the best statements of American beliefs is found in a landmark document in the civil rights field, the report of the Truman Commission on Civil Rights, written under the direction of Robert K. Carr:[2]

> "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. Moreover, we believe that the welfare of the individual is the final goal of group life. Our American heritage further teaches that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men. This is the conscious recognition of a basic moral principle: that all men are created equal as well as free. . . ."

While the belief in the equality of opportunity has been badly shaken in the twentieth century (and the virtual shattering of that belief beyond repair is very important in the development of Negro syndicalism), it is still part of the classical framework of American ideology. One of the historians of the national character, although noting that his generalization does not apply to the Negro, asserts that "America has had a greater measure of social equality and social mobility than any highly developed society in human history."[3] Yet when faced with the role of the Negro in American life, as Alan P. Grimes has recently put it: "White Americans, unableto eliminate racial diversity, were faced with the alternatives of racial equality or white supremacy (with or without slavery); they chose the latter."[4] This fundamental contradiction is today at the very base of the civil rights struggle.

Closely linked to the beliefs in majoritarian national interest and equality of opportunity for all individuals is a belief in the sanctity of private property and the right of the individual to acquire and dispose of it, together with the value of competition. A rising phenomenon which has deep roots in our social ethos is "privatization," a significant characteristic of many suburbs and in fact large segments of our cities; this, it may be postulated, plays an important role in the rejection of Negroes, since privatized Americans like their neighborhoods as homogenized as their milk.[5]

The final article of the American faith that creates the frame of reference in which the current civil rights movement in the urban north must be viewed is what the semanticists call the "two-valued orientation," not so much an idea as a technique of thinking. Many Americans have viewed the world traditionally from a rather Zarathustrian perspective, with everything divided into good-and-bad, rich-and-poor, a world of light and happiness on one side and a world of evil and darkness on the other. And it is not going too far to say--James Baldwin is the major exponent in literary circles of this point of view but other Negro authors affirm it, and the Black Muslims, Malcolm X and various leaders of ACT also share it--that American whites have created at least the impression and perhaps the actual belief that they identify good things with white society. The other side of the coin, that non-white societies are not good, is something for which few white Americans would consciously argue, but they prefer that Negro Americans and for that matter other peoples in the non-white majority of the world follow the white American example.[6]

This two-valued orientation springs from American history, the differences between the United States and the Europe from which it evolved, and the fact that American abundance and some of its achievements were unrivalled. There is, however, a nagging element of insecurity always present. At its rawest, this has erupted into a hysterical suppression or attack upon dissident elements during both world wars (the first much more than the second, as John P. Roche has pointed out),[7] and the McCarthy era.

In two ways, what may be called the Zarathustrian complex which has structured the American way of thinking has had a strong impact upon the controversy over civil rights, especially as related to the cities of the North and West. First, it is a struggle involving white men and black, in a society where there have been traditional distinctions be-

tween whites and black in most areas of opportunity (certain occupations within government, and special skills in such fields as baseball, music and literature provides the exception.). Second, the very fact that the focus of the storm over civil rights is the great cities rather than the farm, the small town or even the medium-sized city (although the demonstrations and boycotts in Gary and Youngstown, the riots in Rochester, and the "welfare plan" of former City Manager Joseph Mitchell in Newburgh, New York, which was in fact designed to combat the flow of migrant Negroes into the city indicate that the problems are not confined to larger cities) is very important to the context of the problem. The city itself has long been regarded by some Americans as the real root of corruption, crime and immorality in American life, or closely associated with the real root. Urban culture has long been viewed as disastrous in its effects, not only upon sturdy country folk but upon the poor and unfortunate within the city itself; the cry has frequently been raised that city life 'crushes, enslaves and ruins so many thousands of our young men, who are insensibly made the victims of dissipation, or reckless speculation, and of ultimate crime.'[8]

These traditional American values have suffered a series of shocks in the twentieth century. In some respects the candidacy of Senator Goldwater and the "right turn" upon which the Republican Party has now entered reflects the reaction to these shocks--an attempt to return to fundamental values in much the same way that the Democratic Party in 1896 tried to return to the values of the pre-Civil War period.[9] It has been pointed out recently that the elections of 1894 and 1896 "mark the emergence of the Republican Party as the party of the rising cities," and this pattern of urban allegiance continued until 1928.[10]

At the very time that the Grand Old Party was achieving this urban domination, the rapid increase in the number and influence of immigrant groups and their descendants put an increasing strain upon the core of the American ideology. As Glazer and Moynihan put it in their study of several ethnic groups in New York, "the ethnic group in American society became not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form."[11]

The experience of the various immigrant groups beginning with the Irish, is of substantial significance from the standpoint of the developing Negro political ethos in urban America. The Negro is always measured against the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, the Puerto Ricans, the Jews and other ethnic groups. Although Baldwin, Kenneth Clark, Adam Clayton Powell, and others deny that immigrant experience is really very relevant, the comparative approach used by Glazer and Moynihan has deep roots in the way of looking at minority groups. In 1932, for instance, Henry Cabot Lodge, jr. gave a frank analysis of the role of immigrants:[12]

> "The Irish wave, let us say, pushed up the level of the Americans already here. The Italian immigration enabled the descendants of these Irish to fare far better than their ancestors had done. Each succeeding wave pushed the others up. With unlimited land and with unlimited ignorant labor to do the dirty work, the task of providing good times for those who were already here was not insuperable. . . For many generations, therefore, we have actually had a proletariat. The distasteful word did not

disturb us, because it did not seem to apply to Americans, but only to an alien group, still too ignorant and too helpless to make its wants known."

When Lodge wrote his book, most ethnic minorities from Europe could already protect themselves by the use of machine politics. Their backgrounds provided a system of values which interpreted politics and government in terms of persons rather than abstract laws and was "private-regarding" in outlook.[13] The Negro came into the urban scene in large numbers just as the immigrant-based machine was reaching and perhaps passing its peak; the first city to see the systematic organization of Negroes in machine politics was Chicago.[14]

Another test of the established value system in rapidly urbanizing America came with the rise of industrial unionism. Craft unionism had fitted into the framework with some difficulty; industrial unionism, at least in its early forms, was greeted with hostility and resistance. Strikes, boycotts and demonstrations of various kinds had always been central to the development of the labor movement. And with the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World a full-blown philosophy of direct-action tactics--syndicalism, American-style--came into being. Labor unrest reached a peak in 1919, with extreme elements expressing some admiration for the Russian Revolution and despairing of life in "darkest America."[15] Some militants advocated political action along with strikes, and a new Labor Party ran John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, for Mayor of Chicago in 1919. It was argued that "the people are done with the old times, the old ways and the old bunk. . . those who oppose the Labor Party are feeding the fires of revolution."[16] The appeal failed and Fitzpatrick ran third.

Some of the reactions to militancy were also extreme. One writer said that Samuel Gompers' dislike for the radicals was based on the fact that he and Lenin were "rivals for control of the United States."[17] After the Seattle General Strike, a newspaper advertisement advocated death for all union leaders and life imprisonment or deportation for all members.[18] By the early 1920's, militancy in the labor movement was in rapid retreat.

It was resumed with new tactics in the 1930's, with the rise of the CIO. The new tactics included sit-in strikes and an alliance (for practical purposes) with some arms of the government in Washington. Five patterns which were to be important for Negro syndicalism developed in the years from 1937 to 1941:

a. A reliance on mass action--huge meetings, sit-ins, massed picket lines, co-ordinated demonstrations.

b. The rise of new, young, idealistic leadership which became symbolic to many conservatives of radicalism (and some of the leaders did have radical backgrounds).

c. Vocal sympathy from liberals, tempered with some criticism about tactics.

d. A plunge into politics, culminating with the CIO-PAC.

e. The galvanizing of old organizations (in this case the American Federation of Labor) into broadening scope and increased vigor.

For the Negro leader of the 1960's, two lessons and a conundrum emerge from the rise of the CIO. One lesson isthat the great American middle class reacts to militancy and especially to violence, so that most "responsible militants" among the Negro leaders have a stronger argument for non-violence. The other is that there are always fears about Communist influences until it can be shown clearly how the problem is dealt with effectively. The conundrum is that workers organized into unions does not mean any guarantees of Negro equality in society; many union members appear to be strongly anti-Negro in non-union affairs.

One labor leader, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is a major "Negro militant" as well as "labor militant." Randolph proposed a Negro "March on Washington" in 1941 and captured the imagination of thousands of Negroes with something new: "the spontaneous involvement of large masses of Negroes in a political protest without the collaboration of whites."[19] The march was called off when President Roosevelt issued an Executive Order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

World War II was a watershed in Negro history, with a transition from an overwhelmingly rural and agricultural population largely in the South to an increasingly urban population in the North, tied to the fringes of industry. The emigration from the South which thus began--larger than the emigration of World War I and the 1920's--witnessed the founding of the first group (the Congress of Racial Equality) directly dedicated to non-violent action for civil rights. CORE developed some new direct action techniques, including the forerunner of the "freedom ride" in 1947. As a result of the attempt to test the ban on segregated interstate travel laid down by the Supreme Court, several CORE members were arrested; Bayard Rustin spent thirty days on a North Carolina chain gang.[20]

However, with the exception of a few episodes such as the Montgomery bus strike, the mainstream of tactics down to 1960 was legalistic and political; agitation for Civil Rights bills and action in the courts. To many Negro leaders, it gradually became evident that action in Congress and the courts was not enough. Not only was resistance in the South painfully evident, but economic and social progress for the Northern Negro was very slow. The income of Negro families, while rising, did not keep pace with white income increases, and little was being done with respect to discrimination in employment and housing. Frustration rose as the skill-level of jobs rose with automation, and Negroes were hard-hit by the recessions of the 1950's.

The direct-action tactics which evolved into the non-ideological and badly co-ordinated movement of Negro sundicalism began with the Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-in of February 1, 1960. Before long, it was widely practiced in the South and then spread into the North. Protest demonstrations in the North were largely aimed at discrimination and segregation in employment, education and to a lesser extent housing. In 1963 alone, at least twenty-eight Northern and Western cities had some type of racial demonstration. Picketers demanding jobs for Negroes lay down in front of trucks, climbed cranes on construction

projects, chained themselves to equipment, and issued leaflets attacking employers, unions and governmental officials. The climax of the widespread demonstrations came with the March on Washington of August 28, 1963; in many respects, this was an exercise in sentimentality and symbolism, with unity of the major Negro organizations, participation of white liberals, and the endorsement of a liberal President as hallmarks.

With the racial crisis the central question of domestic politics in the 1960's, a natural question arose concerning Negro voting. Could not the Negroes use the ballot to gain their objectives, instead of sit-ins, selective buying, and picketing? About the time of the March on Washington, there was widespread feeling, at least in some segments of the NAACP, that direct action could not destroy some of the main barriers to Negro equality and that it had become clear that direct action techniques had little real impact. This was demonstrated by the interest of the Kennedy Administration and private foundations in setting up such projects as the voter registration endeavor in the South; nothing comparable was done for the North, however.[21]

As Banfield and Wilson have made clear, the northern urban Negro in America has "numerical strength and political weakness" in the cities due to the "class structure of Negro society and the character of urban political systems."[22] Transiency, a high degree of social disorganization, and the lack of a strong sense of community attachment, either to the Negro community or the broader city community, characterize the Negro lower class. The relatively small Negro middle class has given little real leadership in effective civic action, in the view of most analysts of Negro problems. Beyond that, there has been a clear-cut failure by political and civic leaders in northern cities and states to develop any plans for training Negroes (and other new urbanites) for living in cities and contributing to them. Our folkways stand in the way, and, as has been said, ". . . if northern Negroes remain inadequately educated for urban living and fail to participate fully in the urban economy, the 'primitive folk culture' of the South can less and less be assigned responsibility, and northern cities will be suffering from the neglect of their own human resources."[23]

One tool for re-shaping the dynamics of American cities to meet the needs of newcomers has always been political organization, at least since the rise of Tammany. But Negro politics has for the most part been shaped by the city, rather than molding city politics to its own needs. James Q. Wilson suggests that "the structure and style of Negro politics reflect the politics of the city as a whole," and so cannot be viewed apart from it.[24] In Chicago, for instance, Negroes have long been organized as a sub-machine in which--until the Negro Revolt hits its stride in 1963-64--Congressman William L. Dawson has exerted firm control. This means that Dawson and his associates sometimes oppose the "race point of view," preferring the machine methods of jobs, favors and protection in return for votes. A much more personal type of following characterizes New York, with Adam Clayton Powell a militant far beyond the reach of party leaders and the press; in fact, their criticisms help make him a hero in Harlem because he

defies "The Man" or "Whitey." Still a third type of situations in between the Negro as symbol (Powell) and the Negro as machine leader (Dawson), has emerged where Negroes are less numerous but still part of the political equation. Among these predominantly white electorates, Negroes are chosen as part of "balanced tickets" or for some personal qualifications rather than running as part of a well-oiled machine or on the principle of "race identification. Some recent examples of the emergence of this type of Negro official are Attorney General Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts,[25] State Treasurer Gerald Lamb of Connecticut (who defeated another Negro for the office), and Supreme Court Justice Otis Smith of Michigan.

In the arena of national politics, Negroes have clearly demonstrated that in certain instances they can be the pivotal "balance of power." In 1948, they helped carry California, Illinois and Ohio for Harry Truman.[26] In 1960, Richard M. Nixon may have actually received a majority among whites, with Kennedy owing his victory to the Negroes.[27] The urban Negro in the North, as Oscar Glantz has demonstrated through correlations of census tracts and voting districts in eight cities, voted very strongly Democratic in 1952 (with Detroit Negroes hitting the peak, casting 89.9% of their ballots for Stevenson) and held fairly well for the Democrats in 1956--although Eisenhower did cut into the northern Negro vote, Stevenson held a good lead among Negroes.[28]

But the most essential fact about Negroes is that they are underregistered and fail to vote even when registered. Robert E. Lane, discussing the entire nation, estimates that in 1952 33% of American Negroes voted compared with 79% of the whites.[29] Even with the South eliminated, there is a substantial difference; the University of Michigan Survey Research figures indicate that 72% of northern whites and 54% of northern Negroes vote with some regularity.[30] The differential appears to be decreasing, however, and a recent estimate suggests that there is now about a ten to fifteen per cent difference consistently, and that 60% of adult Negroes in the North voted in the 1960 election (about 3,000,000 persons).[31]

The 1960 election, in which many Negroes appear to have voted for Kennedy at least partially in response to his actions after the arrest of Martin Luther King, signalled the beginning of a new era in Negro politics--an era of rising sophistication and of impatience, both closely linked to the Negro syndicalism which A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin and others had nurtured and the Greensboro college students had brought into full bloom. The number of Negro officeholders across the country seems to be gradually increasing, with five Negroes now in Congress and pockets of legislative strength--always reflecting segregated housing areas. One Negro newspaper has put it bluntly: "For all the talk about residential integration, Negro political power today is based on residential concentration, and there would be very few Negro officeholders, elected or appointed, if this were not the case."[32] But beyond Negro officeholders, the northern Negro has become more of a "balancing" factor in city and state politics. In 1961, Negro charges of police brutality were important factors in the surprising overturn of incumbent mayors in Los Angeles and Detroit;[33] and Samuel Lubell has suggested that the victories of Mayor Robert

Wagner in New York and Governor Richard Hughes in New Jersey were due to substantial Negro backing.[34] In 1962 , most Negroes stayed Democratic but often split their tickets; liberal Republicans such as Rockefeller, Javits, Scranton, and Romney, and even the relatively conservative Rhodes, cut into the Negro vote in the big industrial states.[35]

But in 1963 the new era of Negro politics received a shock; the fact of the matter was that as evidences of Negro syndicalism moved northward and direct action techniques were applied more and more in northern cities, a reaction built up rapidly among whites. Sympathetic to the "Negro Revolt" as long as it stayed in the South, many northern whites reflected their "separatism" and "privatization" patterns with respect to Negroes in the same city. Negroes grew increasingly bitter as they realized that the demonstrations were not moving the whites, but seemed to be clearly reaffirming the widely-held belief among Negroes that "The white man does not 'know' the Negro, has never known him, and has never seriously undertaken to find out what the Negro is like as a person. . . For most of the history of biracial America the white man has considered the Negro to be a different order of being altogether."[36] A symbolic meeting occurred in late May between Negro leaders and Attorney General Kennedy; the fact that the latter's legalistic and political approach to the problems of Negroes was met with bitter reproaches on the part of Baldwin, Prof. Kenneth Clark and the other Negroes indicated trouble ahead; they were sure that Kennedy utterly failed--and thus represented the failure of white liberalism--to adjust to the new times and failed to comprehend the rising tide of racial conflict in the North.[37]

Two terms came into wide usage in 1963-64, terms which signified the widening gulf: "the white power structure" and "the white back-lash." The former phrase, evidently first popularized by Clark in early 1963, crystallized the resentment of Negroes against white-dominated society, but over-simplified the problem by setting up scapegoats and assuming that a few acts by white leaders could resolve long-standing problems. The latter was more alarming, reflecting as it did the emergence of latent prejudices among many whites with their reaction that Negro efforts were moving "too far, too fast." Louis Harris found the reaction to be so strong that he estimated a loss of four and a half million votes for President Kennedy on the issue.[38]

Practical tests of the "white back-lash" were provided in Kentucky, Philadelphia and Boston in the fall of 1963. One analyst believed that the Kentucky gubernatorial election, in which the usual Democratic margin was cut to 14,724 votes (50.8% of the two-party vote) was so close because "the racial issue influenced at least 50,000 voters either to switch parties or to vote for the first time, and against Democratic racial policies."[39] Philadelphia, a city which like many others in the North is witnessing a rapid growth in the number of Negroes and increasing restlessness over housing and unemployment, had a mayoralty election in which the Democrats clearly suffered from the white reaction. In Boston the woman who was chairman of the School Committee had become a symbol of the resistance of that body to demands that it recognize and correct "de facto segregation;" she was overwhelmingly re-elected.

While the white reaction to Negro demonstrations was becoming evident as a force in American society, it had a counter-part in the ferment within the Negro community. All of the major organizations, to some degree at least, were committed to direct actions--i.e., to some form of syndicalist endeavor. This was least true of the most conservative, the National Urban League, but its participation in the March on Washington indicated its movement into what might be called the "united Negro" approach and a deprecation of factionalism and ferment among the Negro leadership. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has always stressed political participation by Negroes, but moved more and more into the direct-action arena from 1961 on, impelled in part by "pressure from below" within its membership. The newer organizations, including the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee in the South and its associate the Northern Student Movement, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, were all oriented to direct action, although they differed to some degree among themselves about the efficacy of various tactics, organizational patterns, and other matters. All of the organizations were aware that there were strong currents pulling the masses of urban Negroes--most of them unschooled in non-violence and very badly organized if at all--away from their traditional moorings. These moorings had been accurately described by James Baldwin, at least with respect to Negro goals in voting, as "mainly economic and frequently personal, sometimes pathetic; bread or a new roof or five dollars, or continuing up the scale, schools, houses or more Negroes in hitherto Caucasian jobs."[40] The paradigm of the traditional approach to meet these needs was, of course, Dawson of Chicago; even before the rise of direct action as a basic tactic in the civil rights struggle, Dawson was in gradually increasing difficulty in the Negro community. By 1960, it was evident that new civic and political leadership was slowly emerging in the city, geared to what Wilson aptly calls "status politics."[41] Other cities, such as Detroit and Los Angeles, were even farther along in transition.[42]

Although Mayor Daley was re-elected with Negro votes, he and Dawson suffered severe and rising criticism. When six Negro aldermen associated with the organization opposed the school boycott in February, 1964, the Chicago Defender ran a cartoon attacking them as Uncle Toms" shuffling along in the dirt and their efforts were unsuccessful (172,350 children stayed out of school, with the number of Negroes in the Chicago schools considered to be 236,471).[43]

The continuing controversy within Chicago was evidence of the ferment in which all major northern cities were finding themselves in 1964. There was a growing realization of the fact that neither "Negro syndicalism" with its stress on picketing, protest and pressure nor old-line politics could be sufficient for the northern Negro. A sympathetic liberal summed it up: "The effect of the Northern groups' resolution to be aggressively and spectacularly militant has been that in city after city, from Portland, Oregon to Boston, civil rights campaigns have often tended to obscure of ignore the major problems of the Northern Negro and the causes of his special difficulties. . . The fact remains that real equality depends on his achieving political and economic power."[44] What was needed, and what may be emerging in some of the cities of the North, is "a new breed" of Negro politician--

something very different from Dawson, but also removed from the concentration on individual personalities such as Powell. This would mean an issue-oriented focus, with ideas which cross the whole range of the "culture of poverty" in the cities and call for much greater efforts in education, health care, employment and the whole gamut of the problems of cities, as well as civil rights.[45] Those who know the American Negro community are aware that a new Negro elite is emerging, very clearly distinct from and alien to the traditions of what E. Franklin Frazier called "The Black Bourgeoisie" and keenly aware of politics as a possible avenue to the achievement of their goals; the ultimate shape of the new elite is, however, undefined.[46]

This elite at the present time includes (but is not limited to) Baldwin, Clark, King, Jackie Robinson, and the leaders of CORE, SNCC, the Urban League, and the NAACP. It faces two fundamental questions: although it is sensitive to currents among the urban masses of the North (Whitney Young of the Urban League predicted that there would be trouble in "middle-sized cities" such as Rochester about a month before the riot there),[47] there is serious doubt that it can speak for them; and it faces a strong attack that it is appeasing the whites.

The tactical split among the Negroes is very wide, but the Goldwater candidacy has crystallized it around two poles: one which seeks a judicious "mix" of direct action and political action, with the former getting something of a moratorium and the latter great emphasis in the fall of 1964, and one which seeks mass militancy and stresses direct action while not ignoring political action. To some degree, the most militant of the Negro organizations fall completely outside the traditional American framework. Obviously, the Black Muslims fit this category. Since his break with Elijah Muhammed and the Black Muslims, Malcolm X has emerged as a figure who rejects totally the values of the American system but offers to build bridges to the groups striving for civil rights and provides an example of militancy and agitation.[48]

Perhaps the most relevant example of the "Negro syndicalism" which stresses continued militancy and direct action is ACT, formed on March 14, 1964 in troubled Chester, Pennsylvania. Without the Islamic ideology of Malcolm X and still inchoate in its philosophy, ACT is as syndicalist in nature as the Industrial Workers of the World, except that it does not reject politics as an avenue of problem-solving. One of its leaders, Stanley E. Branche of Chester, has indicated its political approach: "We are more interested in who is elected sheriff than who becomes president."[49] On another occasion, he predicted about Chester that "this mayor, this city council, this power structure, they're on the way out. In the next four years, we're going to have a black mayor in this town."[50]

Among others in ACT are: Laurence Landry, its president and the organizer of the Chicago school boycotts; Rev. Milton Galamison of Brooklin, a leader of the boycott in New York who has said that he prefers having the public school destroyed to having de facto segregation remain;[51] Jesse Gray, the rent-strike leader in Harlem who also

played a role (or at least was blamed by the press and the police for doing so) in the background of the July riots, and Mrs. Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Maryland.

The ACT point of view was summed up by one of its members, speaking of Chicago: "We are going to mess up this town until they treat us right. You have to disrupt this system. . ."[52] Like the IWW and all syndicalists, ACT works toward the general strike or its equivalent (Baldwin, who may be classified as close to ACT in some intellectual respects, has suggested that Negroes could disrupt the American economy by simply staying away from work); in the case of Negro syndicalism, however, the equivalent is unremitting warfare on the "white power structure"--sometimes peaceful warfare but if necessary violence will be used--and upon all manifestations of a white society which deprive the Negro of his rightful place. The "stall-in" and related aspects of the demonstrations at the opening of the New York World's Fair exemplified this approach. To complete the Sorelian system and adapt it to the 1960's, we may expect a Negro theorist to come forward with a theory of race as revolutionary social class, put within the American context. In line with this, a new group called RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement) has described itself as "revolutionary black nationalists (who) must act as a vanguard to show our people how to seize power so that they may gain sone control over their lives."[53]

Implicit in the principles of ACT and similar groups like the Black Nationalists, as well as the Black Muslims, is a rejection of the whole classical political theory of liberalism. In the realm of political action, the development of a "Freedom Now Party," which calls for a "mass awakening of the Negro people," is an indication of some dissatisfaction with traditional approaches.[54] It may be expected that this type of approach--independent political action, with even a third party in some areas--will receive some attention from the Negro militants during the next few years.

The predominant point of view among Negro leaders, however, still rejects both third-party action and the theme of unremitting and total militancy which I have styled Negro syndicalism. Militants who are not pure-blown syndicalists in any Sorelian sense, but rather follow the tactic of stressing registration, Negro education, and work with white liberals as well as agitation and direct action, form the mainstream of Negro leadership at the present time. This group, concerned over the nomination of Senator Goldwater, now faces the tactical question that demonstrations and other activities by Negroes and Negro-sympathizers may strengthen Goldwater's hand with a significant segment of the electorate. This concern led to the so-called "summit meeting" of July 29 when Negro leaders from several organizations sought a moratorium on demonstrations until after the November election.

In a sense, the Negro of the 1960's is at about the same place that organized labor was in the mid-1930's when the CIO challenge to the A.F. of L. was developing. Although the analogy may be too rough, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is now somewhat comparable to the American Federation of Labor <u>circa</u> 1935.

The political philosophy of the NAACP is quite simple; as recently expressed by Roy Wilkins, its Executive Secretary: "a numerical minority must have allies if it is to succeed. ."[55] This means that the organization stresses registration and voting, the classical "balance of power" theme and advocates "elect your friends, defeat your enemies" like Samuel Gompers.

The rise of "Negro syndicalism," however, has brought about much the same reaction as the CIO encountered. The fact is that many whites see the whole fabric of American values threatened by Negro militancy; they usually grasp this very dimly, but when it applies to them on a personal or nearly-personal basis they give expression to this belief in one way or another. Just as the great American middle class felt that "sit-down" strikes, mass picketing and other activities of the CIO really undermined American values, so numerous white Americans react to Negro militancy. If anything, the reaction of the 1960's is more venomous; the theory of America as a white civilization has not been as explicitly expressed as the theory of America as a business civilization, but is probably even more basic to the thinking of the great mass of white Americans. The signs of resistance among whites in the North, especially among working-class whites of recent immigrant stock, were abundant in 1963 and 1964. For instance, Congressman John Lesinski of Detroit, who stood alone among urban Northern Democrats in voting against the Civil Rights bill, received a strongly favorable mail response from his working-class district.[56] More important was the support given to Governor George Wallace in the presidential primaries in Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland.

In all three states--as in Philadelphia and Kentucky in the fall of 1963--local issues divorced from civil rights played a role. Both Governor John W. Reynolds of Wisconsin and Governor Matthew Welch of Indiana had signed tax bills and other measures which were controversial; since both were "stand-in" candidates in their states substituting for President Johnson, part of the Wallace vote was directed at them. In Maryland, some of the dissatisfaction directed at Governor Millard Tawes went to the Johnson "stand-in" in the Free State, Senator Daniel Brewster. The first of the primaries, Wisconsin, shocked many observers, since Wallace got 261,148 votes compared to Reynolds' 508,597. It was evident that many Republicans had "crossed over" to support Wallace, although perhaps as many or more voted for Reynolds; Congressman John W. Byrnes, the only man running in the Republican primary, polled 294,724 votes, well below the Republican potential. One reporter said that what began as "a ho-hum primary" became "a political re-run of the Civil War" in which "Wallace far outdid the most optimistic dreams of his backers or the most pessimistic estimates of his opponents in a state with relatively few Negroes, few Southerners and a presumably liberal history."[57] In Wisconsin as in the two later primaries, Wallace stressed the dangers of expanded federal government rather than civil rights.

The Wisconsin primary provided a significant test of the reaction of Catholics, predominantly of German, Polish, Italian and Slavic descent in this case, to the issues raised by school boycotts, open-occupancy laws, and other facets of the civil rights issue. The official

diocesan newspapers in the state, such as the Catholic Herald-Citizen, carried editorials and articles critical of the Alabama governor, saying that "Moral evil is invading Wisconsin," with Wallace being "publicly known for promoting that type of racism which has been specifically condemned by Pope Pius XI."[58] The Milwaukee Journal, in attacking Wallace, cited an interview he was said to have given to a London Times reporter during which he had said that the South was stable because of its Anglo-Saxon heritage while the North was dominated by 'Poles, Italians, Germans and other lesser breeds.'[59] Wallace denied that he had made any such remark, and was at one point greeted by some of his supporters with the singing of "Dixie" in Polish.[60]

The strong Wallace showing in Wisconsin came from several sources: old centers of McCarthy support; various Democratic ethnic groups, perhaps especially Polish and Serbian, in Milwaukee and other cities; and suburbs such as Wauwatosa, River Hills Village, Brown Deer and Whitefish Bay. In the new Ninth Congressional District, encompassing Waukesha County and other Milwaukee suburbs considered to be strongly in the hands of the G.O.P., Wallace received 34.4% of the total vote. But it should also be noted that the resistance to the demands of the Negroes was evident among their immediate neighbors; in the Fifth District, which contains 70% of the state's Negroes, the Alabama Governor secured 30.2% of the total vote.

Immediately after the primary, a Maryland Democrat, Blair Lee III, warned that Wallace would do even better in his state "unless civil rights people themselves refrain from demonstrations."[61] In Indiana, Governor Welsh spoke of Governor Wallace as "a skunk," "a mortal enemy of President Kennedy," and a "man whose beliefs were responsible for the deaths of innocent children in the bombing of a Sunday School class."[62] As in Wisconsin, Wallace appealed to socio-economic conservatism, attacking the Civil Rights bill on the ground that it would "destroy every single neighborhood school in America."[63] A poll by Louis Harris indicated that Wallace would take 28% of the Democratic vote, but about two out of three of those voting for him would have been for Johnson is he rather than Welch were on the ballot.[64]

Wallace got 29.8% of the Democratic vote, and carried two counties--Lake and neighboring Porter. Lake County, which includes Gary, was especially significant, since it is estimated to be 45% Negro and Wallace easily swept all-white areas. Wallace had become a symbol; and Slavic, Italian and other ethnic groups voted for him in startling numbers. The Lake County Democratic Chairman noted that the "Wallace effect" did not carry down the ballot; a candidate who agreed with Wallace and ran on his coattails obtained only 10,340 votes in the county compared to the Governor's 41,629.[65]

Two weeks later in Maryland, Wallace almost achieved victory in Maryland, capturing 16 of 23 counties and almost defeating Senator Brewster. Brewster managed to stave off the Wallace thrust by carrying the Washington suburbs and by scoring heavily among the Jews and Negroes in Baltimore (in seventeen Negro precincts in Baltimore, Wallace got not a single vote). The CBS vote-profile analysis indicated that the Alabama Governor had a slight edge in the total white vote.[66] But

again, others among the candidates who shared Wallace's position did not run well.

Through the spring and summer of 1964, other indications of strong feeling against Negro militancy were abundant. It may well have contributed to Senator Goldwater's victory in California; one writer noted that Negro districts voted for Governor Rockefeller, but numerous whites reacted to his advocacy of civil rights and tipped the balance to Goldwater.[67] The main issue in California in 1964 may well turn out to be the referendum to amend the state constitution so that the Rumford Fair Housing Act will be nullified. The California Poll indicated that 58% of the voters oppose the Rumford Act, and the signatures to obtain the repeal referendum rolled in quickly.[68]

Advocates of civil rights have begun to view the referendum process with some alarm. In addition to California, Maryland will also have a referendum this fall to repeal a legislative act--in this case, a public accomodations law. Of six referenda held to date in 1964, two (in Kansas City and St. Joseph, Missouri) have upheld public accomodation ordinances; three fair housing ordinances have lost--in Berkeley, California, Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; and in Cambridge, Maryland, with a Negro boycott of the vote led by Mrs. Richardson, a public accomodations ordinance lost 1,994 to 1,720. While the vote in Berkeley was close, fair housing lost in Seattle by two to one and in Tacoma by three to one.[69]

Illinois and Ohio political leaders were afraid of the substantial reaction to Negro activities in their states. In Illinois, the Property Owners Co-ordinating Committee secured over 550,000 signatures to obtain a referendum on the fair housing law. Negroes reacted bitterly, with Edwin C. Berry of the Urban League saying "If we had to put the Bill of Rights on a ballot, I'd be fearful we couldn't get it through," and Federal Judge James B. Parsons, a Negro, predicting that anti-Negro sentiment in the state was so strong that some candidates could be defeated on the issue.[70]

In Ohio, a strong segregationist, Richard Kennedy, got 35.1% of the vote in his race for Congressman-at-large in the Democratic primary (he died on the following day). On the Republican side, Governor James B. Rhodes was reported to have told Governor Scranton that he decided that the Ohio delegation to the national convention should turn to Goldwater because Cleveland and Youngstown would vote for the Arizona Senator in November.[71]

Thus there are ample indications of the effects of the "white back-lash" upon politics in the United States in 1964. The fundamental problem is summed up by Charles E. Silberman. After tracing the tremendously rapid growth of the Negro population in Northern cities, he says: ". . . the most serious social problem today is to be found in the heart of the big cities that are the nation's ornaments. . . and so the North is finally beginning to face the reality of race. In the process, it is discovering animosities and prejudices that had been hidden in the recesses of the soul."[72]

The "animosities and prejudices" which cropped out are undoubtedly

due to the strong faith of white Americans in the values they cherish--property, stability, opportunity, material possessions, a home where hope and optimism prevail, and the neighborhood school. Thus the reaction to civil rights agitation is quite predictable, and it is understandable that the Republican platform pledges itself to the retention of the neighborhood school and Senator Goldwater decries "lawlessness in the cities." To quote Silberman again:[73]

> "Myrdal was wrong. The tragedy of race relations in the United States is that there is no American Dilemma. White Americans are not torn and tortured by the conflict between their devotion to the American creed and their actual behavior. They are upset by the current state of race relations, to be sure. But what troubles them is not that justice is being denied but that their peace is being shattered and their business interrupted."

Although many white liberals continue to rely upon the traditions of reason and compromise,[74] there seems to be an intensified squabble in the Negro leadership. The problem of "which way the Negro leadership?" is an important one for all Americans, given the growth of Negro population in the Northern cities. As Joseph P. Lyford has said ". . . the possibility exists that the large cities may take on the political coloration of the race as well as of an economic group. The prospect of political confrontations between black cities and white towns and suburbs is not promising for our country, especially when one considers the animosities that already exist between city and 'up-State' even without the 'poor versus rich' or 'black versus white' identification."[75]

What is the state of these two "backlashes"--the white and the black--which are dividing Americans in 1964? A discussion of events and opinion in one northern city--Boston--cannot fully measure the impact of either in all the cities of America, but can provide certain indications. Boston has a smaller Negro population than most comparable cities, and had a relative lack of conflict until 1963. But the Boston School Committee election showed that a wide chasm had opened.

An analysis of the vote, including a survey done during and immediately following the election, shows a number of very clear results:

1. About 17,000 of the 309,000 registered voters (5.5%) were Negroes. Approximately 40,000 Negroes were probably eligible to vote; this is based on the calculation that in 1960, Negroes numbered 63,165 in the city's population of 697,938 (9.1%), and that about 15,000 Negroes have arrived in the city since the 1960 census. The Negro is still "under-registered" in Boston--as in most Northern cities.

2. Negroes numbered a majority of the population in 24 of the city's 275 precincts in 1960. A 1963 estimate would place this at 26 in terms of registered voters (not population). In fourteen precincts, the voters are one-third to one-half Negro, in ten about one-sixth to one-third Negro. These fifty precincts contained 95% of the registered Negroes in Boston in 1963.

3. One candidate was a Negro, Melvin H. King; he ran seventh. But the greater the concentration of Negroes, he better he ran (as a rule); Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, the School Committee chairman who had led the opposition to the NAACP demands, ran poorly in the most heavily Negro precincts.

4. In predominantly white precincts adjacent to the Negro "ghetto" support for Mrs. Hicks was almost exactly in inverse proportion to the number of Negroes. This was her strongest area.

5. The depth of intensity of feeling against the Negro across the city was evident. The main concentrations were found in three ethno-economic groups, in almost equal proportions.

a. The lower-middle income group of Irish descent. Typical was Ward 16 in Dorchester, in which Mrs. Hicks ran five-to-one over King. A poll in this area indicated that the residents had followed the issues and knew the stands of the candidates better than low-income groups.

b. Low-income voters, primarily of Italian descent and to a lesser extent of other Southern and Eastern European backgrounds. These were only vaguely aware of issues, but Mrs. Hicks had a strong symbolism for them.

c. Those of Irish descent and low income could not identify King, but many knew the name of Mrs. Hicks.

To measure the continuing conflict and its impact in 1964, a poll was devised and executed in the spring and summer of this year. Only a summary of the main points can be given in this paper, since the poll is not entirely complete as of the time of writing. Three samples were drawn up: 60 Negroes, of whom 46 were located and interviewed; 120 whites in the city; and 200 whites from twelve surrounding cities and towns. As of August 10, about three-fourths of the last two samples had either been interviewed, had refused, or were unavailable for interviews. Each of the three samples was drawn up on the basis of seven variables: age, sex, occupation, party affiliation as recorded, ethnic background (judged largely by name), length of residence in the Boston area, and type of housing predominant in the selected area.[76]

The key questions on the poll for Sample #1, the Negroes, were as follows:

If the election were held today, how would you vote for President?

How did you vote in 1960?

What would you say are the two most important problems of the Negro in Boston?

Please give me your opinion--favorable, unfavorable, or no

opinion--of the individuals and organizations included on this card (the list included national and local civil rights leaders and organizations).

Have demonstrations such as the school boycott helped or hurt the Negro in Boston? How?

The main problem encountered in administering the survey was some failure to respond to white interviewers, while Negroes got a better reception.[77] The results clearly indicated:

1. A stronger percentage of the vote for Johnson than for Kennedy in 1960. Of those interviewed (all of those selected were registered to vote), 36 were for Johnson, 2 for Goldwater, 8 were either undecided or would not vote.

2. The two main problems were employment and housing; frustrations associated with the cost of living ran third.

3. It was clear that there is a rising tide of feeling about discrimination, with most respondents being more aware than they were a few years ago.

4. Most of the organizations were known only vaguely. The NAACP and to a much less extent CORE were viewed favorably, but all others scored higher on "no opinion" and "unknown" than on "favorable" and "unfavorable" combined.

5. Only one individual, Martin Luther King, was known by name to a majority. Five others, three local figures and two national, were identified by about a third of the respondents.

6. While the majority of respondents were not really militant about civil rights, they felt that boycotts and other demonstrations were good and could not understand why there should be strong white reactions to them.

Certain responses to questions about civil rights formed a definite pattern of socio-economic relationships among Negroes:

1. Negroes in younger age groups, especially females, have little knowledge about these questions but often feel strongly.

2. Low-income, unskilled males are quite apathetic about civil rights questions, but feel strong hostility toward white men, and are cynical about participation by Negroes in political affairs.

3. The level of schooling is an important factor in civil rights interest, knowledge and activity; those with an eighth grade education, especially females, are far more involved than those below that level.

The second sample, composed of whites from ten different sections of the city, provided less homogeneity than Negroes in their responses.

Among the questions addressed to this group (and also to the third, or suburban, sample) were:

If the election were held today, how would you vote for President?

What do you like most and least about Johnson? Most and least about Goldwater?

How did you vote for President in 1960?

Do you feel that discrimination against Negroes exists in Boston?

Some people criticize the use of demonstrations on civil rights--school boycotts, sit-ins, picketing, etc. How do you feel about this?

Have you thought about issues relating to civil rights, demonstrations, and the relationship between Negroes and whites as they affect your political ideas? For instance, do you feel strongly enough about these issues so that they might make a difference in how you vote for President?

How would you feel, and how strongly, if:

a. A Negro moved into this block?
b. A Negro was hired to work with you?
c. A third or more of the children in your child's school were colored?
d. A Negro was hired to teach your children?

With respect to whites in the city of Boston, the tentative findings can be summed up as follows:

1. The Democratic margin in the city is still substantial although cut from 1960 (when John F. Kennedy of Boston was the presidential candidate). 72% of the sample were for Kennedy in 1960. As of August 10, 56% were for Johnson, 32% for Goldwater, 12% undecided.

2. The main effect of the reaction to civil rights and of general antagonism to Negroes was to ensure that 1960 votes for Nixon would go to Goldwater, rather than bringing "switches" from the Democrats.

3. There is resistance to some degree among all white elements in the city to Negro demands. The greatest resentment, felt by those most clearly undecided or "in conflict" about their vote, comes from normally strongly Democratic persons of Italian and Irish descent, especially from females. Most of these knew little about Goldwater, disliked him and the Republicans in general, but also felt some resentment against Johnson--mostly on issues relating to civil rights. Rarely, however, did they see Goldwater as a symbol of resistance to the advancing Negro.

The suburban sample appeared to show slightly different overall results. Johnson ran about even with Kennedy in these suburbs, primarily because of what was clearly "liberal Republican" feeling; the vote split 59% to 41% for Kennedy in 1960, while in 1964 those contacted were 52% to 35% for Johnson, with 13% undecided, or in a few cases declaring they would not vote. About a third of what might be called the Kennedy-Goldwater voters seemed to be affected by civil right agitation, riots (some of the interviewing was done during and soon after the Harlem and other riots), etc. In general, the suburban picture is much more complex ~~and probably~~ than the city picture.

To summarize the views presented in this paper, a widening chasm exists between the American Negro and the American white, with each firmly convinced that his position is soundly grounded in the basic values of our society.[78] As Negro militancy rises, it meets increasing white resistance which may turn into an awesome political force. But Negro syndicalism may well, in the not too distant future, yield to a more sophisticated political approach; such an approach would lead toward the day when the urban Negro under a new generation of leadership plays his part in developing more responsive government for the urbanized society. The next few years may see the emergence of what Mentoff calls "a powerful neo-Populist alliance."[79]

America has embarked upon a fearsome venture--the venture of great urban areas becoming more heavily Negro year by year. But it has undertaken new ventures before, some of them replete with direct-action overtones; during the last great direct-action movement, one participant wrote of the new industrial unions:[80]

> (Industrial unions) can be likened to nothing so much as the settlement of a new territory. It was always a few pioneers who ventured into a new country. . . Following came the less courageous to share in the benefits. Today the unions, with strikes and arbitration as their weapons, are fighting to make their surroundings habitable; and they too, like the pioneers are sharing their gains with the less courageous. The strikers are, in reality, the peioneers of social exploration, taking the only path of progress open to man--the overcoming of poverty and social inequality.

In many respects, as has been frequently pointed out, the frontier of the United States today is in the city. The question is whether or not our values have become so solidified that the urban frontier will be a failure--a failure which would doom the Northern (and certainly therefore the Southern) Negro to poverty, frustration, increased bitterness, and redoubled violence--or whether the Negro can become the foundation-stone for a new venture of "pioneering in social exploration".

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The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress under the 1957 Civil Rights Act and authorized by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 to:

Voting

. . . Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion or national origin.

. . . Investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Equal Protection of the Laws

. . . Collect and study information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

Clearinghouse

. . . Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.

Reports

. . . Submit reports of its activities, findings and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

The Commission is not an enforcement agency and has no power to provide specific remedies in individual cases. It refers complaints of denials of rights to the appropriate Federal administrative agency for corrective action.

Six Commissioners, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, determine policy for the agency. A Staff Director, also a Presidential appointee, supervises the professional and clerical staff of more than 100.

The Commission's field offices in Memphis, Tennessee and Chicago, Illinois, aid the agency in all of its programs.

STAFF ORGANIZATION

Commission programs are implemented through four major staff divisions. The *Federal Programs Division* evaluates Federal civil rights policies and their implementation and serves as liaison with other Federal agencies on civil rights matters. The *Field Services Division* directs field activities for the agency and is responsible for the coordination of field offices and the supervision of the 51 State Advisory Committees. The *Research Division* maintains a library of civil rights materials and develops short term as well as more extensive research projects. The *Office of the General Counsel* handles the agency's legal work and directs its voting projects. Complaints alleging denials of equal protection of the laws should be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel.

The Commission also includes an Office of the Staff Director, an Office of Business Administration, and an Information Office which maintains liaison with news media, public and private groups, and the general public and, edits Commission publications.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Commission travels throughout the nation for fact-finding hearings relating to civil rights problems. Such hearings have been held in Jackson, Mississippi; Montgomery, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; Atlanta, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Washington, D. C.; Los Angeles and San Francisco, California; Detroit, Michigan; Phoenix, Arizona; Newark, New Jersey; New York, New York; and Indianapolis, Indiana. Hearing rules safeguard the rights of every individual who appears before the Commission. Using the subpena power granted by Congress, the Commission seeks facts from local officials and other citizens representing diverse interests and points of view. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and some presidential executive orders reflect findings and recommendations resulting from Commission hearings and studies.

REPORTS

Major investigations and research projects have been conducted by the Commission staff relating to the denial of equal protection of the laws in voting, education, employment, housing and the administration of justice. Published Commission studies also deal with differences in the opportunities available to Negroes and whites in the armed forces and in programs of the Departments of Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; Labor and other Federal agencies.

CONFERENCES

The Commission sponsors national, regional and state conferences as part of its fact-gathering function and as a method of disseminating information to specialized audiences. These conferences bring together Federal, State and local officials, representatives of business, labor and civil rights groups, and community leaders to consider school desegregation, employment, equal housing opportunities, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and other civil rights matters.

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

More than 600 citizens from every state and the District of Columbia who are familiar with state and local civil rights problems serve without compensation on the 51 Advisory Committees to the Commission. These committees constitute a unique resource for securing information based on the experience and insight of persons with first-hand knowledge of problems in every part of the country. The committees also disseminate information on Federal law and policies.

The Commission often publishes reports prepared by the State Advisory Committees.

CLEARINGHOUSE

The Commission is a national clearinghouse for information relating to denials of Federal rights because of race, color, religion or national origin, including—but not limited to—the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities and transportation and the administration of justice.

Under the clearinghouse function assigned by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Commission collects, publishes and disseminates information to promote a better understanding of constitutional and statutory requirements relating to civil rights. Commission conferences and staff consultations help Federal, State and local governments as well as private institutions and individuals develop techniques for dealing with specific problems in the civil rights field.

PUBLICATIONS

A complete listing of Commission publications—statutory reports, interim reports, staff reports, state advisory committee reports, and transcripts of hearings and conferences—can be obtained by writing the Information Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Most of the agency's published works are available in depository libraries throughout the country.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Write U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Field Offices:

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
167 North Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Federal Office Building
219 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

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STATE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY TO PROMOTE CIVIL RIGHTS

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EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

. . . the AFL-CIO program

LABOR LOOKS AT

the crisis in civil rights

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

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Notre Dame Conference on Congressional Civil Rights Legislation

Reprinted from Vol. 38, Notre Dame Lawyer
Page 430

JUNE, 1963

PUBLISHED BY THE
NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL

THE GREAT QUESTION

A GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

DESIGNED BY SAUL BASS

CIVIL RIGHTS and UNION RIGHTS

They go together

Mr. Mitchell: The following statement represents the position of Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP; Mr. A. Philip Randolph, president of the American Negro Labor Council; the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Mr. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

We support H.R. 77 and urge swift action to repeal Section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

The simple truth is that the slogan "Right to Work" is nothing more than the old phrase "open shop" which the powerful industrialists of America used in the early days of the 20th century to prevent trade union organization. At that time the open shop was the ideological weapon which was used to justify violence and terror in the attack against trade unionism, and which for a period resulted in a kind of industrial barbarism associated with the tragic names of Ludlow, Colo.; Homestead, Pa.; Harlan County, Ky.; and the infamous 1938 Memorial Day massacre of steelworkers in Chicago when Negro citizens as well as white workers lost their lives. The issue then was the right of unions to exist and function in American society and the right of workers to secure collective-bargaining agents of their own choosing.

Much time has passed. Trade unionism is now an established institution in American life, but there is still a sizable group of recalcitrant employers who persist in their efforts to destroy unionism or to make it entirely ineffective. They refurbished the old discredited "open shop" concept and, employing the techniques of Madison Avenue hucksters, are now selling the new slogan "Right To Work."

Do these laws provide American workers with any guarantee of employment? They do not. Do any of these right-to-work laws embody a code of fair employment practices? They do not. Do these laws attempt to determine fair wages, provide decent hours of labor or other terms and conditions of employment? They do not. Do they provide for equitable distribution of work or guarantee that layoffs shall be in inverse order of seniority? They do not. Do they provide for vacations with pay, disability benefits, and retirement pensions? They do not.

What, then, do they do? In their commonest form they prohibit any kind of union security. They make it impossible for a labor-management agreement to provide for any form of union security.

The need to develop a firm and secure economic base within the Negro community is of the greatest importance, not for Negroes alone but for the stability and order of the American community. The growing disparity in economic status between Negro and white workers and the vulnerability of colored wage earners to long-term economic distress are clearly indicated by the cruel facts on unemployment and economic distribution. We believe that Negro workers, as do other Americans, need a strong, vigorous, and democratic labor movement.

On the other hand, we have worked with the leaders of the AFL-CIO and its civil rights department, and with the leaders of many affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO, on civil rights matters. They have marched with us in Washington, D. C., and in Montgomery, Ala. They fought valiantly for what is now Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and we freely acknowledge that without their help that Title would not have been included in the law.

We know after many long years of experience that so-called right-to-work laws do not give Negro workers the right to work. These laws are of no value in ending discrimination. We shall proceed, as we have in the past, in our efforts to eliminate discrimination by some employers and by certain labor unions, but we also wish to assist in helping to build a truly democratic American labor movement that is based upon the principles of racial and economic justice.

The NAACP welcomes the support of organized labor in the battle for full civil rights for all American citizens and is proud of its long years of cooperation with trade union organizations. We join with them in urging the repeal of Section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act because we believe that such action is in the best interests of all wage earners as well as in the interest of our country.

Rep. Glenn Andrews, who asked the following question is a Goldwater Republican from Alabama with a consistent record of opposing all civil rights legislation. His district includes Selma. Thus the "mutual astonishment" of Mitchell at Andrews' sudden concern for Negro rights.

Mr. Andrews: Mr. Mitchell, I am frankly astonished that you, Dr. King, Mr. Randolph, and a group of your young people should be committed to the repeal of 14(b).

Mr. Mitchell: I do not know whether I could answer your question in a word but if you would indulge me to preface my reply by saying that our astonishment is mutual, I am equally astonished that you are defending the right of the colored people and I am happy that you are in that position, Mr. Andrews, and because we need all the help we can get.

I would say that I fear you have misunderstood the history of the American labor movement in relation to the colored people. This organization, the AFL-CIO and the constituent unions represent people who have worked with us for desegregation of public schools. They have assisted us in passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which has brought desegregation to the Senate of Alabama and they have helped us in trying to improve working conditions.

I would say that we are allies. We have not had from the employers as an organized group the kind of assistance in making America a better place for colored and white people as well as everyone else that we have had from organized labor groups.

Now I would say if anybody has a bona fide amendment or language which has a true purpose of correcting discrimination and which is really going to do the job, of course, all of us support it.

I am past the stage in my life when I am deceived by things that are done up in pretty ribbons and fancy paper because all too often when we open the box there is nothing inside.

WE IN THE AFL-CIO have always contended that union rights and civil rights go hand in hand.

For 20 years the backers of so-called "right-to-work" laws have been peddling the false notion that wiping out the union shop would increase job openings for Negroes.

This has been very selective peddling. They didn't (and still don't) use the argument among white southerners, whose votes put most of the present "right-to-work" laws on the books. (There is still a South Carolina statute forbidding integrated work forces in textile mills.)

But they did and still do peddle this poison among Negroes and other minorities, despite the fact that practically all racial discrimination, past or present, has been originated and enforced by employers. And practically all anti-discrimination provisions, by law or by contract, have been originated by unions.

As Clarence Mitchell, speaking for four major civil rights organizations—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Negro Labor Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality—makes clear in these pages, civil rights and union rights go hand in hand.

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

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President

Wm. F. Schnitzler
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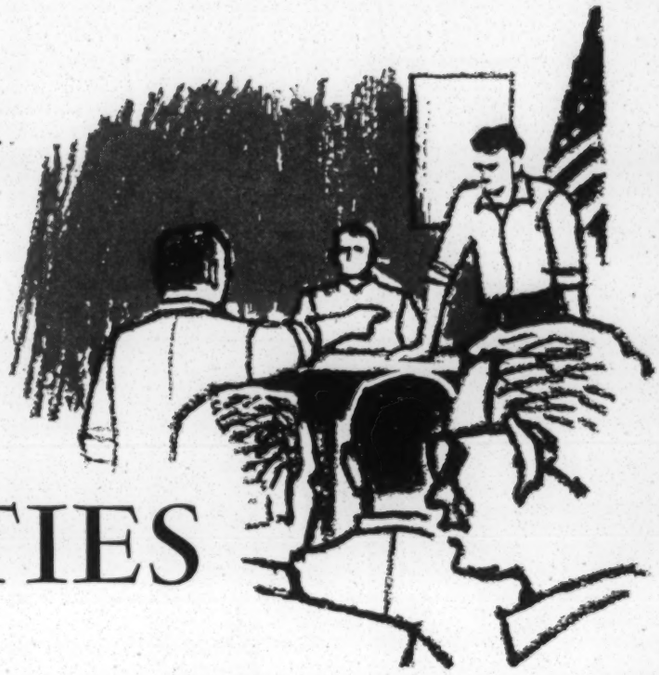
LABOR AND CIVIL LIBERTIES



by Harry Fleischman

Organized labor learned the need for civil liberties the hard way. As early as 1806, when Philadelphia shoemakers went on strike, they were brought on trial and found guilty for forming "a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages." In 1894, in the Pullman strike, a labor injunction—called by union leader Eugene Debs a "Gatling gun on paper"—helped crush the strike and smash the American Railway Union. Lockouts, blacklists, yellow-dog contracts, labor spies to undermine and betray unions and the use of troops and deputized thugs to terrorize workers and organizers were all part of the employer arsenal in the past.

Even today, as the last AFL-CIO convention pointed out, "freedom of speech, assembly, association and solicitation of membership for union organizers and factory workers are virtually non-existent in the rural South and all efforts to exercise these rights have been and are being frustrated, despite the guarantees of the Constitution." In 1961, two organizers of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers were brutally beaten by hoodlums in Ellijay, Georgia, and then arrested for "fighting, disorderly conduct, inciting a riot and soliciting membership without a license." A union organizer was beaten and kidnaped by a mob in Franklinton, North Carolina, while the city police and the county sheriff turned their backs. When two organizers of the Textile Workers Union of America were knifed in Fitzgerald, Georgia, police blandly wrote this incident off with a report that they got into a fight and knifed each other.

The right to dissent, to hold unpopular views, to try to convince others and change existing practices by peaceful and lawful means is the very cornerstone of American liberty, laid down 40 years before the Declaration of Independence in the celebrated trial of Peter Zenger.

Zenger, an obscure German immigrant, was thrown into jail for printing in his small newspaper, the New York Weekly World, articles criticizing the governor of the colony. To his defense came 80-year-old Andrew Hamilton, one of the most prominent attorneys in the colonies, who traveled from Philadelphia to deliver his eloquent and successful plea to the jury. It was not just the cause of a poor printer he was defending, Hamilton explained, but the cause of human liberty—"the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth."

Yet while every AFL-CIO convention has unanimously passed tough resolutions in defense of civil liberties, there are grounds for believing there is a gap between the positions taken at conventions and the views of rank and file unionists.

Back in 1954 the Fund for the Republic polled 5,000 rank and file Americans and 1,500 community leaders on their attitudes on communists and civil liberties. The survey's results were included in a fact-packed book, "Communists, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Harvard Professor Samuel A. Stouffer. It included data on 1,500 rank and file unionists and local union leaders.

The next year a group of union education directors conducted polls of local union leaders at 14 union leadership training institutes. Questionnaires were filled out, without any discussion, by 647 union shop stewards, committeemen, local union presidents and other union leaders. Since then, similar polls have been conducted at union institutes, several as late as 1962, polling some 600 local union leaders at nine institutes.

The remarkable thing about all these polls was that

HARRY FLEISCHMAN stresses civil liberties and civil rights in a column he writes as director of the National Labor Service, American Jewish Committee. He is co-author of the AFL-CIO booklet, "Security, Civil Liberties and Unions."

the percentage varied only slightly.

What were the results? True, the local union leaders scored high on their devotion to equal treatment of all, regardless of race, religion or national origin. More than nine out of ten insisted that unions should enforce equal opportunity in respect to apprenticeship training and job promotions. But they displayed considerably less enthusiasm for the traditional American principles embodied in the Bill of Rights. Their tolerance of people whose ideas and opinions differed from their own was lukewarm at best.

What is meant by "tolerance?" It does not necessarily mean approval. Tolerance means that, even if we disagree with other people's opinions, we uphold the civil liberties extended to them by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO has stressed that "everyone devoted to democracy and human dignity must draw a sharp line of distinction between the democratic socialists and the totalitarian communists. One need not accept the doctrines of democratic socialism to realize that its adherents are true democrats who are uncompromising enemies of communism and all other forms of dictatorship. As a matter of fact, democratic socialists have often shared with free trade unionists the honor of being the first and main target of communist hostility, abuse, persecution and liquidation." And yet two out of five local trade union leaders would keep a socialist from teaching and one out of five would expel a socialist from his local union.

Although the Bill of Rights declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, more than half of our local union leaders would deny an atheist the right to teach and one out of four would keep him out of the local union.

As to communists, four-fifths of local union leaders would prevent them from teaching. Two out of three would strip American-born communists of their American citizenship.

Interestingly, less than half of the local union leaders would jail admitted communists. Apparently they feel that loss of citizenship is a smaller penalty than a jail sentence. Moreover, while five out of six would fire a communist working in a defense plant, more than half feel that communists should be allowed to work in non-defense jobs such as clerking in a store.

During the McCarthy period, labor was fearful of the witchhunts which spread throughout the land. While labor has hailed such investigations as the LaFollette probe into labor spying, AFL-CIO spokesmen have criticized "loosely-conducted congressional investigations where unfounded accusations and unproved charges had the effect of character assassination of good, loyal Americans." These inquiries were criticized as wandering from any proper legislative purpose into attempts "to enforce uniformity of opinions and to stifle the traditional American right to dissent." Yet two-thirds of local union leaders polled insisted that Congress should investigate political beliefs and associations in order to determine whether they are "un-American."

While the local union leader may not rise to the defense of an abstract principle of freedom, he tends to identify with individual victims and to respond far more affirmatively to redress specific violations of civil liberties. Thus although a majority supported security tests in other than sensitive posts, nine out of ten local union leaders supported the right of those accused as security risks under federal security programs to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Perhaps the strong support for this position comes from labor's vigorous activity against abuses in the various government security programs, as well as from the publicity some cases have received in the nation's press and on TV. Among cases enlisting their sympathy were the following:

- One "risk" was accused of "leftwing talk." What he had actually said was: "I would rather be a second-class citizen in Mississippi than a first-class citizen in Russia."
- Another man was accused of teaching languages to "persons of the Russian embassy and Russian soldiers." He had taught Russian to U.S. Army and Navy officers during World War II.
- A Negro worker defending himself against "security" charges was asked whether he favored "the mixing of Negroes and whites."
- Another worker was asked if he had dated Japanese girls during the Korean War.

When former Republican Senator Harry Cain was Chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, he charged that the incompetence of many government security officers was at least as dangerous as conscious sabotage. Among the derogatory information they placed against American citizens, some of it in formal charges, according to the Providence Journal Bulletin, were:

- Testimony by a neighbor who said he saw the subject on several occasions walking around his own home without clothes on.
- Statements that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.
- Evidence of contributions to the United Jewish Appeal.

Other stupidities of security officers included the suspension of a bachelor for "having a communist wife." A defense plant engineer was suspended because the security officer charged that he and his wife teamed up to make streetcorner communist speeches in 1939—when the husband was 15, the wife 11 years old and when they lived in different cities.

The American Legion reported a member was fired from his government job because his wife accused him of personal misconduct. Later the wife was fired from her government job because it was found that she lied about her husband. But the government refused to reinstate the husband because being accused in public was considered sufficient grounds for dismissal in his particular department.

In one of the classic cases, a unionist was declared

a "security risk" because he was too active a union man! As Jim Schuetz told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights recently, he had worked at Bell Aircraft since 1940. Chairman of the United Auto Workers' local stewards' council, he had held a government security clearance since 1946. In late 1950, Schuetz was called into the Army Air Force office at Bell and handed a letter withdrawing his security clearance. As a "security risk," the company then told him, he no longer could be employed at Bell.

After the union appealed, Schuetz learned months later that his clearance had been withdrawn because of "picketline offenses" in the Bell Aircraft strike a year and a half earlier, which the hearing board said had shown "poor discretion" and "lack of responsibility." Schuetz was not disloyal or subversive, they said, but they implied he was too active and militant a union man. When the hearing board refused to restore his clearance, UAW officers and the Workers Defense League took the case to the Secretary of Defense in Washington. Five months after he was fired, Schuetz was cleared of the "security risk" tag and reinstated on the job. But even then, it took almost a year to get his back pay.

In another case, when Julius P. Alston was denounced as a security risk and pulled off his job at the Lockheed missiles plant in Van Nuys, Calif., which makes the Polaris missile, the government kept identity of his accusers secret. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers helped him disprove the anonymous security risk charge that cost him his job back in April 1959. Union representative Hal Shean went with Alston before a hearing board in June 1959. Alston then learned that charges against him arose because he worked for an arms plant in Connecticut where communist infiltration had taken place 17 years ago. It took another 17 months to clear Alston even though Alston, with Shean's aid, showed at the hearing that the charge against him was groundless. His reinstatement order entitled Alston to $9,000 back pay.

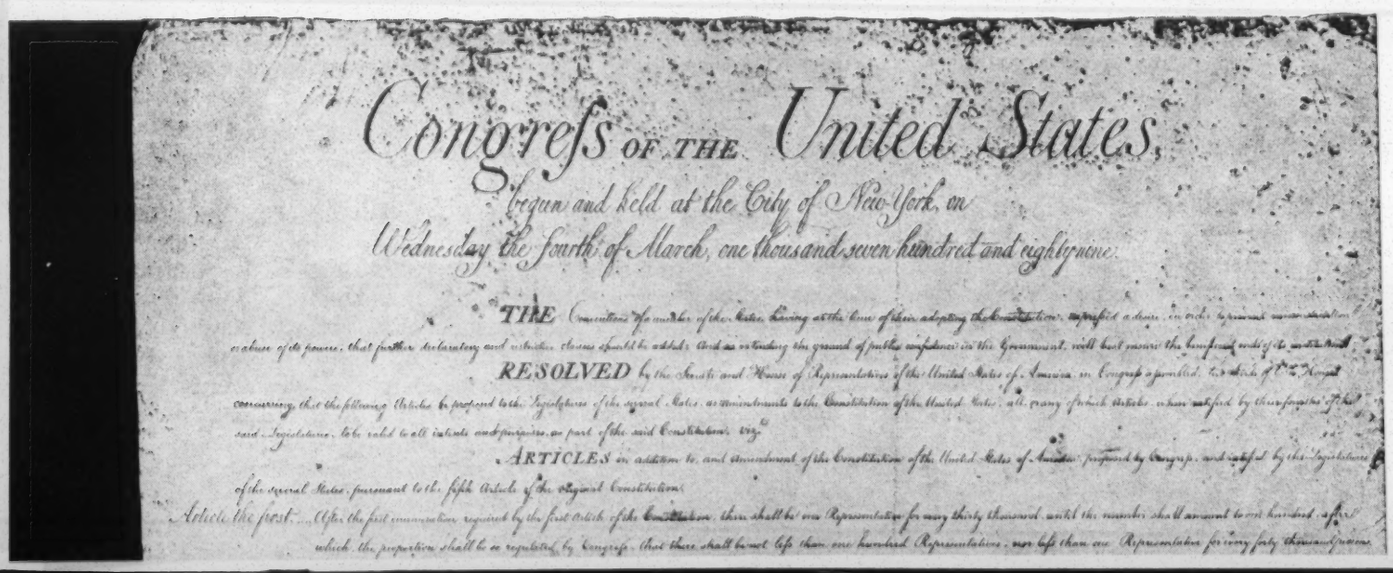
Six days after the Alston hearing, the U. S. Supreme Court held the government's industrial security program invalid in an 8-to-1 decision because denial of confrontation and cross examination of government witnesses, without statutory authority, was illegal. Former President Eisenhower issued an executive order restoring the program with some changes to meet the court's decision, but did not apply the confrontation and cross examination principles to all cases. A bill to back up that executive order with congressional sanction went down to defeat in the last Congress as labor pitched in, along with other liberal forces and a small group of Republicans, to point up its dangers.

American labor traditionally has opposed blacklisting as an unmitigated evil. Labor history is full of examples of active union men fired from jobs because of union activity and blacklisted so they could find no other jobs in their trades. That is why unions campaigned so vigorously for a clause in the Wagner Act to make blacklisting illegal.

During the McCarthy era, a different kind of blacklist ran rampant—the exclusion of actors, writers and others in the entertainment industries because of alleged involvement with communist or communist-front groups. Blacklisters cowed the radio and television industry—networks and stations, sponsors and advertising agencies, even the performers' union—into accepting "political reliability" as a qualification for employment in broadcasting. In part, this was a reaction to earlier communist influence in the entertainment world, where communists and fellow travelers had worked together to blacklist anti-communist writers and actors.

In the mid-fifties, John Henry Faulk, a radio-TV personality earning $36,000 a year as a humorist, decided the blacklist wasn't funny. With several other entertainers he ran for office in the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) on a slate opposing both communism and blacklisting. When the slate won, a blacklisting newsletter, AWARE, charged that Faulk had attended some communist-front meetings years before. The late Lawrence Johnson, owner of a super-

The Bill of Rights



Congress of the United States,

begun and held at the City of New-York, on

Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best secure the beneficent ends of its institution.

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

Article the first.... After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons

market chain in Syracuse, N. Y., circulated AWARE's attack among Faulk's sponsors, threatening to remove their products from his stores. The sponsors deserted in droves.

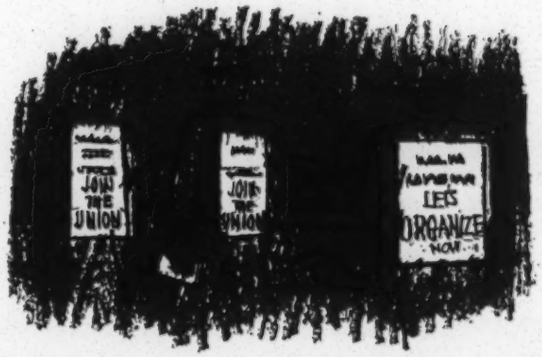
Instead of bowing supinely to AWARE's power, Faulk sued AWARE, Johnson and Vincent H. Hartnett, author of the attack, for libel. Things happened fast. The Columbia Broadcasting System failed to renew Faulk's contract. Stations outside New York offered to hire him only if he dropped his suit. Faulk moved to Texas and opened a small public relations agency to try to keep going.

Finally, last year, when attorney Louis Nizer proved the AWARE charges were untrue, a jury awarded Faulk the unprecedented sum of $3.5 million in compensatory and punitive damages. How much he will collect is uncertain since multi-millionaire Johnson died just as the case went to the jury and a legal question exists as to whether his estate is responsible for his share of the damages. In the light of the Faulk verdict, other individuals similarly victimized may be expected to take similar legal action against their attackers.

Still another area of great concern to labor is the widespread use of wiretapping. As the law now stands, the Communications Act of 1934 makes it a federal crime for anybody, police included, to put a wiretap on somebody's telephone and disclose what was heard. The Supreme Court recently has ruled, in Mapp v. Ohio, that illegally obtained evidence may not be used in state or federal courts. Whether that ruling will eventually bar the use of wiretap evidence in all state courts is not yet settled.

To be able to move at top speed, the Justice Department now wants a law permitting the use of wiretap information in cases involving national security without having to request a court order. In cases where bribery, extortion, kidnapping or murder are suspected, the law would require specific court orders for permission to tap and use the evidence. State and local authorities have urged even wider use of wiretaps, leading the American Civil Liberties Union to demand a complete ban on wiretapping because "innumerable innocent people will have their privacy invaded by officials who, as Justice Brandeis said, at their best are 'men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding' and, at their worst, susceptible to graft, corruption, extortion and other improprieties." The AFL-CIO, recognizing that wiretapping constitutes a serious threat to personal liberties and that technological developments have made it very difficult to control, has urged a law permitting wiretapping only to federal agents, under specific court orders, in an area clearly defined to cover espionage, treason and kidnapping. All other taps should be banned, said the last AFL-CIO convention, including a prohibition on divulging tapped information at congressional hearings.

In 1637, a stubborn English bookseller named John Lilburne stood trial before a star chamber, charged with having brought certain anti-religious books into



Britain. Because he refused to testify against himself, he was sentenced to be whipped.

In 1641, the House of Commons voted this sentence "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Lilburne's fight established in the English-speaking world the principle that no man should be compelled to bear witness against himself or be tortured into confession. This safeguard was later written into the American Bill of Rights as the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The Fifth Amendment states in pretty plain language that in a criminal trial no man is required to testify against himself. It also includes the provision that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law"—that is, without a fair trial. These principles go hand in hand with the assumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty.

Communists and fellow travelers have, of course, made frequent use of the Fifth Amendment. Newspapers headline cases of "Fifth Amendment Communist," "Fifth Amendment Teachers," "Fifth Amendment Gangsters" and "Fifth Amendment Racketeers." As a result, many people forget that the Fifth Amendment was put in the Bill of Rights not as an "escape hatch" for the guilty, but to protect the innocent.

The Fifth Amendment has been called "one of the greatest privileges a free people can possess." Like the rest of the Bill of Rights, it is a symbol of democracy. There were no such safeguards in fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. There is no Fifth Amendment in communist Russia.

"The reason for the guarantee is of such overwhelming importance," wrote President A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists, in his union journal, "that few people would seriously contend we should abandon it and revert to the old practice, still used by communist and fascist dictators, of extracting confessions by physical and mental torture. Indeed, the Fifth Amendment is one of the basic concepts of freedom which distinguishes our form of government from communism and fascism."

Nevertheless, in October 1953 the Eisenhower security order was amended to state that any person who pleads the Fifth Amendment is automatically a "security risk" and not eligible for work on classified government materials. Some companies even dismiss any employe who has claimed the Fifth in a court case or

hearing, whether he is working on defense contracts or not.

The courts have ruled that pleading the Fifth Amendment may not be interpreted as a confession of guilt. In a recent decision, the U. S. Supreme Court declared:

". . . The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury.

". . . A witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent of any wrongdoing. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

There are many reasons which may lead an innocent man to plead the Fifth. He may fear becoming involved in a case although he has committed no crime. He may be frightened and plead the Fifth to avoid further questioning. He may feel that whatever he says will be a link in the chain of his own prosecution.

In April 1956, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act, which permits the government to grant witnesses immunity against prosecution and force them to testify in national security cases. Under the law the government may subpoena a man to the witness stand and make him testify against himself and former associates. If he refuses, he can go to jail for contempt of Congress.

An editorial in The Wall Street Journal argued: "The law flies directly in the face of the Fifth Amendment, for the granting of immunity from prosecution is only another way to force a person to testify against himself or go to jail. No one can say what future prosecution may flow from forced testimony."

Three Bethlehem Steel employes—in plants which had no defense contracts—were fired when they pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee. The Steelworkers Union took the case to arbitration but lost. Furthermore, the workers were refused unemployment benefits on the grounds that they had been fired for "just cause."

The executive board of the Steelworkers declared that invoking the Fifth Amendment "standing alone cannot be the basis . . . for failure of the union to protect employe rights under a collective bargaining agreement, including the right to be free from unilateral and arbitrary disciplinary action or discharge."

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Newspaper Guild, the American Federation of Teachers and the United Auto Workers also have stated they would not go along with dismissals based solely on the fact that a worker claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. If a local union has reason to believe that the individual in question is actually a communist, these national unions declare, he should be tried under local union procedure.

"From Jesus' injunction to swear not at all," noted Gordon M. Browne, Jr., past president of Local 460 of the American Federation of Teachers, "through the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Cummings vs. Missouri in 1867, which held that a test oath denying employment to non-signers was a bill of attainder and specifically forbidden by the Constitution, oaths have been despised and resisted. They have been the tool of tyrants seeking to coerce conformity, often on matters of religious belief."

Yet in the postwar era the prevalence of test oaths has grown mightily. Churches and other organizations in California enjoying tax exemption once were required to swear their corporate loyalty to preserve their tax exempt status. All over the country, teachers have been forced to sign non-communist oaths. Students must sign such oaths to receive federal aid grants. The Christian Century reported that a new subscriber had offered with his check a non-communist oath which he wanted the editor to sign for himself and all his employes before accepting the subscriber's money.

What have the oaths accomplished? They invariably are presented as a weapon against subversion, but communists and other totalitarians would have no hesitation in signing such an oath. After all, Lenin told them that lying, stealing and murder were justified because the end justified the means. The scores of teachers and professors who have been fired or forced to resign for refusal to sign such oaths have been people opposed to the oath on principle. The oath has punished no subversives but has made thornier the path of the non-conformist.

"But if you're not a subversive, why not swear loyalty to your country?" This is the classic question to which the only answer is "If we must suspect each other and be reassured only by oaths, how can a free society function?" Teachers have been special targets of oaths because their influence during the formative years of a child's development has been viewed with anxiety by oath proponents. Teachers, of course, resent such attention. They feel no more inclined to subversion than doctors or bankers—yet doctors are not asked to swear that they are not abortionists or bankers that they are not embezzlers.

What are some of the other civil liberties issues of concern to the trade union movement? Censorship and the McCarran Act are among them. The defeated Cunningham amendment to the postal rate revision bill would have banned from international and domestic mail all matter determined by the Attorney General to

be communist political propaganda. The last AFL-CIO convention opposed such attempt at censorship, rejecting "the totalitarian philosophy that some government officials can judge better than the people themselves what they shall read, see or hear." Herblock, the political cartoonist, echoed this view when he suggested: "It seems to me that we were all better off when the postal department used to deliver mail and left it to a Higher Authority to deliver us from evil."

Junius Scales, a former Communist Party organizer arrested under the Smith Act in 1954, was found guilty of active and knowing membership in the Communist Party and sentenced to six years in jail. During the seven years the case was being considered by various appeals courts, a great deal happened in the world—and to Junius Scales. In 1957 Scales quit the party. In 1961, his conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 decision. (On the same day the Court threw out the conviction of John F. Noto, an admitted and continuing party functionary, on the ground that the government had failed to present sufficient evidence of "illegal party advisory.") No other Communist Party member, past or present, has been convicted on the same charge that put Scales behind bars.

As The Washington Post put it: "What a laugh this must give the commies! The government of the United States . . . in effect joins hands with [communists] to punish an ex-member whom they hate for his apostasy. Moreover the absurdity of this paradox is heightened when one reflects that Scales is being punished for a political crime—holding bad beliefs and bad associations—which most Americans like to believe is punishable only in communist countries. If President Kennedy were to pardon Scales, he would be tempering justice not only with mercy but with equity and common sense as well."

And this did happen; in a series of Christmas amnesties, Kennedy set Scales free in commuting his term.

Last year, the U. S. Supreme Court, also by a 5 to 4 vote, upheld the constitutionality of the key clause of the Internal Security Act (popularly titled the McCarran Act). The U. S. Communist Party was ordered to register as the agent of a foreign power. When the party refused, it was indicted and was recently tried along with several of its leaders. A number of organizations, including one union, were designated "communist-infiltrated" as defined by the Act and prosecutions are pending. Several publications are under orders to label themselves as communist and are threatened with prosecution if they don't.

The four Supreme Court justices who dissented in the McCarran Act decision said:

". . . the freedoms of speech, press, petition and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment must be accorded to the ideas we hate or sooner or later they will be denied to the ideas we cherish. The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country.

". . . Now, when this country is trying to spread the high ideals of democracy all over the world—ideals that are revolutionary in many countries—seems to be a particularly inappropriate time to stifle First Amendment freedoms in this country. The same arguments that are used to justify the outlawry of communist ideas here could be used to justify the outlawry of the ideas of democracy in other nations.

". . . This widespread program for punishing ideas on the ground that they might endanger the internal security of the nation not only sadly fails to protect that security but also diverts our energies and thoughts from the many far more important problems that face us as a nation in this troubled world."

It has been noted that on many of the civil liberties issues confronting the nation there seems to be a gap between labor's official views and the attitudes of local union leaders and the rank and file. Nor is it only unionists who share such limited views of democracy. A Purdue University poll of teenage opinions reveals that more than half of our high school students believe that wiretapping and the third degree should be legalized to help the police maintain obedience and that police should censor books, movies, radio and TV to shield citizens from improper thinking. Moreover, 41 percent would abolish freedom of the press and 34 percent would deny freedom of speech to people who hold unpopular views. Indeed, Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court said several years ago that he doubted the Bill of Rights would win approval if it were submitted to this generation of Americans in a referendum.

In every union leadership training institute where civil liberties questionnaires were distributed, the replies—filled out without discussion—were disheartening. Yet in every case, after open discussion on the issues, support for civil liberties soared dramatically. Nor was this due to an indoctrination process of lecturing about the "right" answers. What was done was to elicit from the local union leaders their definition of democracy. Invariably, this included not only rule by the majority but protection of the rights of the minority—including freedom of speech, press, assembly and worship. Then as discussion was requested on the specific items in the questionnaire—and the students were asked how their answers related to the definition of democracy they had worked out—they realized the indivisibility of freedom.

When they understand the issues, American workers wholeheartedly support the principles of freedom and democracy. But how to bring about that understanding? Civil liberties should be stressed in labor's schools, press and meetings. And since union members only reflect the prejudices of the communities of which they are a part, labor must push for more intensive education in public schools and in all institutions on the values of democracy.

RALPH McGILL

6-18-63

Many Ladies Went to Jail

It was not too many years ago that in Britain and the United States nice ladies of impeccable backgrounds and prestige families were being loaded into patrol wagons along with their placards of protest for their street demonstrations in behalf of the right to vote.

That stage of developing rights in the United States was one plateau. The first, of course, was the long, tedious and sacrificial fight for independence. Now we are engaged on another pleateu—that of full civil rights for each citizen. We tend to forget the others.

The Woman's Suffrage story of protest parades, pickets and demonstrations, in which police made arrests and jails received the ladies, did not end until 1920.

As a young student reporter, the writer was in the balcony when the Tennessee state legislature became the thirty-sixth state to approve the constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. A tumultuous, emotional scene ensued. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a brilliant, stubborn woman who had headed the national "suffragette" organization, was present and I interviewed her.

Ballot of Reform

There was much hope then that the women would "reform the ballot." There was disappointment when, in the early years after being given the vote, they seemed to vote as did their husbands or families. But as the years have moved and more and more educated women have become interested in politics, the early hopes have been vindicated. The so-called woman's vote has become increasingly independent. It no longer is merely a companion ballot to that cast by husband, father or brother.

The movement for woman suffrage began as early as the movement to abolish slavery. But it had a lesser priority. Some three generations were to pass before

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The campaign in America was electrified from about 1910 to 1915 by the determined efforts of women in Britain. There Mrs. Emmeline Parkhurst and her daughter, Christabel, after passive protests had failed, became militant. They and their followers set up boycotts and stirred riots which produced broken shop windows, fires and other disorders. They, and others, were jailed more than once. Each time they went on hunger strikes.

In America there were parades and protests and, in the early years, some violence. A number of ladies were arrested and jailed for demonstrations. The nation learned a new word—feminism. As the Negro's search for rights has moved out of the field of education to that of full citizenship, so did the woman's suffrage movement. There were demands to reform the laws which discriminated against women as litigants in courts. They had few property rights and were grievously exploited in wages paid and in hours worked.

Lady's Groom

One lady of wealth and position, in speaking for the right to vote, said: "I have no vote, but my groom has. He is a good man, but if I went to him and said, 'Jim, will you exercise the franchise?' he would reply, 'Sure, Mam, and we have no horse by that name.' "

The story of the press in those years is not a happy one. Most of it defended the status quo and opposed women voting. The editors solemnly condemned it as undermining the nation. When a group of women paraded from New York to Albany to dramatize a protest to the legislature, an Episcopal bishop denounced them as "silly and excited." In general the clergy was as sure as a majority of editorial writers that the vote for women was wrong.

A newspaper wit wrote a rhyme:

"Peter, Peter, punkin eater,
Had a wife and tried to beat her;
But his wife was a suffragette,
And Peter's in the hospital yet."

A map of the period shows that before adoption of the 19th Amendment in August, 1920, the Southern States, and Pennsylvania, were the strongholds of denial of voting rights for women.

In conclusion, it is only in 1963 that women have won the right, by statute, of equal pay.

Texas: Two-Fisted, Three-Party State

Democrats who used to have it all their way now must fight off challenges from two sides.

By RONNIE DUGGER

AUSTIN, Tex.

AMERICANS who can't get out of their heads the notion that Texas roads are intersecting cowtrails and that the most popular vehicle in these parts is the horse will be pleased to learn that Texas politics still has a gamy Western flavor.

This summer someone fired a bullet into the Democrats' headquarters in Dallas, causing a secretary there to reflect that Texans take their politics rather seriously. Then the Democrats' office in San Antonio was burglarized; the thieves broke through a wall and stole valuable political files and precinct lists, and $30 as well.

"In the process," said the Democrats' newsletter, "they defaced a picture of President Kennedy. It sounds like a page out of the history of Hitler's brownshirts. We hope this is not an example of a new right-wing political technique." Republicans have not yet apprehended any liberal marauders rifling their I.B.M. machines, but the season has just begun.

Actually, exciting things *are* happening in Texas politics. Texas Latin-Americans, Negroes, union people and independent liberals have hooked together a four-group "Democratic Coalition" that is like nothing that has been tried seriously in the South since Populism in the eighteen-nineties. Texas Republicans are making an earnest, impressive attempt to end the one-party system's pervasion of the state.

The two experiments are hostile in their purposes, but curiously complementary. The liberal Democrats get closer to controlling the Texas Democratic party every time a conservative Democrat goes over to the Republicans, and this makes enemies allies. The Republicans are luring the conservative Democrats into their party, the liberals are scaring them out of theirs; they work together, one side with carrots, the other with sticks.

A liberal strategist says that "if the South is gonna come out, Texas has gotta lead it out." It is one of the many neatly fitted ironies of the situation here that Republicans can agree with the words and mean something opposite.

IN between these somewhat feverish movements, frightened by the militant minorities on the left and by the *gung-* forces of Goldwater Republicanism on the right, loved by neither and badgered by both, are the custodians of the state government and the centrist defenders of the dropsical one-party tradition, the conservative Democrats, led by Gov. John Connally.

No one really believes that Texas can be a one-party state again. It's a three-party state now, two Democratic and one Republican. The question is when it will become a two-party state. Texas politics resembles three unstable chemical compounds, with the compound at the left taking on new molecules from a previously inactive base, and other molecules shifting fitfully from one compound to another—mostly toward the right.

SOMEHOW the idea has broken loose in the echoing reaches of the national press that Senator Barry Goldwater has Texas in the vest pocket of his conservative gray business suit. He is the strongest of the Republican Presidential contenders in Texas at present, but anyone who would try to simplify the dynamics of the situation here by predicting the election a full year from now simply doesn't have the picture. The outlook is especially clouded just now by the uncertain outcome of the referendum this Saturday in which Texans will vote whether to abolish their poll tax—before the Federal Government does it for them through a pending anti-poll-tax constitutional amendment.

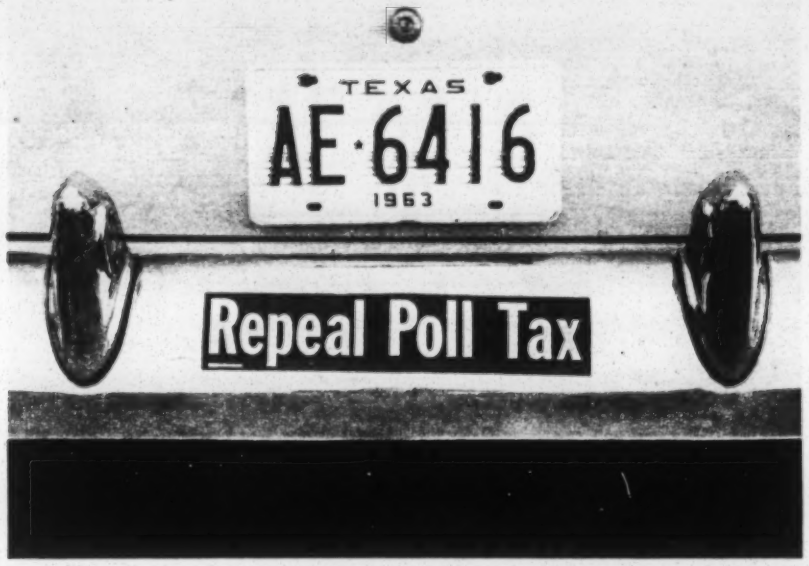
An enthusiastic yokel, I cannot see how any state's politics can be as intriguing as Texas's. Consider:

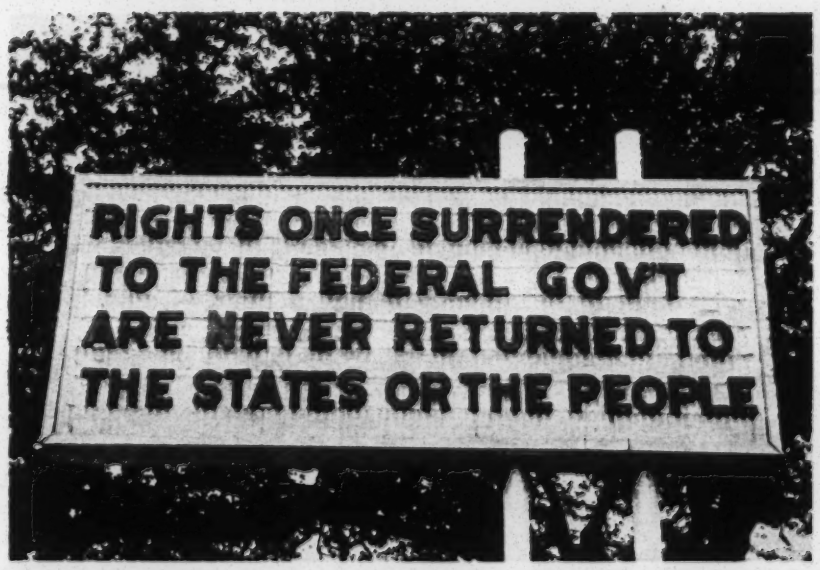
We have the nation's richest extremist, billionaire H. L. Hunt of Dallas, the principal backer of "Life Line," a series of nationally distributed right-wing political broadcasts, and the deviser of the utopian cashocracy, "Alpaca," where proportional representation means the richer you are the more votes you get.

ON the oily western plains around Amarillo, in Dallas, in the central cities of the East Texas oilfield and in Houston, we have concentrations of more constitutionalists, Birchers, anti-U.N.-ers, anti-income taxers and other yahoos than can be found anywhere east of Southern California.

Ralph Yarborough, the liberal Democratic senior Senator from Texas, says, "I don't get time to listen to H. L. Hunt and Life Line and Rev. Billy Hargis, but I've seen the map, and Texas has more of these fellas spouting hate than any other state in the union. Some states look like they've got chicken pox, some small pox—but Texas looks like it's got scarlet fever."

We have not only German, Czech and Swedish areas; we have perhaps a million Negroes, mostly living either in the gradually integrating major cities or in rural East Texas, and well over a million Latin Americans, mostly living in South and Central Texas. The bilingual border culture near Mexico and the segregationist society in East Texas, a backwater of the Old South, conflow exotically in San Antonio, where one (*Continued on Page* 112)

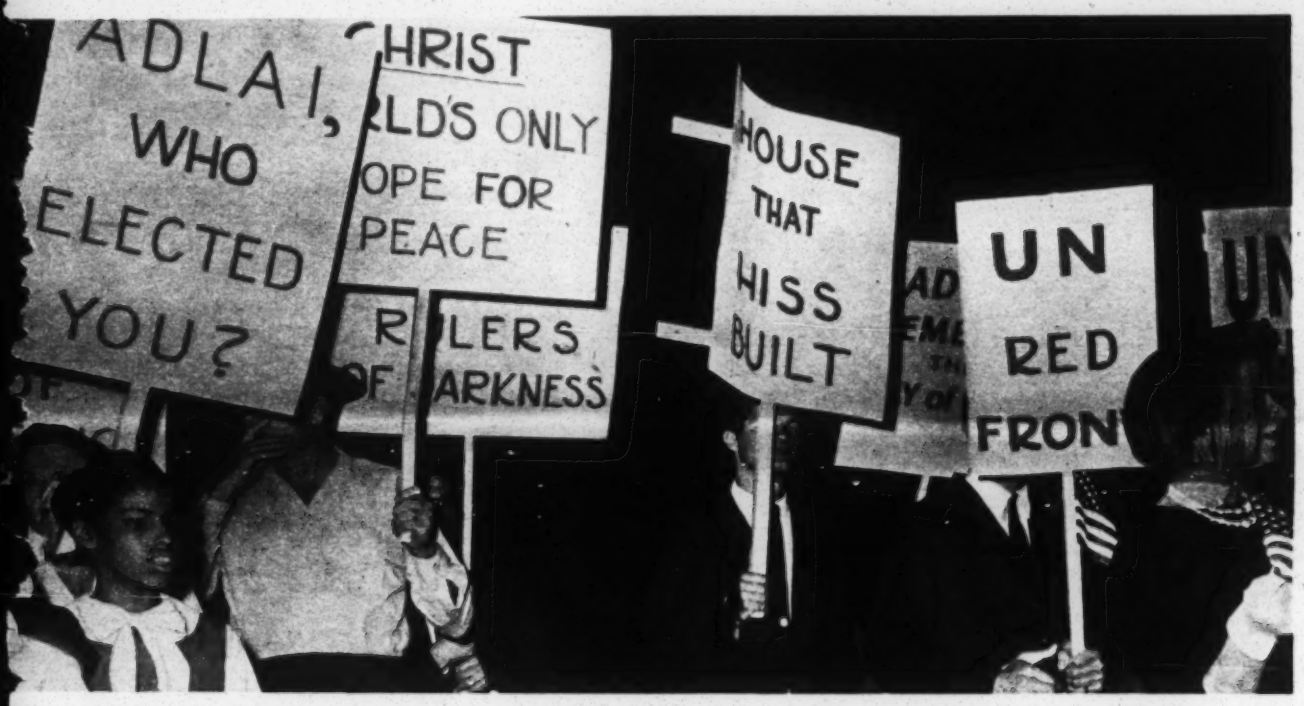




SIGNS OF TEXAS—Car stickers and placards spell out issues that agitate Texans. Poll-tax repeal will be decided on in balloting this Saturday.

RONNIE DUGGER is editor of the fortnightly The Texas Observer, published in Austin. His work has appeared in many magazines.

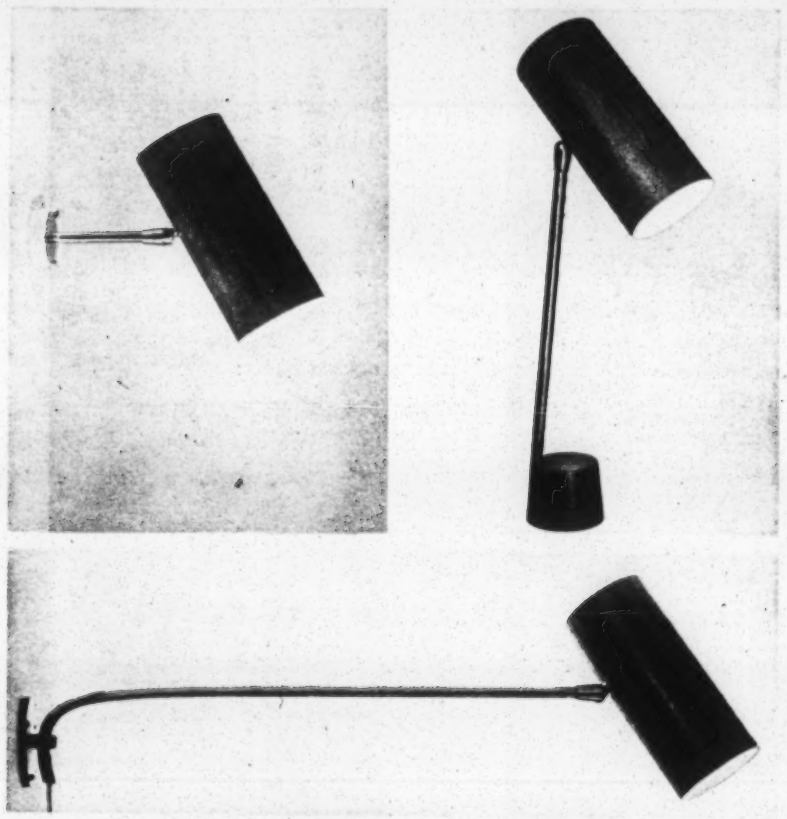
ON THE "LEFT"—The liberal Democrats—above at a testimonial for Senator Ralph Yarborough in Austin—hope to gain most from repeal of the poll tax, which will ease voting for their Negro and Mexican-American allies.



ON THE "RIGHT"—Ambassador Stevenson's U.N. Day address in Dallas Oct. 24 brought out opposition pickets from among right-wing elements with which the state abounds. These are encouraged by well-financed propaganda.

NEW REPUBLICANS—A meeting of young Republicans at the University of Texas. The growing power of both Republicans and liberal Democrats has added two new groupings to threaten rule by conservative Democrats.

TYPES OF TEXANS—Ranch foreman, conservative businessman, Negro worker and Mexican-American farmhand.



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Three-Party State

(Continued From Page 24)

can see in any hotel or coffee shop the visual intimations of a multiracial future.

We have Lyndon Johnson, without whom our politics would lack much that many would miss, and that many wish it did lack. We have the well-heeled financiers of the political Establishment, who are now having to conduct novel, perhaps unprecedented, contests for authority with persons of their own stations and general approach, the feisty Texas Republicans. We have oil roughnecks and office hounds, farmers and apartment dwellers, Rotarians and even a few peaceniks.

And if this isn't enough, there are shapeless hints that the conservative Democrats may try to arrange a Red hunt in time for the 1964 elections — the better to preserve the one-party tradition, my dear.

* * *

FOR convenience, let's call the liberals of the Democatic Coalition, plus those not so connected who are, however, all-out for Senator Yarborough's re-election next year, the liberals; let's call the conservative and moderate Democrats who number themselves among Yarborough's opponents the tories; and the Republicans can be called by the name about which there is no complication, Republicans.

For many years, during which the tories have controlled the Texas Democratic party, there have been extra-official organizations of the liberals. Generally, while saying little or nothing about integration, these organizations have defended the liberal economic policies of the national Democrats. They have sought the election of liberal state officials, and they have crusaded for Texas Democrats' loyalty to the national Democratic nominees, especially after the day in 1952 when Democratic Gov. Allan Shivers led the Texas Democratic party into open and official support of Eisenhower.

Last year a liberal Houston lawyer with an evangelical speaking style but no political experience, Don Yarborough—related to Senator Yarborough not by blood but by politics—won 49 per cent of the vote against John Connally for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Thus encouraged, and with the Negro revolt cracking around the country, the Democratic Coalition began to form, and this summer it took on its most startling characteristic for the politics of a former Confederate state: a public commitment to the Negro cause.

"ONE-PARTY" CHIEF—Gov. John Connally heads the regular—or "tory"—Democratic party that has hitherto dominated Texas politics.

Each of the coalition's four groups selects one of its four state co-chairmen. At present they are Hank Brown, state president of the Texas A.F.L.-C.I.O.; W. J. Durham, a Negro lawyer who has handled many N.A.A.C.P. cases; Albert Peña, the chairman of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations, or PASO; and a white, liberal East Texas lawyer, Franklin Jones Sr., representing independent liberals. The coalition has compacted with its Negro and *Mexicano* participants to include them in on all the dealmaking and to respond to candidates for public office without regard to their race.

THE Democratic Coalition is now trying to change the composition of the Texas electorate by putting more Negroes and Mexican-Americans in a position to vote. This may have more to do with Kennedy's chances against Goldwater in Texas next year than anything else going on in this state.

Texas voter turnout in 1960 was one of the lowest in the United States. Texas voters must register before Jan. 31 each year, long before campaigns start, and they must pay a $1.75 poll tax, Texas being one of the last five states to require one. The figures in some of the cities show that a Republican is twice as likely to vote as a Democrat is. Although it is difficult for inhabitants of Mr. Galbraith's affluent society to believe, $3.50 can buy a lot of coal oil in East Texas or a lot of tortillas in Laredo, especially if a couple has five kids and couldn't care less about politics in January.

THAT is why the Liberal Coalition is now trying to turn out the voting-age Negroes and Mexican-Americans in 15 key urban areas against the poll tax. The number of block workers signed up in Dallas alone is past 800, and the statewide goal one hears mentioned exceeds 10,000. These workers are to be called on again throughout 1964. The thought among the liberals is that if they win on Saturday they could keep on going through the primaries and November, 1964.

Labor chief Brown figures that only about one-fifth of the minority groups in Texas are registered to vote. Coalition spokesmen estimate there are 650,000 Negroes and 850,000 Mexican-Americans of voting age in Texas, a total of 1,500,000. Texas elections are often cliff-hangers; in 1960 Kennedy carried the state by only 46,000 votes. If just 30 per cent of the minorities qualified, instead of 20 per cent, there could be perhaps 125,000 more of them voting in Texas next year, a fact that would have vital implications for both Kennedy and his opponent.

And for the two Yarboroughs, as well. Both of them draw their main support from the pro-Kennedy Democratic Coalition. Don Yarborough wants to run against Connally again this spring. He and Senator Yarborough both support the President's civil-rights legislation, including public accommodations. Their fortunes are therefore bound up in the coalition's Populist-like experiment—an experiment that could wane under a reaction against the civil-rights movement or glide

ON THE FENCE—Vice President Lyndon Johnson keeps "in" with both national Democratic Administration and Texas regulars.

DEMOCRATIC LIBERAL—Senator Ralph Yarborough champions the cause of the anti-tory Democrats both in Washington and at home.

through Texas politics like an eagle on a norther.

Texans have already had a preview of what it means if the minorities decide to vote in force. Crystal City is not only the name of a service town in the spinach fields of South Texas; it is also the name of events that have profoundly disturbed the once serene psyche of Texas politics. Although the town had been run many years by Anglo-Americans, the democratic fact of the matter was that four-fifths of the citizens were Mexican-Americans. This year they bought a majority of the poll taxes and elected an all-Mexican city council. Since then they have been redressing some of their grievances.

The coup was pulled off with the active support of the Teamsters' Union, which has a large packing-plant local in Crystal City, and PASO, which is a descendant of the Viva Kennedy Clubs of 1960. In Spanish, "paso" can mean "happened." Although *Mexicanos* hold political offices in many other South Texas towns, Crystal City was a happening because it dramatized what can take place anywhere, including the South, when members of minorities begin using their one sturdy lance in the power joustings of democracy: their numbers.

PASO organizers have learned that, since Crystal City, all they need do to shake up Anglos and newspapers of a small town is *say* they're going to organize a chapter there. Kenedy, a town south of San Antonio, is one PASO target. A restaurant owner was complaining to a friend there that too many people are voting these days. "Yeah," his friend, a wag, responded, "they may even prevent restaurant owners from voting."

When Senator Goldwater landed at the San Antonio airport last month, he was greeted by about 500 fans, including three matronly ladies who were carrying "Goldwater in '64" placards on sticks. One of them saw a man starting a car bearing a sticker that read, "Repeal the Poll Tax." "Oh, good!" she called out to him.

"No, no!" one of her companions said. "We don't want *that!*"

The first lady did a double-take and stood corrected. "I thought it said 'income tax,'" she said.

Then she advanced on the driver and told him to get right. "Our state is filling up with the wrong kind of people!" she exclaimed.

Although in burlesque, this story explains as well as anything why those who are active in the campaign for repeal of the poll tax believe "it's close." Nearly all the elected leaders of the three parties in Texas are on record for repeal, but public opinion is divided.

Although he is formally for repeal, Governor Connally gave the cause its worst actual blow from any political leader when he dramatically accused PASO's Peña, whom he called "Boss Peña," of using the issue to try to build a selfish political machine.

"We should be sure," said the Governor, "that we will not sow the seeds of political bossism."

Connally feels menaced by the Democratic Coalition on his left flank, as well as by the Republicans on his right. He has been Lyndon Johnson's right-hand man in Texas, but as Johnson, adapting to a national constituency, has moved left, Connally has moved right. The Governor is opposed to Medicare and Federal aid to education, and silent on most of the rest of Kennedy's programs. He is explicitly opposed to racial discrimination with public funds and has appointed middle-class Negroes of moderate political views to selected state jobs, thus becoming the first pro-integration governor in Texas history.

But Connally has also announced his opposition to the public-accommodations proposal, a primary symbol on this subject, and his attack on "Boss Peña" may have been another expression of a decision to ride the "white reaction" against Kennedy on civil rights. That this reaction may be a real factor was shown by a Texas poll of "the white majority"—excluding both *Mexicanos* and Negroes—that reported 75 per cent opposition to the public-accommodations bill.

Senator Yarborough's large and dedicated band of followers is organizing to re-elect him. Yarborough led them through the chilly Shivers years, and in the Senate he has been a tough-minded economic liberal. Only on foreign aid, which he wants to cut, and Kennedy's Telstar corporation, against which he filibustered, has he really broken ranks with the Administration. He appears to be running strong.

HOWEVER, there is an enmity between Yarborough and Johnson that goes back many years. They have different ways, and they are different kinds of men. Johnson has frequently compromised liberalism; Yarborough seldom does. Johnson has run with the Texas tories; Yarborough runs with the liberals. After Yarborough's biennial campaigns against Shivers had taken their effect, Johnson moved in and staged the decisive battle, pointedly leaving Yarborough off his command staff. In 1960 Yarborough was the only leading Texas Democratic officeholder who refused to endorse Johnson for President.

Johnson shows signs of concern for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket next year if this rift is driven too deep. But on the other hand there is much speculation that he will support someone against Senator Yarborough, which would embitter the Texas liberals and if Yarborough lost, could dispirit them for the fall campaign.

President Kennedy will visit

(Continued on Following Page)

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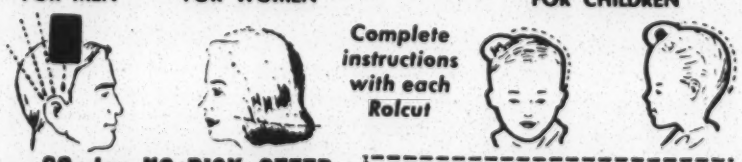

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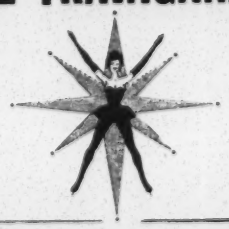

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

Texas briefly late this month, and he, too, will have to tread his way carefully through this treacherous three-party Texas. Senator Yarborough has been invited to accompany him and the Vice President. Governor Connally is reported to be upset lest this be taken as Presidential endorsement of Yarborough's re-election. Politicians' and pundits' antennae will be carefully attuned to pick up all the nuances, but if they are not forewarned, they may tune in on the nuances and miss the revolution. It's come to Texas, too.

IN part because it has, and because Goldwater has come to represent the reaction against it in Texas, nomination of the Arizona Senator would make Texas again a doubtful state rather than a Democratic one.

The Texas Republican party is officially supporting Goldwater, and John Tower, the Republican Senator from Texas, wants the Texas delegation to the national G.O.P. convention pledged to him. "We must serve as his power base," Tower says. If Goldwater is not nominated, the Texas G.O.P. will be badly shaken and Kennedy will be a substantial favorite to carry this state. Even so, the Republicans have been approaching a solidity of organization here that could transcend the commitment to Goldwater and serve as a challenge to one-partyism throughout the South.

TEXAS went for Eisenhower twice, and despite Nixon's losing here, the Republicans have been making steady progress. From 1960, when they had just four college clubs, 29 women's clubs and one significant public office, they have advanced to 27 college clubs, 93 women's clubs, a U.S. Senator, two Congressmen, and eight state representatives. They seem ready to take over Dallas politics entirely.

Republicans still labor under handicaps in Texas. This was a traditionally Democratic state up to the time of Eisenhower, and the tory Democrats were able to maintain their control of state level politics throughout the Eisenhower years, and still do. The important political money still rides with the tories in the elections to the statehouse jobs; in Texas it is not altogether a joke if a Republican contends he is a poor-boy candidate.

Beyond these considerations, Texas Republicans draw support from radical rightists and are often afflicted with a certain shrillness. G.O.P. Congressman Ed Foreman of Odessa says that support of foreign aid "borders on treason" and that the Kennedy boys have been "embracing the Communists more and more." Dallas's G.O.P. Congressman Bruce Alger warns that Kennedy will "make complete the destruction of capitalism."

The very few leading Republicans who prefer candidates other than Goldwater (such as two former county G.O.P. chairmen in Dallas) are not heard from much.

* * *

WITH so much changing, nothing is neat; political revolution is not a chess game. PASO has not found the going easy even among the *Mexicanos,* some of whom prefer to take their politics with condiments blander than PASO's *jalapeños* (hot peppers)—militant politics and control of city hall. Governor Connally is supported by a political organization of merchant-type Negroes, the United Political Organization. The Establishment itself seems to have lost, at least temporarily, its ability to act in concert on the basis of a community of financial interest.

Consequently there is a good deal of confusion of "role." Liberals drive for hours to meet Republicans in all-night cafes to exchange intelligence toward the downfall of the tories. Negro merchants and lawyers, wooed by Connally, tell reporters they don't have time to work on civil-rights demonstrations. White leaders of the Democratic coalition turn up in a civil-rights march on the state capitol. The national chairman of PASO, a Corpus Christi physician, bolts the state PASO convention in protest against the teamsters' part in Crystal City.

DESPITE his long association with the Texas tories, Vice President Johnson has been cooperating with the liberals on the poll tax. Once-loyal Democrats have edged into the tory camp—and even the Republicans'—because they cannot abide the Kennedys on civil rights. Conservatives have been moving, at an undetermined but apparently significant rate, from the tories to the Republicans. (In the 1962 Republican spring primary just 116,000 persons voted; in November 715,000 persons voted for the Republican candidate for Governor.)

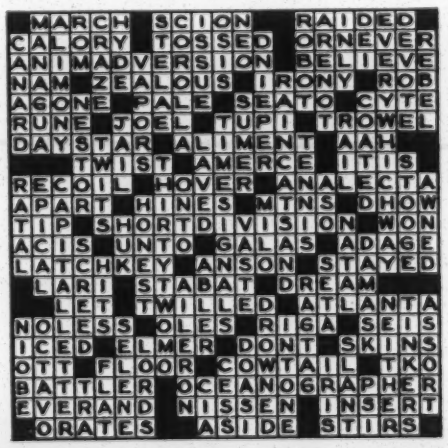
Eugene Locke, a Dallas oilman and Connally's state Democratic chairman, says, "I don't think there's been a drain-out from the Democratic party toward the Republican party." It's a key question for Connally. In Texas the two parties' primaries are held on the same day; a voter cannot vote in both. Last year only 116,000 persons voted in the Republicans' primary, but their state executive director believes at least 200,000 will in 1964. Depending on how many such new voters were defecting tory Democrats, even an increase as small as this might be a disaster for Connally the same day: he beat Don Yarborough last time by just 26,000 votes.

ONE is impressed, though, watching Texas politics these days, by the vastness of the truth of events, beyond the possibility of ever encompassing it, and by the guesswork that must pass for analysis, before the analysis becomes history.

There is a judge in west Texas who was a New Dealer, but comes from Mississippi and damns the Democrats to condign obscurity now. There is a liberal in central Texas who so detests Johnson that he is crusading against Kennedy. There is a Negro merchant in Houston who is heading up the Republicans' drive there in the Negro precincts. There is a suggestion that some PASO people may consider bolting Kennedy with the teamsters, unless Goldwater is nominated against him.

Yet patterns also seem to be real. Texas minorities are on the go, and are mainly for Kennedy. The Republicans here are siphoning off Texas tories, and are bound and bent to make Barry Goldwater President. The patterns lead many observers to believe that Texas will be a two-party state in 1964, or no later than 1966.

SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES



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The New York Times Magazine

High-school students protesting desegregation in Birmingham, Ala.

"Many attractive and voluble youngsters are eager to proclaim white superiority."

A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind

Disturbed by the militancy of young white Southerners in resisting school integration, a Southern writer and editor interviews an 18-year-old Mississippian.

By MARGARET LONG

OXFORD, MISS.

THE harsh and hating faces of young Southerners photographed in troubled scenes of the desegregating Deep South have shocked and baffled most other Americans, among them, indeed, many rational and peaceable people in Dixie. To investigate the ideas and feelings that fire many of these boys and girls I made a mission to Mississippi, the state where segregationist sentiment is most intense. Here I found many attractive and voluble youngsters eager to proclaim white superiority, Southern culture and Negro contentment. These high-school and college boys and girls exhibited a common innocence of the Negro movement, which they believe is fomented by outsiders and Communists. (The N.A.A.C.P., the only civil-rights organization most of them know, seems to them a blend of both.) They also showed intense emotions of both affection and revulsion toward Negroes.

The sweetly mannered young people I talked to seemed most of all gripped by a poignant loyalty to the precarious present and the easy past of the white South, a fealty uncorrupted by alien facts and ideas from beyond the tight and turbulent little world of Mississippi.

From here, the common ground fell away into varying attitudes, ranging from the valiant "Never!" of one Delta boy who would "die for" segregation, to the "It's coming" of several others and the pained confusion of a 17-year-old girl who thought, "It's *awful* Nigras can't come to our *churches*."

The Confederate dedication of one 18-year-old probably best expressed the adamant segregationist mood typical of many young people of the Deep South. He was Don Barrett, a Phi Delta Theta pledge at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, who answered questions at word-tumbling length, his replies replete with nice, old-fashioned "Yes'ms" and "No'ms." His forebears came to Mississippi from Virginia and South Carolina, and his great-grandmother, he said, gave $80,000 that she had hidden away to the Confederate Army after her plantation, Newstead, was used by Grant as headquarters during the Vicksburg campaign and then was sacked and ruined.

"She turned it over, lock, stock and barrel," he said, his round, rosy face glowing and his eyes dark with love. "That's the kind of heritage I come from—and I'm proud of it."

YOUNG Barrett's more immediate heritage includes a pleasant childhood of play in backyard pecan treehouses, fishing and hunting, adoration of a beautiful mother (she was beauty queen in high school, at Millsaps College in Jackson, and at Ole Miss) and a trusting attachment to his energetic and commanding father. ("He's got more sense in a minute than I've got in three weeks. He's the wisdom I draw on.") He also exhibits the usual masculine pleasure in two little sisters and pride tinged perhaps with rivalry, in an older brother, Pat Jr., who is taking psychology at Millsaps and planning to study law at Ole Miss.

"Yes, of course, I used to play with Negro children," he said. "We quit, well, we quit when . . . when we both realized the difference, and they went their way and I went mine. You may be surprised that our next-door neighbors were Nigras. They lived catty-corner across the street from us . . . the nearest neighbors."

Mr. Barrett spoke ardently of the good Negroes and his affection for them and their (*Continued on Page* 114)

MARGARET LONG is a novelist ("Louisville Saturday") and former columnist for The Atlanta Journal who two years ago received the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award. She is at present the editor of the Southern Regional Council's magazine New South, in Atlanta.

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A Southern Teen-Ager

(Continued from Page 15)

profound loyalty to him and his. He smiled quickly and radiantly at the memory of these ancient felicities. Dora, who cooks and cleans up, is "a young 43"—like his mother. They were born on the same day and exchange birthday presents. Allie Mae, a registered nurse by correspondence course, "respected by the white community and venerated by the Negro community," nursed Don when he was born and promised his grandmother "she'd always take care of Sara," his mother. Allie Mae visits frequently in Miss Sara's bedroom and on the phone. Amelia, older, cooks on Sunday, and Pecolia, he confided with a flash of delight, "is making me a quilt." There are several Negro hands on his father's cattle farms who are also life-long familiars at the Barrett house in Lexington.

LEXINGTON is the seat of Holmes County, seven miles in the hills at the edge of the Delta, "the heart of Mississippi and the citadel of Southern rights," with "stark nekkid bluffs looking out to the Mississippi River." It is to him the most beautiful place in the world, a rich center of farming which produces the best crops and "the best people, too." The citadel of Holmes County has 19,600 Negro citizens and 7,000 whites.

"I feel, as do most of the white population of the South, that the Negro is inherently unequal," Barrett said. "Now they say it's lack of opportunity, cause and result, the reason men first took the fire and light of learning, that the Nigras never had the need in Africa because they could just pluck the fruit of the woods and all, and sustain life on that. But you can't say they didn't get learning and civilization because of the easy climate, because they've got a range of all climates and mountains and jungles. They came into contact with the Saracens in North Africa. And Alexander the Great and they never did catch the light of learning, nobody in the region. If they hadn't been taken over by the white man . . .

"Well, where they're not, they're still eating each other," he said, his voice vibrant with triumph and disgust.

"BUT the white South has taken the Neegra, fed, clothed, taught them how to speak and wear clothes and taught him Christianity. Still, look at 'em, their illegitimacy rate!"

Mr. Barrett was at such polite pains to say the respectful Southern "Nigra" and

never to lapse into the easy and offensive "nigger," and I was so vigilant with my proper and hard-learned "Negro," that we quite rattled one another. Once, in the heat of exchange, he said "Neegra" and, again, "Neeger," and I once wildly pronounced it "Nigroo," to our mutual dismay. But we both behaved well upon these lapses, quite as if they had not occurred, and proceeded as nice as you please.

"In my opinion," he said, "the South made its biggest mistake—because they hated to do it out of our love and affection for the Nigras—but our mistake is in talking states' rights instead of anthropology."

"THE moderates" (and here Barrett used the term as it is widely understood in Mississippi, as equivalent to Communists or other enemies of order and freedom), "prophets of gloom and doom, say it's coming—we gotta accept it. I think if the Nigra is able to live on an equal footing after the troops leave, then we are wrong—wrong when we say the Nigra is not capable.

"Yes'm, I expect there'll have to be an occupation before there'll be integration in Mississippi, and the Kennedy twins are ruthless enough to do it without batting an eye if they're re-elected. It would probably be the most tragic thing that could happen to our beloved state. But afterward, when the troops leave . . ." Here he explained that white resistance to the troops would be so adamant that upon their despairing withdrawal, "everything would be just like before, only the poor Nigras would lose all the friendship and goodwill they had."

Barrett's uncle is a cotton planter and head of the Citizens' Council in Lexington and his father is a founder. Don himself is "a sort of honorary member" because he "wanted to give my $5," though he is under the usually accepted age. Contemplating the possibility of Negro political control in the Delta through its 65 to 70 per cent Negro majority—"although it would *never* happen" — Barrett said such a regime "without white man's control would be chaos."

"If we turned politics over to them, we'd have another Congo. It's not wild like that under the patient, restraining hand of the white man, when they behave reasonably well.

"Do anything to us? I don't think so, no'm. I don't believe the Nigras, if they got control, would have any reason to hurt people who have nurtured and cared for them, but it would be chaos. Yes, out of their incompetence. The economy would collapse, and it would be like Reconstruction. You remember the Nigras in power in Reconstruction were voting themselves carriages and all kind of luxuries. It wouldn't be out of malice—they're a kindly people—but out of inability to run things. The Southern code of hospitality, gentleness, kindness—they've learned it and accepted it. . . .

"IF the majority of Nigras with the vote there"—this was in reference to Charles City County, Va.—"haven't taken over, it's because they haven't got the initiative. But look at Memphis. Nigras are 32 per cent of the electorate. They're beginning to control politics, and Memphis is beginning to look like a dirty Northern city," he said in another spurt of disgust.

Barrett is also apprehensive about treatment of white women under black domination. "If the social system is thrown out of kilter, as moderates would do, there would be more danger than there is now under the patient hand of white leadership. I would certainly take up arms to protect our women. To me there is nothing more wonderful than a Southern lady. Gosh! It's

PATROL—Military police on duty on the University of Mississippi campus during the racial tension there a year ago.

really undefinable. But she's cultured, genteel, intelligent, beautiful — usually beautiful, anyway."

In defense of the social and economic system, Barrett would not eat with a Negro, or call one Mr. or Mrs. or Miss, because "it's not socially acceptable, it's not done—anymore than I'd cut more than one piece of steak at a time or tuck my napkin under my chin."

NOR would he betray his manners for distinguished Negroes or for different customs in other places. In Milwaukee, where he visited an aunt and "a wonderful Yankee uncle—the only good Yankee I know," he did not desist from giving his bus seat to standing ladies, in the Mississippi way, just because it was not the usual practice in Wisconsin.

As for celebrated and accomplished Negroes, Barrett says, "more power to 'em." He cited "Gaston in Birmingham"—a millionaire Negro banker and property owner. "You can see he obviously has a very high I. Q., is well-mannered and a fine man, I'm sure. Well, it's just a combination of genes that worked out that way. But the chances are 1 in 5,000 that his children would be like that."

There are "exceptional" Negroes in Lexington, who own stores, cafes and funeral businesses, but no professionals. "We are courteous and treat them with the respect due their education," he explained. "There's none of this pushing around or 'Get outa my way' for them in stores or anywhere—or for the lowest field hand either."

Barrett scoffs at the outsiders' notion that it's deprivation and "brutality" which makes Negroes migrate from the South.

"That's ridiculous. It's economic. The Negro definitely was necessary to farming 20 years ago. My uncle owns a plantation where he had 60 families chopping cotton, borrowing money, depending on him — you know, old-style sharecropping. Ten of the 15 left live there now because they love my uncle and they depend on him, although he just needs five of 'em. But he gives them Saturday-night spending money and everything and he could say, 'Fred, go up the hill and kill me a big snake,' or 'Go cut off your head,' and Fred would do it.

"They don't help *him*. They're an economic liability. He supports 10 families out of love and loyalty. He's a fine fellow, president of the Tchula Citizens' Council. The others left because they had to sell their small farms—with mechanization, the Nigras can't make a profit on a little farm—and had no place to live. Now you just see old grandfathers and little bitty children, pickaninnies. The young ones have gone to Chicago.

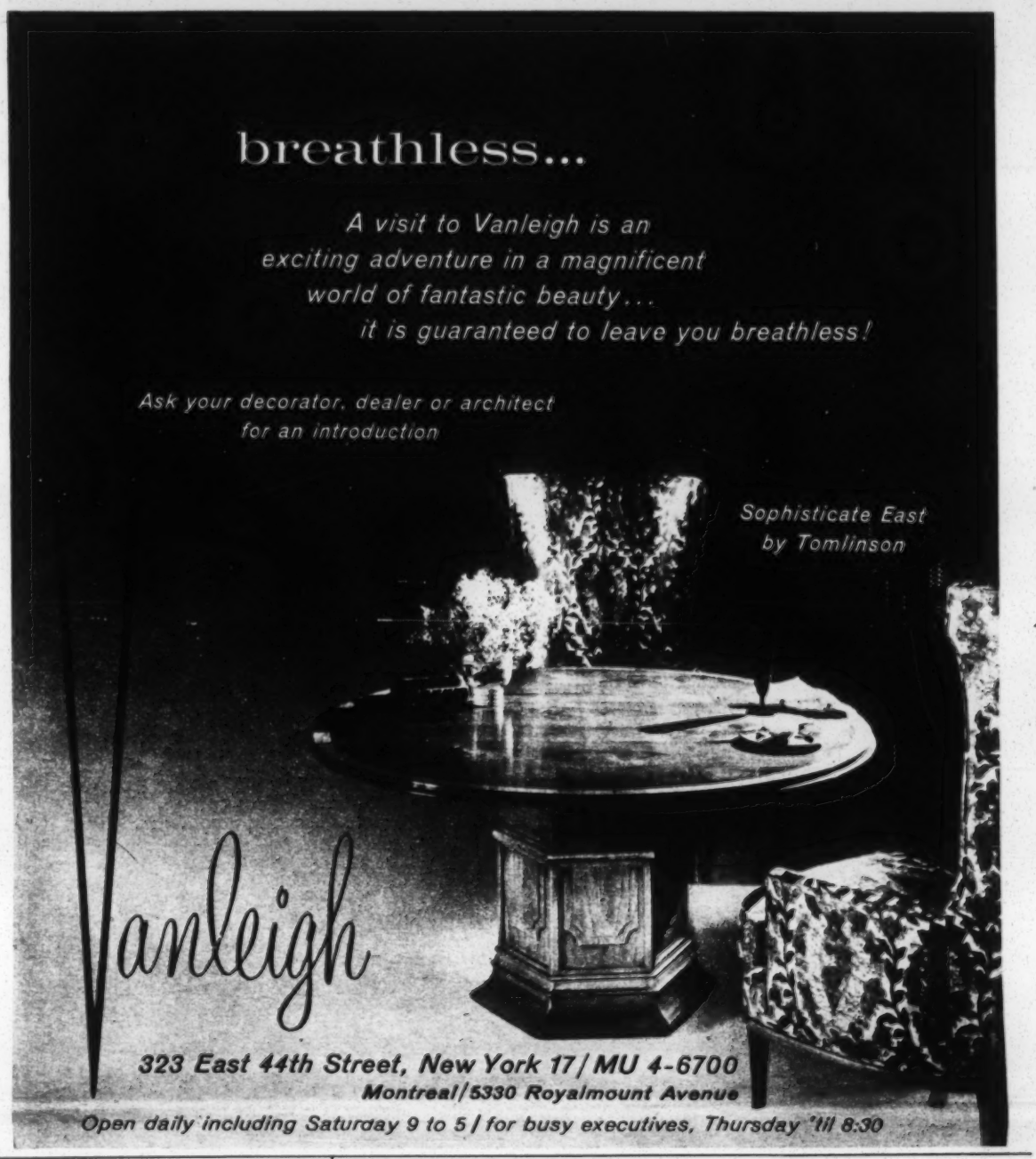
"My girl, I talked to her on the phone and this horrible thing had happened. Houston was dead. Houston drove their tractor and she just loved him. Mr. Foose's father—that's his name, Mary's father, Mr. Foose—and Houston's father were always on the place together. Houston's father had worked for Mr. Foose's father all that time, and they loved him.

"THE Citizens' Council, Mr. Foose is a leader in it, is not like the Ku Klux Klan. We hate violence. But we are determined to keep our way of life," he declared with rapidly rising fervor. "Nobody can take it away from us, and I would die for it. I wouldn't do anything foolish, but we will not give up.

"People say Nigras are catching up—that's wonderful—but that's no justification for social change in 1963 for what might happen in 500 or 1,000 years."

Barrett is not much disturbed by the current Mississippi Negro drive to write in

(Continued on Following Page)



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(Continued from Preceding Page)

15,000 or 20,000 Negro protest votes for Aaron Henry, state N.A.A.C.P. president, for governor, and the Rev. Ed King, a young, white civil-rights devotee, for lieutenant-governor, and to draw 200,000 disfranchised Negro votes in a straw election for Henry. Nor does he share outside dismay at intimidation of Negro voting aspirants — random violence, arrests of demonstrators, eviction of would-be voters from jobs and property, and a few killings.

"FEDERAL right to vote? No, the Constitution gives the states the right to say who shall vote and who shall not. There's no such thing as the right to vote. It's a privilege, earned only after qualifications set up by the state have been met. Instead of reducing voting requirements, we ought to make them more strict. I believe in the poll tax. Our $2 poll tax goes straight to the schools, white and colored.

"I don't think there's any harm in a few qualified Negroes voting. But you can't open the floodgates. I don't condone violence, but the state has the right of police power to protect the health, morals and general welfare of the people. And when feelings are running high and the spark is there, they could set off a riot.

"I think the police were right in Greenwood and Jackson [scenes of summer disorders and mass arrests of Negroes seeking the vote and other civil rights]. And about these peaceful grievances, they should not trespass on private property."

BARRETT went—"defending my state; no, not that, either, as an observer"—to the University of Mississippi upon the entrance of James Meredith to the university. He drove to Oxford with a friend, without his father's permission.

"I was close enough to the marshals to see what was happening," he related. "Some of the boys were armed, and one man was standing by the Y Building shooting out street lights with a .22 rifle. The students were jeering and sneering and occasionally tossing a cigarette butt at the marshals. All of a sudden, McShane [Chief U. S. Marshal James Joseph McShane] said, 'Gas 'em!' and from a clear blue sky, a patrolman got hit in the head, from behind, and knocked down by a marshal throwing tear gas—that metal case hit him.

"Barnett [Gov. Ross Barnett] made a mistake. That Sunday, if he'd issued a call to white males of Mississippi to stand firm at the gate, why, you'd have seen 600,000 men mustered at the gate. I know all of Holmes County would have come, except a couple of scalawags.

"I didn't attack the marshals, and I was not armed, it was not my place to. But if Governor Barnett had called the Citizens' Councils and other responsible citizens, and had said, 'Come, it is Armageddon, get your gun'—well, I certainly *would*. Yes, *ma'am!*

"Oxford seemed to me a nightmare. I felt I was not in the United States, but in Budapest or a Warsaw ghetto. If that was American action, then God save us."

If whites and Negroes attend schools together, he wonders "what's to keep little white Mary from bringing home little black Johnny from school some day, and that leads to mixed dating and mixed marriages."

Would either of his sisters grow up to choose a Negro husband? "Heavenly days, no! But girls who haven't had the upbringing would if we change the social order."

He considers Cleve McDowell, the Negro recently expelled from the University of Mississippi for carrying a gun, as "more dangerous than Meredith. The way he behaved, like I've heard people say, 'he's a good Nigra, he just wants an education.' And that would lead to acceptance. He behaved like a nigger, he would open doors, he had good manners and he scuffed his feet and held his head down. So, he could be the leak in the dike, and then the dams burst.

"Of course, Meredith was the most segregated Nigra in the United States. He was ignored. Yes." (He laughed in appreciation of the placard rhymes which appeared on the campus: "Ignore the Nigger with Vigor" and "Nigger-free in '63.") "Ole Miss has never really been integrated."

BARRETT was "not much impressed" by the Negro March on Washington. "It wasn't any different from what I see Saturday night in Lexington when they come to town to get drunk and cut up, except they're happier in Lexington." He smiled here at the remembered spectacle of Lexington police warning the tipsy Fred, "Now, Fred, how many times I got to tell you?" and at Fred's shuffling, laughing promise to stay sober.

He described Negro pleasure in Government "'modities"—the surplus foods that they get on welfare—and the willingness of "many, many, many" simply to collect relief and "'modities" rather than work. All the Negroes on the Barrett place "get real butter and cheese" from the welfare, and "we use oleo."

Barrett, a 96-average student in high school and on a scholarship at Ole Miss, would vote for Governor Barnett, "the most courageous leader of our time," for "dictator or anything." He is now more proud of being a Mississippian than an American, and laments our "Federal power, a crushing force, a rampage," under which we're "no longer the land of the free." He also deplores foreign policy which, with the United Nations, "is destroying the only pro-West governments in Africa. Katanga and the Union of South Africa, we stab them in the back."

He takes a grisly view of Federal aid to states and localities. His story is "not original," but he compares Federal aid to the starving hunter who whacked off part of his famished dog's tail, ate off the meat, and threw the bone to the beast. Whereupon the "whimpering dog," like recipients of Federal aid, gratefully "licked the hunter's hand."

SPOKESMAN—Don Barrett in his room at home in Lexington, Miss.

FOR all his lordly and loving attachment to Negro friends, Barrett sees an eventual solution in the departure of all Negroes for the North "to live on welfare," since the planters and automated land no longer need them. He also believes the Delta will be "forever agrarian," though partly industrialized with small, imported industries employing whites in a prosperous blend of his beloved old way of life and new Yankee paychecks.

This, then, is the romantic tradition and reactionary passion with which the young segregationists of a dwindling old South face the nonviolent Negro revolution. In love with the life long gone, they stand embattled, fighting change with talk of old times, planter-rulers and good servants happy in subjection.

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Herald

METROPOLITAN

FORMER ATLANTANS INVOLVED

Republican Congressman Charges Interracial Organization Set Up To Get Defense Dept. Contracts

A Republican Congressman from Michigan has charged that a civil rights research group, whose executive vice president is a former Atlanta integration leader, seems to have been set up to cash in on President Kennedy's antidiscrimination drive and five weeks after its formation was awarded a $106,000 contract from the Defense Department.

The Congressman, A. E. Johansen, R-Mich., made the charge before a House subcommittee inquiring into "reverse" racial discrimination.

The organization under scrutiny is the Potomic Institute whose executive vice president is Harold C. Fleming, former director of the interracial Southern Regional Council. Mr. Fleming resigned the post to go to Washington as the active executive of the Patomic Institute when it was formed.

According to testimony given before the sub-committee, Mr. Fleming's organization was recommended to the Defense Department by Philip Hammer, an economics consultant. Mr. Hammer is well known here in Atlanta as the father of the "Plan of Improvement." He came to Atlanta from Washington in the mid-1940's and resided here until last year when he returned to Washington.

Representative Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina, charged that the Potomic Institute was "a paper corporation" with no staff, except Mr. Fleming when is received its first contract from the Defense Department.

He charged that the institute obtained the contract because of Mr. Fleming's friendship with Mr. Hammer.

Earlier testimony revealtd that Mr. Hammer had been hired as a consultant on a daily basis by the Defense Department in the Spring of 1961 when racial employment problems came up at Lockheed with 32 complaints receied.
ceived.

In his charge against the Potomic Institute, the Michigan Congressman said that it (the organization) was set up about fie weeks before it was rtcommended for the $106,000 job. He said it appeared that Potomic officials might have known that a field was opening up for race relations work for the federal government and that the insititute looked to hime like "a product of planned parenthood."

The institute has had three contracts. Two related to recommendations for implementing the equal employment program among defense contractors in private industry. The third concerned ending job bias within the Defense Department.

The Potomic Institute, according to public records, was set up as a nonprofit organization working "to eliminate discrimination and to advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

The Southern Regional Council, which Fleming headed for a number of years, has long been a controersial organization for its race-mixing policies. It has largely been supported by grants from the Fund of the Republic, a Ford Foundation offshoot. The SRC staff is recognized as containing a number of ultra-liberals. Its work has been highly praised by many interracial groups.

12-2-63

THE NATIONA

A Changing View Of Civil Rights For Mr. Johnson

Free of the Sectional Ties, President Is Now Able To Take Up the Fight

"The (segregation) issue . . . is one that has been settled in a number of different forms by the courts and the executive agencies. Congress is no longer a meaningful forum for such debate."

—Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, Sept. 2, 1955.

President Lyndon B. Johnson professed another view last week. "It is time now . . . to enact a civil-rights law so that we can move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression based upon race or color," he told Congress.

When Mr. Johnson spoke in 1955, he was speaking to Texas voters, almost always white, usually segregationist, and the base of his considerable power as Senate majority leader.

No longer dependent upon Texas alone for public office, the President was talking eight years later to the nation's voters. One may suspect, he was also giving passing thought to 1964, when he must go before the national electorate to keep the office given him by an assassin's rifle fire. No Presidential nominee from a major party in recent history has felt he could win a majority of that electorate without a strong civil-rights stand.

No Sudden Change

Mr. Johnson has been thinking about that electorate for a long time. And his pro-civil rights stance last week wasn't a posture assumed quickly upon accession to the Presidency. It has been evolving since about the time he was making the 1955 comments.

On July 2 of that year Mr. Johnson was forced into inactivity by a severe heart attack. There was ample time for reflection as he lounged and read on his big Texas ranch. There are strong indications that he began to think seriously about seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination.

He knew neither major party, since the Civil War, had nominated a Southerner for the Presidency. Even as late as 1958 he was pooh-poohing any idea of seeking the job, saying he didn't believe a Southerner would be nominated in his lifetime or, if he were, would win election.

Despite this sort of talk, Lyndon Johnson had changed enough in 1955 to suggest that he thought a Southerner might win if he could build himself into a major national figure and play down his Southern background.

The Texas Image

This, for Mr. Johnson, was difficult. He is almost a living caricature of a Texan, big, drawling, backslapping, wary of anything he cannot see or feel, and uneasy around scholars.

But he began to change. Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter, a reporter who knew him well and who is now press aide to Mrs. Johnson, sensed the change after the 1955 illness.

"Instead of the desegregation issue, Johnson talks of the steps in the struggle of minorities for status," she wrote. "He has come to appreciate the world of such thinkers in the Senate as Paul Douglas of Illinois or J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, men he once was apt to scorn as ineffective intellectuals."

At about this time, he began talking less to Texans about the Federal projects that were coming to Texas. He quit tabulating the Federal dollars being spent in Texas, with the implication that he was responsible for them. He started speaking more of helping foreign allies, more of building up the Air Force.

First Step in 82 Years

In 1957, as majority leader, he maneuvered through the Senate a civil-rights bill that was to become law. Though the measure had been shorn of most of its toughest provisions before Mr. Johnson took it under his wing, it was the first civil-rights law in 82 years.

"I am aware of the implication of my vote," he told the Senate in backing the measure. "It will be treated cynically in some quarters and misunderstood in others. But the Senate has dealt fairly and justly with this measure. This is legislation which is good for every state of the Union, and as far as I am concerned, Texas has been part of the Union since Appomattox. . . . The measure now before us seeks to resolve the problems of 1957 and not reopen the wounds of 1865."

In 1960, however, Johnson voted against cutting off a Senate filibuster on civil-rights legislation. And his vote on labor legislation was almost always opposite the wishes of organized labor leaders.

When he made his move for the Presidential nomination in 1960, he didn't have the delegates, though he had managed to keep most of the South with him despite his civil-rights stand.

John F. Kennedy did have the delegates and when he won the nomination, he accepted Mr. Johnson on the ticket as the Vice Presidential nominee.

Union leaders and many Negro leaders were appalled by the selection. Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers objected vigorously. And now Lyndon Johnson, the man who had tried to soften his ties with the South, got the job of delivering the South to the Democrats. He was moderately successful and the election was so close that it was possible to say that he had delivered the margin of victory. But then Negroes in the big Northern cities could make the same claim.

The most violent reaction to campaigner Johnson had come from some of his fellow Texans. Four days before the 1960 election, a crowd had intercepted Mr. and Mrs. Johnson in a Dallas hotel. Jeering, booing, and calling Mr. Johnson a "Judas," they prevented the couple from moving on for a half hour.

Once in the White House, Mr. Kennedy put Vice President Johnson to work as chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Mr. Johnson cajoled many Southern industrialists with defense contracts into hiring some Negroes. And he spoke up vigorously throughout the country for the Kennedy civil-rights proposals he was again endorsing last week.

Cautious Acceptance

Negroes, ever wary of Southerners bearing civil rights, were slow to regard the Johnson conversion as genuine. But they did begin to come around. And last week both Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and Dr. Martin Luther King could speak of President Johnson with guarded enthusiasm.

Labor leaders have been much slower to warm to Mr. Johnson. A few weeks before Mr. Kennedy's death, a man close to labor councils said that about the most union chiefs could say for Mr. Johnson was that he was preferable to any Republican in sight. But last week Mr. Reuther could find Mr. Johnson's address to Congress "masterful, moving, and statesmanlike."

Mr. Johnson made quick overtures to the South after becoming President. He invited Gov. Carl Sanders of Georgia to sit in the Johnson family section of the House during the President's speech to Congress. (Another occupant of the section: Mrs. Zephyr Wright, the Johnsons' Negro cook.)

"The people are behind him," said Mr. Sanders after chatting later with the President. He added quickly that this does not mean he supports the Johnson civil-rights proposals.

Accent on the South

Rep. John William Davis, another Georgia Democrat, measured Mr. Johnson by, among other things, his accent. "The former President's clipped Boston accent never lost its strangeness on Southern ears, while the Texas drawl of President Johnson sounds almost exactly the same as a person from Georgia," said Mr. Davis, and when he discovered some Johnson kinfolk came from Georgia, it was enough to make the lawmaker think the President might somehow make civil rights palatable. "Though he has espoused the cause of civil rights on the national level, he . . . carries to the White House for the first time a personal knowledge of that peculiar give and take which has sprung up between the white and colored people in the South through generations of experience—a whole body of customs and folkways that has been completely foreign to every occupant of the White House over the past 100 years," said Mr. Davis.

The political opposition from the state of Washington is keenly aware of Mr. Johnson. Said William Walter, the Washington state GOP chairman: "This is the guy we feared in 1960 and we fear him now. . . . He is not a regional or parochial man but not in the Kennedy image either, though he will have to follow the Kennedy image to be elected."

Shrewdness and Ability

Philip J. Kuehn, a Barry Goldwater man from Milwaukee and former Wisconsin Republican state chairman, thought Mr. Johnson would get more accomplished than Mr. Kennedy because of his "political shrewdness and sagacity and . . . (ability) to get along better with Congress. . . . He will give any Republican a tough battle."

As Lyndon Johnson entered the Presidency, he appeared to be having his political cake and eating it too.

But he is barely into the Presidential crucible. The crucible is only beginning to warm over fires fueled by politicians, domestic and foreign; by nuclear energy sufficient to destroy mankind, and the friction generated by the diverse interests of 190,000,000 Americans.

The Lyndon Johnson who emerges from that crucible and stands before the electorate next Nov. 3 will, for better or worse, not be the same shaken man who became President at 1 p.m. Nov. 22 in Dallas, Texas.

Norway's Peace Corps

Norway's first Peace Corps group goes to Uganda this month to start two years of work. The 20-man group will be assigned tasks by Uganda's government.

Natl
NAL OBSERVER 1-17-64

The Boycott: Boon or a Bane To Integration?

Some Negroes Question New School Tactic; Results Debatable

Is boycotting schools to win racial disputes good strategy? Negro groups, which last week continued to employ the technique, are beginning to wonder. But whites in an Alabama county are finding that boycotts have helped them evade school integration.

Integrationists staged boycotts in three communities, Cincinnati, Cambridge, Md., and Chester, Pa., with questionable results. And plans went forward for boycotts later this month in Boston and Chicago, and one in New York City in March or April.

The theory behind the Negro boycotts is simple. Many schools in Northern cities have a majority of Negro students because they are in Negro neighborhoods. To dramatize the problem, children stay out of school for one day.

Why Results Were Inconclusive

Although Cambridge's problems are more in line with those generated by Southern segregation, Negroes there adopted the boycott as part of their continuing integration campaign. Results last week were inconclusive because the boycott coincided with a three-inch snowfall. School officials said only 40 per cent of the Negro students stayed home; Negro leaders said the figure was at least 75 per cent. They were pleased.

Integration leaders in Chester, an industrial city near Philadelphia, said 60 per cent of the Negro students stayed home. The schools said only that 30 per cent of all students were absent. Negro leaders in Cincinnati said 80 per cent of the Negro students were absent; school officials set the total of absentees at 35 per cent.

Some New York Negroes question the wisdom of a second boycott in that city. Their first was Feb. 3, when half a million school children stayed home. Normally there are 100,000 daily absences.

The Rev. Filton Galamison, a Presbyterian minister who heads the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools, chose the period for the next boycott—sometime between March 9 and April 17—to coincide with the period when the state takes attendance figures to plan its financial assistance to New York schools.

Some Call It Suicide

The Rev. Mr. Galamison reasons the boycott will be much more effective if it attacks the city's pocketbooks, and is not merely a demonstration. His opponents in the civil-rights movement call the plan suicide; less money for the city's schools, they maintain, aggravates the problem.

But the Brooklyn minister withstood the criticism. An effort to hold new elections for committee leaders failed, and the boycott will go on as planned. All that remains is to set a more definite date.

Still, many Negroes remain dissatisfied. The committee is composed of several civil-rights groups. Last week the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) withdrew from the committee. In a vague announcement, it said the 13 NAACP chapters in New York City would participate in the boycott under conditions set by them with their own plans.

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Opposing Another Boycott

In Chicago, the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) is planning that city's second boycott for Feb. 25. The first was held last Oct. 22, when nearly 250,000 students stayed home. Several member organizations in the CCCO oppose a second boycott. These include the NAACP, the Chicago Urban League, and six of the eight aldermen representing Negro wards. The aldermen formed their own group, the Assembly to End Prejudice, Injustice, and Poverty.

School boards in the North have come up with varying plans for obtaining more balance among the races, but none goes far enough to suit integration leaders.

Negroes who question the boycott technique note that it hasn't caused school officials to budge. And many Negroes fear that, far from accomplishing anything, the boycotts have disrupted their children's schooling, which the whole strategy was devised to improve.

The strategy of the white boycotts in Macon County, Alabama, has been decidedly more successful. They began last September, when a Federal court ordered integration of Tuskegee High School. White students left, leaving 12 Negroes. The state school board closed the school, saying it cost too much to operate.

A Federal judge then ordered one of the county schools, Shorter High School, to take 6 of the 12 Negroes remaining at Tuskegee, and he ordered Macon County High School in Notasulga to take the other 6. White students boycotted Shorter. When the six Negroes showed up at Notasulga earlier this month, Mayor James "Kayo" Rea forbade them to enter.

All last week neither whites nor Negroes attended school in Notasulga. On Thursday Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ordered Mr. Rea to let the Negroes into the schools. When the six Negro students showed up for classes Friday, they were alone.

2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist party members.

Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist party-related activities.

Thirty-five-year-old James Forman of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities.

SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent "direct action" demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity.

AMONG THOSE arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. Isobel Cerney, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College.

Mrs. Anita Bell Schneider, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. Isobel Cerney as a Communist party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show.

Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. Isobel Cerney's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs.

Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-datelined story headlined "Two Americans Blast U.S. at Peiping 'Peace Parley:"

"The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific 'peace' conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. Isobel Cerney, San Francisco writer and former labor schoolteacher. . . ."

THE SHANGHAI NEWS of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the "Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. Isobel Cerney," datelined Peking. She was quoted:

"Unable to defeat the people names when booked.

The day following Mrs. Cerney's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA).

(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city "on the way to Cuba." According to Bradford Lyttle, coordinator for the march, three marchers are "former" members of SNCC and several others are "inactive members" of Fair Play for Cuba.)

Lyttle left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, professor of psychology.

DURING THEIR visit to Atlanta, according to Lyttle, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken "by Leb's" and to City Hall "in hopes of viewing a demonstration." They also visited The Atlanta Constitution.

(Lyttle said the U.S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by "important people," whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved.)

Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by Anne Kinney on Dec. 22, 1952.

He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by Anita Schneider, the FBI undercover agent. Steinmetz testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance.

The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. Steinmetz in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U.S. attorney general in 1948, records show.

NEITHER Mrs. Cerney nor Dr. Steinmetz are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities.

In October, 1962, Dr. Steinmetz, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President John F. Kennedy's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island.

Besides Forman, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman John Lewis of Troy, Ala., one of the "original freedom riders" and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator Prathia Hall of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary Debbie Amis, also of Philadelphia.

According to Forman, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N.C. Forman established national headquarters—or "The Central Office" as SNCC members refer to it—in Atlanta in September, 1961.

BEFORE BEGINNING large-scale demonstrations here, Forman participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga., and Cairo, Ill.

Forman says SNCC has about 145 paid employes scattered over the Southeast.

According to Forman, money for SNCC's campaigns come from 18 "Friends of SNCC" organizations established throughout the nation.

The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to Forman.

The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed $23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project.

Wiley A. Branton, director of VEP, said it is required that his organization's funds be restricted "solely to voter registration activity. . . . There have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia during the past several months.

"SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months," Branton added.

SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of "Freedom Songs," and "Freedom Songbook" compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan, and by concerts given by folk-singer Pete Seeger.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists "no evidence" of Communist party membership for Seeger, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations.

Guy Carawan was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that Carawan was "now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

DOG KNOWS WHEN FELON IS FELINE

SALISBURY, Southern Rhodesia (AP) — The dogs on Salisbury's police force don't always get their man. One of the dogs recently disgraced himself completely when he forsook the trail of a cat burglar for a mere cat.

The dog was hot on the track of the burglar when the cat crossed his path and off he went. The handler twice pulled him back to the burglar's trail, but twice the dog took off after the cat. Both the feline and the felon escaped.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

port on Korean Question by Mrs. Isobel Cerney," datelined Peking. She was quoted:

"Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean."

Mrs. Isobel Cerney in the report termed the Korean War a "barbarism being committed in the name of our people . . . we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason."

MRS. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by Jane Addams. Mrs. Cerney said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacterialogical warfare against the Red Chinese.

Mrs. Cerney, who said she ran for the U.S. Senate on the Progressive party ticket in California in 1954, said "Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial Isobel Cerney is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children . . . and why there is violence."

She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination — "for peace and friendship."

ASKED IF she were a Communist, Mrs. Cerney replied, "I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: 'I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience.' "

House committee reports cover Mrs. Cerney's activities through 1961.

Mrs. Cerney participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27.

She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show.

Police Supt. Jimmy Brown said Mrs. Cerney refused to identify herself when she was booked.

ARRESTED the same day with Mrs. Cerney were James T. Bishop, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, Gloria, 21; Morris Eisenstein, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, Fannie, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show.

All refused to give their

2-12-64 Metro Herald

Government Control In Civil Rights Disguise

Many of the provisions in the civil rights bill, as passed by the House, give government bureaus and agencies almost complete control over private businesses and labor unions despite the fact that a number of melancholy, so-called liberal columnists keeping writing that "it guarantees to the Negroes only rights which they have been denied for almost 100 years."

In a bill drawn supposedly to eliminate discrimination the word "discrimination" is not defined in the new law, thus leaving it up to enforcement agencies and bureaus, we suppose, to define "discrimination."

The bill clearly discriminates against privately-owned business and service firms, labor unions and in one section atheists. (It should be remembered that only recently the federal courts ruled that an atheist could not be prevented from claiming to be a conscientious objector under the "equal protection" clause of the 14th amendment.)

Many of the provisions contained in the new law have already been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court . . . and haven't we been told over and over again that a Supreme Court decision is "the supreme law of the land" and can be changed only by a Constitutional Amendment?

However, we just as well face it . . . the present members of the Supreme Court have taken it upon themselves to amend the Constitution by overthrowing prior decisions of other members of that Court whose decisions must not have been "the supreme law of the land."

If this bill passes the Senate as sent over from the House, American people in every walk of life, including many Congressmen and Senators who supported it, will rue the day and many of them privately admit it.

However, this is a national election year and a majority of the Congressmen and Senators, it seems, are more interested in the election than they are in Constitutional government.

Meanwhile, riots and unlawful activities continue in the streets of many of our cities; upstart, dictatorship-controlled new nations continue to insult and slap Uncle Sam in the face while we pour millions of tax dollars into their treasuries; Castro makes us look silly; and Panama thumbs her nose at us.

These events are not important to those who are fighting for the bloc votes in the upcoming Presidential election. Politics must come first with them.

Politics must be served.

2-14-64 Atl. Const.

'We Just Came Down to Cheer You Up!'

5-10-64

SIGN OF ULTIMATE HEALTH

Negro Greets White Backlash

By MYRON FEINSILBER

NEW YORK, May 9 (UPI)—White impatience with Negro demonstrations is hurting the Negro cause and conceivably even could put a segregationist in the White House, Negro leader Whitney M. Young Jr. believes. Nevertheless, he welcomes "the white backlash"—as inevitable.

Young, executive director of the National Urban League, sees the alienation of some previously indifferent whites as one step closer to a final confrontation by the nation of the Negroes' demands. For two reasons he believes it is an ultimately healthy sign:

—The alienated white at least recognizes the Negro as a human being. "The Negro can stand hatred," Young says, "but he can not take indifference."

—The rising tensions on both sides will one day produce a crisis and the crisis must come before America will act. "Historically, America has only reacted from crisis," he says.

"Things may get worse before they get better," Young said in an interview, and by worse he meant worse for the Negro. But the Negro will win his battle, he said, because he has no choice but to go on fighting. "He has nothing to lose because he has nothing."

"THE WHITE power structure has been engaging in civil disobedience for 200 years and now the Negro is engaging in it. But the difference between the two is the Negro is willing to go to jail while the white segregationist is not."

Young, 42, Kentucky born and educated in Kentucky, Massachusetts and Minnesota, a former college dean, is considered a moderate among Negro leaders, although he prefers the term "responsible."

He does not pretend the 25 per cent of the vote won in Wisconsin's primary by Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, running against the civil rights bill, was anything but reaction by whites against Negro demonstrations—an expression of the white backlash.

White civil rights advocates have expressed fear that the backlash may make it harder to pass civil rights legislation. They fear it could make all politicians more cautious about advancing the status of the Negroes and that it could lead to removal of civil rights measures already on the books in some places.

YOUNG SEES white America before 1963, "the year of confrontation," as divided into three blocs: 10 per cent activity for Negro equality, 10 per cent actively hostile and 80 per cent "actively indifferent."

And the phenomenon America is now witness to, he believes, is the taking of sides by the 80 per cent. This means some of them are going to join what, for him, is the enemy camp.

That is all right, he said, because white indifference "kills the Negro."

"The Negro says 'Look at me. You may love me or hate me, you will have to recognize me.' " To force whites to recognize him as a human being is one reason the Negro demonstrates, Young said.

Those who say the Negro has pushed too far too fast, he said, "It is not enough for the Javits and the Humphreys and the Johnsons to congratulate us for stopping this, or for conducting a dignified march on Washington," he said. "Now we know what the whites are against. What are they for?"

Responsible Negro leaders must produce victories or leadership will go to the extremists, he said.

"It is futile to think that anybody can counsel a mother living in a hovel — four kids in two rooms, rats, her husband unemployed — to practice moderation. You can't tell her she's alienating people."

"For 200 years," he argues, "We Negroes have been treated as a group throughout history."

"We brought in Hungarian refugees for preferential treatment. America gave preferential treatment to Alaskans when disaster struck. Disaster has struck the Negro."

Young has proposed a domestic "Marshall Plan" to produce economic equality for Negroes —a massive program of public works, quality education, housing and job retraining. Passage of the civil rights bill is vital, he told a House committee last month, but "We might end up with a mouthful of civil rights and an empty stomach, living in a hovel. . . . We will either help Negro citizens become productive, constructive consumers or they will automatically become destructive, disgruntled dependents."

TIME AND again, in speeches and in interviews, Young comes back to an incident last winter on New York's Tri-Boro Bridge. It seems to haunt him.

Six demonstrators halted rush-hour traffic on the bridge for 20 minutes before they were hauled away by police.

The demonstration was deplored by liberals, because they feared it would feed the white backlash and Young deplores it too because he feels it was futile.

"The vile language of the commuters — delayed 20 minutes from their martinis at home — would have made the White Citizens Council in Mississippi green with envy," he said. "They threw lug wrenches at the demonstrators — who were, incidentally, three educated, intelligent white persons and three uneducated, illiterate Negroes.

"The incident is worth analysis. The commuters didn't just learn that language.

"The demonstration was a confrontation. It brought true feelings to the surface. So the Negro lost some friends that day, but the white man — for the first time — had to recognize him as a person. He was no longer a lamppost, a cog in the industrial machine.

"We can stand hate, but we cannot stand indifference. From there we can go on. We can take your good-will or your ill will—but no will, will kill us."

Close-Up

5-16-64

Leontyne Price and May 17, 1954

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied.

These things have come to pass now, more or less. Miss Price may still have needed a sort of road map or discrimination guide to know where she couldn't eat. A private club or two may have made none-too-subtle changes in their arrangements for their annual opera parties so as to save their members the "embarrassment" of Miss Price's skin color. But on the whole, Atlanta has paid for its admission ticket.

And so last Thursday night, 5,000 people had the chance to judge Miss Price for themselves. What happened has already been reported. In a dozen years of attending Met performances here, I cannot recall a comparable explosion of applause. Nor do I think I have heard a more lovely voice.

As I listened to that hauntingly beautiful presentation, I thought: This is the real story of racial progress in America; this is the real celebration of the tenth anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education; this is what the struggle is really about.

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

This chance for the individual to be judged on ability, not accident of birth, is what the racial struggle really concerns at its heart. It will not be solved alone by law. No Supreme Court edict brought Leontyne Price here. Neither, it should be added, did any street demonstrations.

The greatest significance of May 17, 1954, was that it nudged our consciences and our good sense; it made us look at what we were doing to our fellow men—and to ourselves. And hopefully, despite occasional set-backs and no little muleheadedness, we are learning that as we open our eyes, we open our hearts.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

him, is the enemy camp.

That is all right, he said, because white indifference "kills the Negro."

"The Negro says 'Look at me. You may love me or hate me, you will have to recognize me.'" To force whites to recognize him as a human being is one reason the Negro demonstrates, Young said.

Those who say the Negro has pushed too far too fast, he said are hypocrites. "I resent those who say 'We will go without routine rights until each and every Negro conducts himself in a nice little way'," he said.

"They do not see that the large masses of Negroes have been restrained and patient. And where has it gotten them?

"The miracle is that only a few have gotten desperate. I'm amazed that more haven't resorted to shooting."

"The civil rights protest has reached the point now," he said, "that the alternative to giving Negroes equality is to kill them. 'Either free me or destroy me — but you're no longer going to be a hypocrite.' That is what the Negro is saying to America."

YOUNG WAS one of the Negro leaders who was influential in heading off the threatened stall-in on the day the World's Fair opened. For that he received congratulations, which he resents.

Metro Herald 5-20-64

These Are Rights They Would Destroy

Do you believe in a trial by jury in criminal cases? The Constitution of the United States even grants a trial by jury in civil cases when the amount at issue is over $20.

Yet, the present civil rights bill does not allow a trial by jury in criminal cases brought under this law?

Do you believe that an accused person is considered innocent until proven guilty in criminal cases as is provided in the Constitution?

The present civil rights legislation assumes that an accused person is guilty unless he can prove his innocence?

Do you believe that you have the right to own, lease, rent or sell your private property as you see fit?

The present civil rights bill denies you this right and makes you a law violator if you attempt to do as you see fit.

Do you believe that you should be punished financially because someone you do not know, in another part of the state, might violate the proposed civil rights law?

You could be if it is passed.

Do you believe in free speech and a free press?

The present civil rights bill makes it unlawful to oppose the law, should it pass, by public speeches or by editorials . . . under the "aid and abet" clause.

Do you believe that the federal government should have hundreds of agents snooping into the operations of privately owned businesses?

It will if the present civil rights law is passed.

Did you know that the only protection any minority group has against quick passage of unwise or punitive laws is the "unlimited debate in the U. S. Senate?

Yet the sponsors of the present civil rights legislation would destroy this protection.

Yes, the civil rights bill will destroy all these rights. It is certainly NOT by any manner of means a law that just guarantees the Negro citizen the right to vote, as some liberal columnists would have you believe.

Most of its provisions are more aptly described civil wrongs legislation.

LOOK ■ APRIL 21, 1964 Volume 28, No. 8

A lonely day: Susan Beer, seven, waits for the school bell.

INTEGRATION ...IN REVERSE

What happens when a middle-class white child enters a predominantly Negro slum school? Last fall, an integrated housing project (left) opened on the doorsteps of such a school in San Francisco. The white parents who moved in knew their children would pay some part of the tragic price of *de facto* school segregation, the worst nightmare in education.

Revels Cayton manages integrated apartments in a Negro district.

The roots of learning: Jan Beer reads to daughter and son.

continued

THE EDUCATION OF SUSAN BEER

RAPHAEL WEILL SCHOOL stands in the heart of an old San Francisco section that has suffered a familiar city-change. As its early residents moved on, the neighborhood became a way station for new arrivals. Time and weather blemished vintage Victorian houses; the school bell rang for Jewish, then Japanese, then Negro children. Teachers stayed (some are nearing their 30th year), trying to deal with each group's unique problems and talents. By the 1950's, Raphael Weill had become, in effect, a Negro school with white teachers.

Then a miracle: As the 1963-64 school year began, St. Francis Square, an integrated housing project sponsored by the Longshoremen's Union, opened right up against the school. Project manager Revels Cayton used drive, anger and wit to keep the white families coming in. When one white woman, a CORE member, wanted to give up her apartment to a Negro family, Cayton phoned a CORE official, "Say, get her off me. Do you want this to be a ghetto so you can come picket it?" By midwinter, all 298 apartments were occupied, 54 percent by white families.

Among the white children trickling into Weill's classrooms was a winsome, sensitive seven-year-old named Susan Beer. Her father, who carries mail while working for a belated college degree, proclaims he came to St. Francis Square "because it's a good buy." But both he and his wife know the evil of racism; they fled Europe during Nazi oppression. "Segregation is wrong," Jan Beer says. "Segregation has to go. It *has* to."

continued

Susan and her class: Altogether there are 22 Negro, two Oriental and five white children. Four of the white children come from St. Francis Square.

PRODUCED BY GEORGE B. LEONARD
PHOTOGRAPHED BY CAL BERNSTEIN

A DIFFERENT WORLD

At home, Susan Beer is gentle and a bit dreamy. She sometimes seems slow at anything requiring physical coordination, but glows with a bright, sophisticated social sense, is a great talker and displays an inordinate fondness for language. (Her father can evoke delighted laughter by reading her erudite nonsense-passages from James Joyce's *Ulysses.)* School is different. Susan's new classmates bring to her the raw stuff of another world.

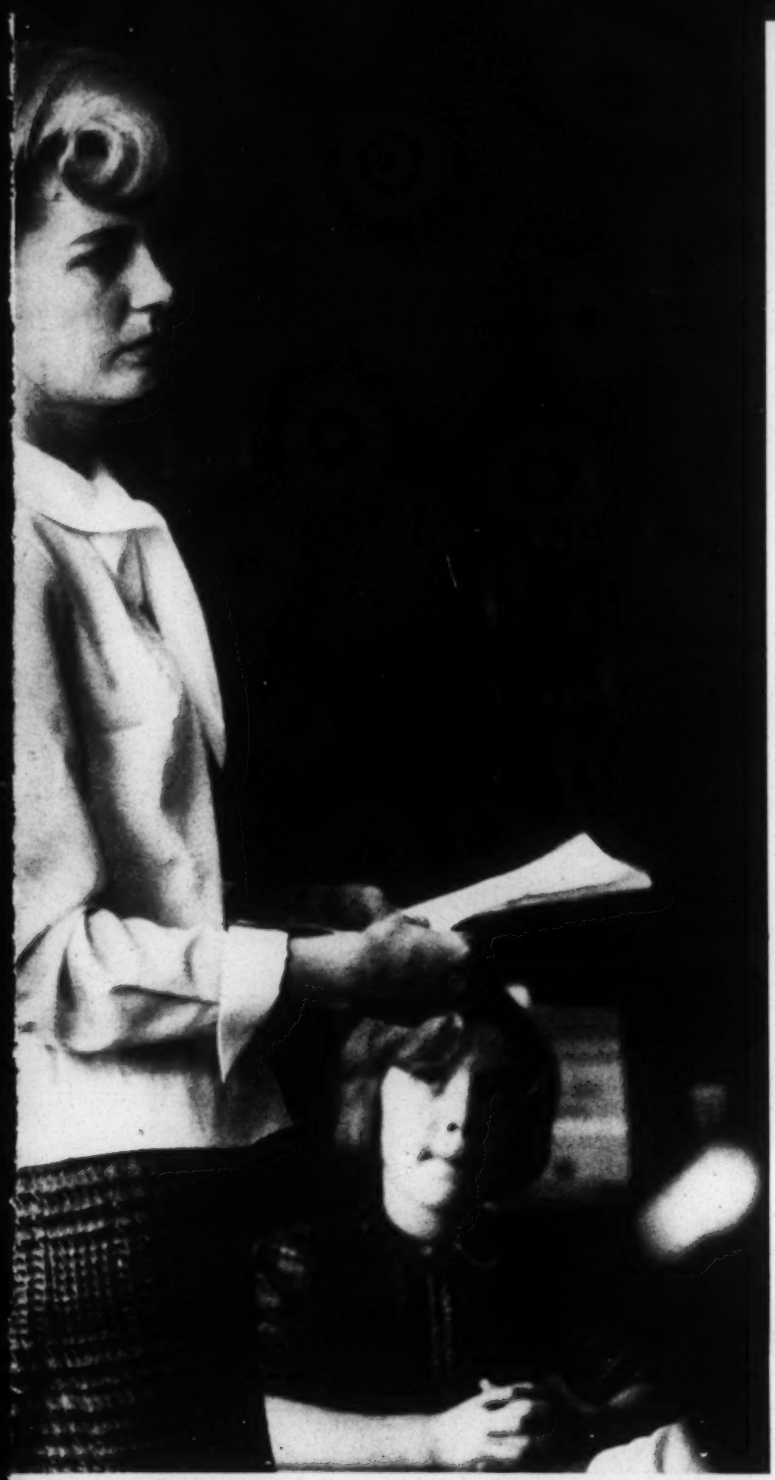
"Yesterday, my Daddy and Mama were sitting in the car drinking beer," a Negro girl tells the class, "so the cops came, and my Daddy didn't have a license and they put him in jail and my Mama went down to get him out, and today they have to go to court." She is lucky. Many Raphael Weill children do not have fathers to talk about.

The ghetto's ultimate lesson is hopelessness, but joy dies hard in a seven-year-old. At Table 2, Lee, grinning at the teacher's back, slips around the table, passionately wishing to swat John and get back to his place before she turns. Blond 24-year-old Jo Ann Willis turns. "How many times have I told you, Lee, to *stay—in—your—seat?*" Mrs. Willis, a hard worker, is exasperated. "A lot of things they teach you at college don't hold here," she says. "What can we do? All the teachers want to know."

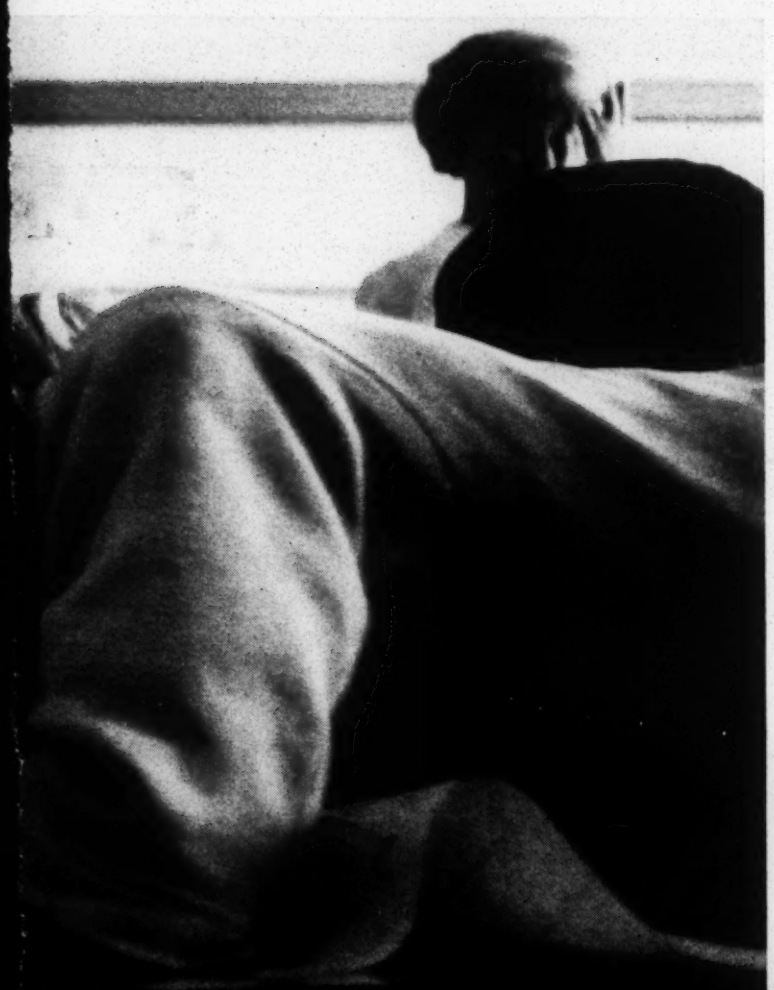
As in many another classroom, the minutes creep. Lee sulks in the corner. The front doorknob is candy-sticky. Table 3 is noisy again. Susan sighs and shakes her head. She feels a great weariness.

Susan flings up her hand, competes with the rest of the class. The right answer admits no color line.

Her classmates move restlessly, are seldom silent. They have a quick intelligence, but it comes in a different accent.



Mrs. Willis challenges the noisy class with sudden silence. Discipline becomes a cycle, creates the need for more discipline.



"Our first mistake was ever thinking integration would be easy."

LONELINESS AND LOVE

"I try to make an effort to learn it, but it's hard when you've *never, never* played it in all your life." Susan was telling her mother about a variation of jump rope known as "Double Dutch," in which the child skips between two counter-rotating ropes. Nothing sharpened Susan's feeling of apartness from the other children as much as her inability to join in one of the many Double Dutch games going on during each play period. Susan would stand by for minutes at a time, asking for a turn. The other girls never meant to be unfair, but in the clash and clamor of the play yard, it was easy not to see her, not to hear her. Susan's determination would rise, and she would demand to be included. Then she would snarl the rope, and someone would leap in to take her place. "While I think Susan should be concentrating on her reading," her mother said, "all she can think about is this Double Dutch. She begs me to practice with her. She's *obsessed* with it." Susan is wise. She knows how well she can read.

Susan and her new classmates sometimes could not understand each other. Once, a Negro girl shouted a strange epithet at her: "Susan is black!" Then Mercy returned to her side, stayed close to her.

Susan looks for a friend. When she first entered school in November, her teacher assigned Mercy (with pigtails, right) to look after her. But then a new girl, Anna, came in from St. Francis Square, and Susan was made her partner. This blocked Susan's friendship with Mercy.

"I love Susan," Mercy said. Once during class, she reached over and touched her friend's head. She had never before felt a white girl's hair.

continued

THE CHILDREN CAN WORK IT OUT

It started like a cancer in our Northern and Western cities—stealthy, dangerous, unacknowledged. At first, there was not even a name for it. Then came the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, and people began calling the disease "*de facto* segregation," a condition caused not by law, as in the South, but by a harsh fact: the discrimination that herds Negroes into crowded ghettoes. As the ghettoes have expanded, so have the number of schools overflowing with dark faces, until now the vital cores of most large cities are segregated both at home and at school.

For years, Northern and Western educators pretended to be colorblind; their schools, for the most part, took in whatever children lived in each school's neighborhood. They left integration up to those responsible for housing. This they no longer can do. Everywhere, Negro leaders are launching their picket lines, their sit-downs, their boycotts directly against the schools, demanding that educators themselves do something—almost *anything*—to bring *de facto* segregation to an immediate end. "You ask me what problem keeps educators awake at night," school superintendent Harold Spears of San Francisco said to LOOK. "The racial question does. Educators must take a situation that they did not create and use it to improve our schools."

What is the cure? Many remedies have been suggested. Among them:

Busing. Students are driven crosstown to integrate all schools.

Open enrollment. Students may transfer to another school that has extra space, if that will help correct racial imbalance. Parents provide necessary transportation.

Controlled option. White students go to schools in their own neighborhoods, with a certain number of seats left open at every school. Negroes choose the school they will attend, up to each school's capacity.

The Princeton Plan. Two neighboring schools—one all-white, the other all-Negro—are included in a single attendance zone. Both races in half the grades go to one school; both races in the remaining grades go to the other school.

Gerrymandering. School zones are redrawn to increase integration.

Abandonment. Schools are built in locations that will insure racial balance. Old ghetto schools are abandoned.

All these remedies have at least some undesirable side effects. Most are either impractical, expensive or painful. An end to discrimination in housing would be far easier on all concerned. But that will take time. Meanwhile, many cities will most likely be forced to try such emergency measures as those listed above. As more and more Negro and white children come together in schools around the nation, par-

After discomfort and pain comes love

A circle of friends: For a moment Anna (far left) is jealous, but then she gets a turn. Loneliness is banished. As in any second grade, friendships ebb and flow. And color of the skin has nothing to do with it.

ents can gain guidance from what has happened during the first school year at St. Francis Square.

The earliest casualty was a certain amount of naïve idealism. One white woman who moved to the project "for the obvious reason—idealism," had a peculiar experience when she first took her children to school. "I suddenly realized I was asking them to do something I was not doing myself. I walked home with a sinking feeling. I saw a headline about a plane crash, and I remember thinking, 'Well, at least my children are alive.' That was silly. I found out all the things I worried about haven't happened, and I find I'm getting benefits I never dreamed of. I misjudged the situation and underestimated my children. That's one fringe benefit—knowing how wonderful they are."

Indeed, the children have managed with much less fuss than the parents. There have been no "race riots." There has been no concerted persecution of the white minority by the Negro majority. "Just leave the kids alone," Revels Cayton said, "and they'll work things out."

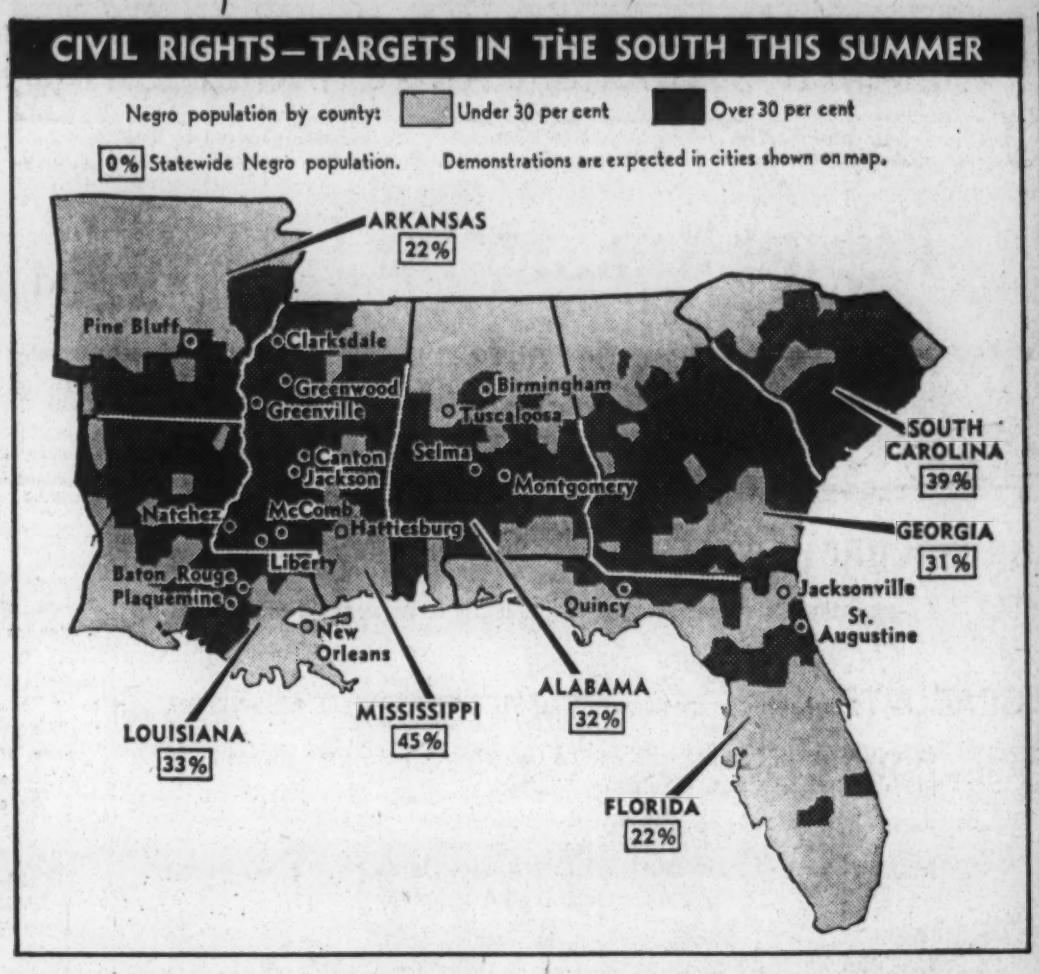
How about educational standards? The white children have no monopoly on brains, and in many Raphael Weill classes, the brightest student is a Negro. It is true, however, that on an average the Negro children have had poorer educational backgrounds (some are recent arrivals from the South) and fewer learning opportunities at home than the white children from St. Francis Square. Yet the learning rate of white children has not plummeted. While some white parents feel their children are learning more slowly than before, most judge the progress to be about the same. A few say their children are better off. Raphael Weill and other San Francisco slum schools have special programs in reading, language and the like, financed partly by the Ford Foundation. "Compensatory education" of this type is gaining favor throughout the country.

Still, no simple prescriptions emerge from St. Francis Square. Its white residents left pat answers behind when they moved into a place surrounded by slums. "I thought I had my attitude on race all figured out before I moved here," a mother of three girls told LOOK. "Oh, I was so smug. It all seemed so easy. But now . . . you walk through slums every day, and your conscience is taking a pounding all the time. You start *feeling*, not just thinking. You wonder how you ever could have approached the wrongs of segregation coolly and intellectually."

"At the beginning, true integration brings a certain amount of pain to both races," San Francisco psychiatrist Price Cobbs, who is a Negro, told LOOK. "As long as Negroes and whites regard each other as symbols, nothing happens. What is needed is confrontation. By that, I mean an honest meeting on a personal level, a stripping away of your comfortable thoughts about yourself and your stereotypes about someone else. Until that abrasive experience occurs, you are not free to relate, to love and to accept."

END

Susan and Mercy: They play in Susan's closet. ("Home is where one starts from.") Afterwards, they go out and practice Double Dutch.



SOUTH GIRDS FOR CRISIS

Massive Assault on Racial Barriers Planned for This Summer Creates Atmosphere of Tension

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., June 13—Whites and Negroes in the Deep South are braced for the social upheaval that they see as the inevitable accompaniment to a summer-long civil rights campaign. But the outcome may be far less violent than either side is now predicting and considerably more inconclusive.

The potential for serious conflict already has been demonstrated at such widely separate points as St. Augustine, Fla., and Canton, Miss. Intermittent terrorism plagues some areas of southwestern Mississippi. Other crises appear to be developing elsewhere.

The plans of civil rights advocates for this massive assault on racial barriers and the preparations of their opponents surpass anything seen in the decade since the Supreme Court's ruling against public school segregation.

However, some important differences from the pattern of the past have emerged. Negroes appear less inclined to take part in the type of large-scale demonstrations that have evoked a riotous response from whites.

Recent Pattern

If mass violence does take place, it is generally expected to involve civil rights demonstrators and the police rather than white mobs. This has been the pattern in recent months.

Such outbursts usually develop from action to halt demonstrations. The explanation given by authorities for prohibiting protests is that this is necessary to prevent violence. However, in most—but not all—cases in the Deep South, the threat of violence has come from the likelihood that demonstrations would cause a white mob to form.

The prohibition removes the target of potential aggression rather than the would-be aggressors. Thus civil rights advocates contend, the police are doing the work of the mob and in some cases they are no less brutal and by far more effective.

This is by no means true of all Southern law-enforcement agencies. Some of them have shown themselves to be well-disciplined and fair in the face

their anxiety results from rumor and misunderstanding. But it is nonetheless real.

The depth of this misunderstanding and apprehension is reflected in the reaction of many white Mississippians to the coming "Freedom Summer" operation. The project calls for a statewide program of voter registration drives, special academic training for Negro youths, adult citizenship classes, political action, a survey of the state's political and economic structure and a study of white attitudes.

Support Expected

It is largely the brainchild of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which is working with local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Support is expected from the National Council of Churches, the national N.A.A.C.P., the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the National Lawyers Guild.

Approximately 700 student volunteers from throughout the nation are scheduled to begin arriving by June 22 after undergoing orientation at Western College for Women at Oxford, Ohio.

The atmosphere that has developed among whites in advance of this influx resembles that pervading the state before the desegregation of the University of Mississippi. Whites refer to it as "the invasion." More than a score of new laws have been passed to combat it. The strength of the state highway patrol has been almost doubled and Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. has been given authority to employ troopers anywhere. County and city law enforcemet agencies have added new men and equipment and have developed riot-trained auxiliary units.

Vigilante Groups

Vigilante groups have sprung up across central and southern Mississippi. The state's long-dormant Ku Klux Klan has experienced a resurgence.

In recent weeks, countless rumors have been circulating. Have these Marxist-mannered ministers who plan to flood our state with their guerrillas never heard of the Scripture, which warns, 'Whatsoever ye sow, that shall ye also reap.'? We are glad that they served notice of their intention to bathe us in blood, otherwise we might not have been ready for our bath."

Elsewhere in the Deep South, reaction to the summer campaign has followed more conventional lines—increased police preparation, more frequent gatherings of the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations and a barrage of statements from white leaders against civil rights workers.

The chief targets of the expected activity outside of Mississippi are Alabama and eastern Louisiana.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference are pressing a drive against discrimination in public accommodations and employment at St. Augustine. While the Atlanta integration leader has vowed to remain there until major progress is achieved, observers believe the chief focus of the S.C.L.C. will soon shift to Alabama.

'Freedom Armies'

Dr. King's aides are now recruiting volunteers for so-called "freedom armies" in Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala. The absence of mass demonstrations in those cities and the relatively small turnout for the St. Augustine protests seem to reflect a lack of enthusiasm for this tactic.

The Congress of Racial Equality has established a headquarters in New Orleans under Richard Haley, its associate national director, to supervise the Louisiana campaign. It plans to put 48 workers into the field to organize voter registration drives and other projects in addition to those already under way.

The N.A.A.C.P. and the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund will continue their work throughout the region and provide assistance to the other organizations in the concentrated campaign in the Deep South. Various registration drives sponsored by the Southern Regional Council Voter

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The prohibition removes the target of potential aggression rather than the would-be aggressors. Thus civil rights advocates contend, the police are doing the work of the mob and in some cases they are no less brutal and by far more effective.

This is by no means true of all Southern law-enforcement agencies. Some of them have shown themselves to be well-disciplined and fair in the face of extreme provocation despite the blanket accusations made against them.

Avoiding Violence

Officials show an ability and a desire to avoid violence. This does not represent true progress in most cases because the announced method for achieving this goal is rigid enforcement of laws of dubious constitutionality and the suspension, where civil rights workers are involved, of the guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly.

Even the assurance of repressive law enforcement has failed to calm the fears of whites in some areas. Much of volunteers from throughout the nation are scheduled to begin arriving by June 22 after undergoing orientation at Western College for Women at Oxford, Ohio.

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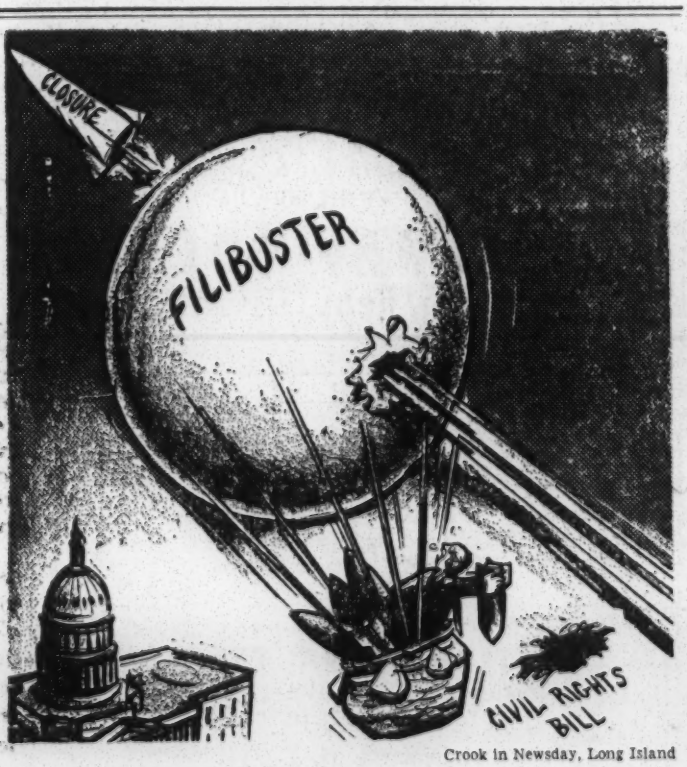
In recent weeks, countless rumors have been circulating. These spurious reports range from one involving a planned mass assault on white women to another that cooks were polluting food. So rife have they become that The Jackson Daily News, in a front-page editorial, has urged its readers to ignore them. The tenor of thought in some circles is reflected in a letter from a Jackson resident published subsequently by that newspaper. It said in part:

"It is incredibly criminal and cowardly for a group calling themselves a 'Council of Churches' to send young students out to prepare a blood bath that would invite a death-dealing shower of hot lead . . .



Crook in Newsday, Long Island

"The ultimate weapon."

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Needless to say, passage of the civil rights bill now before the Senate will have little effect on the summer's events in these areas of bitter-end resistance to racial change. This may not be true of the South as a whole, however.

The outlook in other areas of the region is summed up, perhaps, in a remark by Burke Marshall, chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division.

Massive Resistance

"A great deal of emphasis now is on the problems that people see for the summer," he said. "But I think that in contrast to the massive resistance of the summers of 1954 and 1955, this is going to be a summer of massive compliance with the new civil rights law, especially the public accommodations section."

It remains to be seen whether this optimism is justified. Much will depend upon the leadership provided by President Johnson, the debate and the outcome of the Presidential campaign and the success of efforts to end discrimination and interracial violence outside the South.

Probably the best that can be hoped for realistically in the Deep South's pockets of defiance until these hurdles are cleared is a peaceful stalemate. There can be no substantial, lasting progress here so long as whites see signs of hope elsewhere that the nation will eventually tire of the civil rights controversy and leave them to resolve the issue in their own way, as was done in 1877.

'66 Soldiers' and More 6-15-64 Stat Observer

The Drama of a Senate Cloture Vote, And How Civil-Rights Forces Won It

WASHINGTON, D.C.

From the corridor outside, the clang of a bell filtered into the hushed Senate chamber. Moments before, Montana Democrat Lee Metcalf, who was presiding, had posed the question: "Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?"

A page nudged another who was fidgeting with a pencil. In his second-row aisle seat, Georgia's Richard B. Russell adjusted his glasses and leaned forward on his elbows, his shoulders hunched. Presidential hopeful Barry Goldwater uncrossed his arms. Hubert Humphrey, Democratic floor manager of the civil-rights bill, ran a tongue over his thin lips, picked up a pen, and moved it to a spot opposite the first name on a long tally sheet on his mahogany desk. It was 11:09 a.m.

Chief clerk Emery L. Frazier called the first name. Aiken. Vermont's George D. Aiken responded, "Aye." Allott, Anderson, Bartlett, the clerk called in turn. Utah Republican Wallace F. Bennett gave the first no. The next name was that of Alan Bible, Nevada Democrat. He, too, answered no. "It looks like a close one," a reporter said under his breath in the press gallery above.

As it turned out, it wasn't close at all. Thirteen weeks of preparation had gone into this vote to choke off the Southern talkathon against the civil-rights bill, the longest filibuster in Senate history. When the official count was announced, 71 for cloture, 29 against, Senator Humphrey grinned uncontrollably. Two Negro workmen in the old Senate Office Building across Constitution Avenue from the Capitol embraced each other. And a white woman in the gallery clasped her hands over her head and exclaimed, "We won!"

The vote demonstrated that the battle for a civil-rights bill will, indeed, be won. With each senator now limited under the chamber's 47-year-old cloture rule to one hour's debate on amendments, the measure will probably clear the Senate late this week. Though some changes could develop in the House, which approved its own version of the bill Feb. 10, none is likely to alter its substance.

The size of the victory was impressive. Forty-four of the Senate's 67 Democrats supported cloture, and all but 6 of the 33 Republicans. Yet almost until the last minute, Senate leaders had doubts they could muster the two-thirds majority, 67 votes, needed if all 100 senators should vote.

All 100 did vote. California Democrat Clair Engle, half-paralyzed after undergoing brain surgery, was pushed into the chamber in a wheelchair shortly before his name was called. He raised his left arm and nodded his head in a vain attempt to speak. His "yes" vote was recorded nonetheless.

In the flush of victory over the Senate vote—certainly the most dramatic in the long fight for legal weapons to battle racial discrimination—it was hard to single out any individual or group that turned the tide in favor of cloture. The fact is, many men played key roles, sometimes in public, but more often in the little-publicized give-and-take that went on behind the scenes.

Key players in this drama were the silver-haired senator from Illinois, Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen, who fashioned the basic compromise on which cloture was invoked; Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who worked long hours to make the bill acceptable to Senator Dirksen and his followers; the unpredictable Iowan, Bourke Hickenlooper, who led an eleventh-hour "revolt of the moderates," and, of course, the ubiquitous master of Senate politics, President Johnson.

That the leadership would not be able to end the debate without invoking cloture was made clear by Senator Russell on the opening day of debate, March 9. Emerging from a Southern-bloc strategy session, the Georgia lawmaker declared: "I see no room for compromise on our part. We will fight to the last ditch."

From the beginning too, Senator Humphrey, Democratic floor manager of the bill, knew he could count on his party members to supply 40 to 42 of the needed 67 votes for cloture. That left 25 to 27 votes to be rounded up by the Republicans. The plan was to permit the Southerners to talk until late April or early May before seeking to choke off the debate. Several factors upset the leadership timetable.

The impressive vote piled up by Alabama's segregationist Gov. George C.

Please Turn to Page 15, Column 1

Six Red Roses And the End Of A Senate Debate

The President Puts on The Pressure, But the GOP Has the Winning Margin

Continued From First Page

Wallace in the Wisconsin and Indiana primaries in April raised doubts in the minds of many of the bill's lukewarm backers that the measure had broad public support. Then too, many Republicans, facing conflicting pressures from constituents, were unwilling to lend their support to any early effort that would open them up to charges of "railroading" the measure through the Senate. The chief obstacle, however, was Republican leader Dirksen, who controlled up to 18 of the needed GOP votes.

Senator Dirksen maintained from the outset that he would support a "good, workable, equitable" bill. He was equally firm in his conviction that the House-passed measure lacked those qualities. At the base of the Illinois Republican's concern was a fear that the bill might serve as a basis for massive Federal intervention into the affairs of local communities, private businesses, and such public accommodations covered by the bill as hotels, restaurants, theaters, sports arenas, gasoline stations, and soda fountains.

Working on Dirksen

Over a period of six weeks, beginning in early April, the civil-rights forces went to work on Senator Dirksen. Much of the pressure came from churchmen and labor groups. Liberal Republicans such as New York's Jacob Javits and New Jersey's Clifford Case also took a hand. On April 21, White House liaison chief Lawrence F. O'Brien and Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach held their first of several shirt-sleeves sessions with Senator Dirksen to whittle down the 70 amendments he proposed as his price for endorsing the bill. They got an assist from President Johnson, who invited the minority leader to the White House for a chat on April 29.

Starting May 3, Attorney General Kennedy took personal charge of the negotiations with Senator Dirksen and Democratic leader Mike Mansfield. In five days he shaped a substitute bill that met the GOP chief's demands that primary responsibility for enforcement should lie with local authorities, while providing for forceful Government action in communities working to thwart integration. Thus, the substitute version assigned to the states for specified periods exclusive jurisdiction over complaints of discrimination in hiring or denying access to public accommodations. But it permitted the Attorney General to bring suits when he had "reasonable cause" to believe employers, unions, or owners of public accommoda-

prompted a switch in tactics from the Southern bloc. Before June 1, Dixie chieftain Russell had allowed only one of the more than 400 pending amendments to come to a vote. In that showdown May 6, the leadership turned back by only one vote a proposal by Republican Thruston Morton of Kentucky to grant jury trials in all criminal contempt cases stemming from the bill. (A later vote put the amendment back in.) Now, however, Senator Russell said he was ready to stop talking and begin voting on amendments immediately. The move was aimed at taking the wind out of the cloture drive, and delaying a final vote on the bill. Predictably, Senator Mansfield declined the offer.

But the dissident Republicans had been pressing all along for a chance to consider amendments before voting on cloture. With the deadline set for June 9, their cause assumed more urgency. One of them, New Hampshire's Norris Cotton, took the Senate floor to explain the group's position. "We talk about cloture," Senator Cotton said in criticizing the lack of consultation that preceded drafting of the leadership substitute. "We have had cloture already for 13 weeks as far as an opportunity of many senators to be

—AP

Losers: Senators Stennis, Russell.

One would have struck from the bill authority for the Government to aid communities seeking to train teachers to cope with the problems of desegregation. The other would have severely limited the bill's section banning discrimination in employment by exempting unions with fewer than

The Cloture Vote

The Senate last week voted to shut off a filibuster on the civil-rights bill. Of the 71 senators voting for the cloture motion, 44 were Democrats, 27 Republicans. Voting against the motion were 23 Democrats and 6 Republicans. Here is the roll-call vote:

FOR CLOTURE

Democrats

Anderson (N.M.)
Bartlett (Alaska)
Bayh (Ind.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Engle (Calif.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Humphrey (Minn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long, E. V. (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
McNamara (Mich.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Monroney (Okla.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Maine)
Nelson (Wis.)
Neuberger (Ore.)
Pastore (R.I.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Williams, H. A. (N. J.)
Yarborough (Texas)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Beall (Md.)
Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Cotton (N.H.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Hruska (Neb.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Jordan, L. B. (Idaho)
Keating (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Miller (Iowa)
Morton (Ky.)
Mundt (S.D.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Saltonstall (Mass.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Maine)
Williams, J. J. (Del.)

AGAINST CLOTURE

Democrats

Bible (Nev.)
Byrd, H. F. (Va.)
Byrd, R. C. (W. Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N. C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla).
Johnston (S. C.)
Jordan, B. E. (N. C.)
Long, R. B. (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Robertson (Va.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Walters (Tenn.)

Republicans

Bennett (Utah)
Goldwater (Ariz.)
Mechem (N.M.)
Simpson (Wyo.)
Tower (Texas)
Young (N.D.)

Government action in communities working to thwart integration. Thus, the substitute version assigned to the states for specified periods exclusive jurisdiction over complaints of discrimination in hiring or denying access to public accommodations. But it permitted the Attorney General to bring suits when he had "reasonable cause" to believe employers, unions, or owners of public accommodations were engaged in a "practice of resistance" to integration.

The U-Shaped Table

This was the formula, designed to win over sorely needed Republican votes for cloture, that Senator Dirksen detailed to fellow Republicans seated around a U-shaped table in the wood-paneled Republican Conference Room, May 19.

The results were not encouraging. Iowa's Bourke Hickenlooper, chairman of the Senate Policy Committee, criticized Senator Dirksen for failing to consult with party members before initialing the compromise package. He tried to get Mr. Dirksen's approval for further amendments, but the minority leader turned him down.

Senator Hickenlooper stomped out of the room and boycotted four other meetings at which Senator Dirksen sought support for the compromise. The substitute, charged the Iowa Republican, "is a gargantuan thing that doesn't go far enough to meet the real evils of the bill." Similarly displeased was New Hampshire's Norris Cotton, who told newsmen after one session that the difference between the House bill and the leadership substitute was "that between Tweedle-Dee and Tweedle-Dum."

The two were not alone. Recalls one Republican who attended the conferences: "We sat around that table and someone would bring up a point that hadn't been accounted for in the bill. Other members would nod their heads in agreement that it should be included. But Dirksen would say it was too late to make any changes. He considered the matter settled."

Hickenlooper Dissents

At 3:30 p.m. on May 26, Senator Dirksen rose in the Senate to offer the leadership substitute. In the next few days, he managed to sway some Republicans, notably Karl Mundt of South Dakota and Jack Miller of Iowa, but about a dozen others refused to commit themselves on cloture. Instead, the reluctant Republicans began meeting periodically under the leadership of Senator Hickenlooper to plot an independent strategy. Their goal was to press for a vote on several amendments before the imposition of cloture.

Several of the dissidents—Len B. Jordan of Idaho, Carl T. Curtis and Roman L. Hruska of Nebrasa, Peter H. Dominick of Colorado—were from Midwestern and Rocky Mountain states where the pressures for and against the bill lacked the force that compelled their Northern and Southern colleagues to take unequivocal positions. Says Senator Jordan: "We all saw ourselves being forced to choose between two unacceptable alternatives. There were those who wanted everything and those who wanted nothing. We made up our minds to plot out a middle course."

At the beginning of the Senate session of June 1, Senator Mansfield announced he would attempt to shut off the debate June 9. He admitted he had not made a count to determine if he had enough support to invoke cloture. An Associated Press poll at the time showed support from only 58 senators—nine fewer than the 67 needed. But Mr. Mansfield believed enough of the undecided lawmakers were susceptible to leadership pressures to supply the extra votes.

Senator Mansfield's announcement [illegible] ture. With the deadline set for June 9, their cause assumed more urgency. One of them, New Hampshire's Norris Cotton, took the Senate floor to explain the group's position. "We talk about cloture," Senator Cotton said in criticizing the lack of consultation that preceded drafting of the leadership substitute. "We have had cloture already for 13 weeks as far as an opportunity of many senators to be heard is concerned."

The group held its final meeting on Friday morning, June 5, in the Capitol. For the first time, Senator Dirksen was invited to attend. Senator Hickenlooper presented the minority leader with the group's demand: A request to the Senate for unanimous consent to consider three key amendments before taking a vote on cloture. Senator Hickenlooper did not go so far as to say the group would refuse to support cloture unless its demand was met, but, said one of the participants, "he planted enough doubt in Dirksen's mind that he had to listen."

Phone Call to Mansfield

The session broke up after Mr. Dirksen gave assurances he would do what he could to allow the request. He phoned Senator Mansfield, who agreed to the demand, which would force a one-day postponement in the drive for cloture. The big question, then, was whether Senator Russell would allow it. A single objection could have blocked consideration of the amendments. Senator Russell summoned the Southern bloc to a meeting late Friday.

As of Friday night, June 5, the leadership was still doubtful of victory on cloture. On Saturday morning when the Senate convened, attention turned to Senator Russell. "I have concluded that there is very little chance of my winning anything out of this situation," he said unhappily. "I have concluded not to interpose an objection to the unanimous consent agreement."

Debate on the three amendments began on Monday. By Tuesday evening they had been disposed of. One, proposed by Kentucky's Morton, was a revised version of the jury-trial amendment rejected in May. The revised version guaranteed the right of defendants to trial by jury in cases of criminal contempt arising from the bill, except in voting-rights cases. It was approved by a vote of 51-48.

Two other amendments were rejected.

—AP

Sen. Dirksen: "Time has come."

Losers: Senators Stennis, Russell.

One would have struck from the bill authority for the Government to aid communities seeking to train teachers to cope with the problems of desegregation. The other would have severely limited the bill's section banning discrimination in employment by exempting unions with fewer than 100 members, and businesses with fewer than 100 employes. As written, the measure would cover eventually all firms and unions with 25 or more workers or members.

With the amendments disposed of, the leadership appeared headed for a victory on cloture on Wednesday. But Senator Humphrey wasn't sure. At 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday he phoned President Johnson and told him he could deliver "66 soldiers" in Wednesday's tally, one below the required total. He also called Texas Democrat Ralph W. Yarborough, who had still not committed himself on cloture. Mr. Yarborough had received repeated assurances from President Johnson in the days leading up to the showdown that the President would do "everything I can" to assure Mr. Yarborough's re-election in the fall. Still, the senator refused to give Mr. Humphrey a commitment.

Last-Minute Help

Senator Humphrey did, however, receive last-minute assurances of support from two other Democrats, J. Howard Edmondson, who was defeated in Oklahoma's May 26 primary, and Howard W. Cannon of Nevada, and from two Republicans, John J. Williams of Delaware and Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska.

The Southerners made one late effort to stave off their impending defeat. West Virginia Democrat Robert C. Byrd, in a marathon performance that recalled the filibusters of old, held the floor all night to warn of the evils of the bill. When Senator Humphrey arrived on the floor at 9:30 Wednesday morning, he held in his hand six red roses "from the garden of Mrs. Humphrey." He pinned one of them to Senator Byrd's lapel, and one to his own lapel.

At 10 a.m., the final hour of debate preceding cloture began. Senator Mansfield was the first to speak. He read a letter from a constituent, a mother of four, who is seeking to teach her children that rights that "cannot be given, we do not really have for ourselves."

The burden of arguing for defeat of cloture fell to Senator Russell. "You are becoming enmeshed in a philosophy that can lead to the destruction of our system of sovereign states," he warned.

In a two-minute speech, Senator Humphrey said the issue was a simple one: "The question is whether this nation will be divided, or, as we are taught in our youth in the pledge of allegiance, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Senator Dirksen gave the final speech. "Stronger than all the armies," he quoted Victor Hugo as saying, "is an idea whose time has come." And, he added, civil rights "is an idea whose time has come."

Then as silence fell over the packed Senate chamber, the roll call began.

—MARK R. ARNOLD

6-21-64

"PRINCETON PLAN" IN PRINCETON—The plan which has been recommended for other school systems to correct racial imbalance was inaugurated easily and without fanfare in Princeton, N. J., 16 years ago, but progress in community integration has just begun.

Between classes in the Witherspoon School, Princeton.

Princeton's Lesson: School Integration Is Not Enough

By PEGGY STREIT

PRINCETON, N. J., is frequently cited as a model of school integration. Other cities, including New York, have been urged to adopt the "Princeton Plan" which, by pairing racially imbalanced schools, succeeded in ending school segregation without fuss, without pickets, without demonstrations and without tears. Princeton, however, found good schooling is not enough. Along with it must go a change in community attitudes, opportunities for better jobs, decent housing. Therefore Princeton's experience has important lessons for other communities, North and South.

Princeton's two elementary schools were integrated 16 years ago. Thus began a three-act racial drama—first, a period of Negro hopes; next, Negro frustration and disillusionment; and then, a limited degree of fulfillment.

For its 10,800 whites, about 90 per cent of the population, the Borough of Princeton is an elegant community of 1.7 square miles. Within it are patrician homes, olde English silver shoppes, wood-paneled eating houses and the neat greens and whites of restored farm houses, all contributing to a casual, uncalculated air of good living. Dominating the community, physically and spiritually, are the gray stone buildings of Princeton University.

THE white residents of Princeton are, by any standards, extraordinary — well above the average in income and education. There are wealthy old-family Princetonians, professors, scientists, New York business commuters, writers, scholars. They are a highly intelligent, articulate, attractive, aware group, zealously intent upon thinking good thoughts, doing good deeds, promoting progressive, liberal causes, being deeply concerned with an ailing world and being, according to some, more than a little pleased with their own very excellent qualities.

The Negroes of Princeton Borough represent about 10 per cent of the population—1,200 people—and for the most part occupy a few dozen blocks in a "Negro ghetto" in the center of town. They, too, are an extraordinary group —a modest but brave echo of the values, ways and aspirations of the whites they have served for generations as cooks, chauffeurs, domestics, laundresses, gardeners and the like. Many have been in the community for decades, descendants of slaves brought North by Southern Princeton students and freed at the time of the Civil War. Today, they inhabit well-tended, tastefully furnished middle-to-lower-middle class homes on well-groomed streets. They dress well, speak well and live quiet, industrious lives. Many husbands and wives hold three or four jobs between them.

THE first act in Princeton's drama began in 1948, when 120 Negro children from the segregated Witherspoon Elementary School in the heart of the Negro ghetto were integrated with the 580 students in the all-white Nassau Street School in the white neigborhood only half a mile away.

Many whites say this was the result of an awakening of the social conscience of the community—"clearly the right thing to do." Many Negroes, however, maintain that the step was taken because a revision in the New Jersey state constitution would have made integration mandatory. "Princeton is a privileged society," says one Negro. "What privileged group ever willingly abandons its privileges?"

Under the Princeton Plan, the white school was converted to take all Princeton children from kindergarten to fifth grade; the Negro school became Princeton's sixth through eighth grades. The community not only integrated the student bodies but the faculties as well, and Negro principal Howard Waxwood became principal of the upper school.

Dissent was minimal; one local newspaper failed even to mention integration. Today Princetonians offer some opinions why the Princeton Plan was put into operation so smoothly:

The white community was prepared for the move by a speaking campaign that appealed to its civic responsibility and promised that community standards would be maintained.

The Board of Education moved fast and unequivocally, permitting no time for dissent to develop and assert itself.

The physical plants and faculties of both schools were good, insuring that whites would not be faced either physically or academically by inferior facilities.

The two schools were close enough to each other so that transportation presented no substantial problem.

The number of Negroes integrated into the schools did not approach the so-called "tipping point" (over 40 per cent) the point at which, in the North, whites begin to flee.

ACT II of the racial drama, the long period of frustration, lasted from 1948 until 1960.

"We had hoped," said one Princeton Negro, "that integrated education would be better education and that better education would give us a better chance in the white world. But we found that wasn't so." Most Negroes claim they led segregated lives in the integrated schools, and there were only minor changes in the matters most vital to their welfare—the attitudes of whites, and opportunities in housing and employment. This, in turn, inhibited their ability to take full advantage of their educational opportunities. The Negroes claim that white attitudes, conscious and unconscious, had a particularly important role in "paralyzing" them, psychologically and academically, in their school work.

"I remember my daughter's first day in Princeton High," one mother said. "She came home in tears and said, 'Mother, I *(Continued on Page 30)*

PEGGY STREIT is a staff writer on the Sunday Magazine section of The New York Times.

Princeton's Lesson: Integration Is Not Enough

(Continued from Page 14)

saw Susan in the hall today and when I said hello she turned red and looked right through me. I don't know what I've done.'

"*I* knew what had happened, of course," said the mother, "and of course I should have warned her. But it's hard, you know. So hard to explain to a child that a small Negro is acceptable but an adult Negro is not. It wasn't Susan's fault, I tried to explain. It was just that her parents thought it better that Negroes and whites not mix. My daughter wouldn't listen to me. 'But Susan's father and mother are such *nice* people,' she said. I thought to myself that integration had some advantages. If the children had to learn the facts of life, they might as well learn them young."

"WE did what was expected of us in school," said another. "We stayed by ourselves. I've heard it said that equal academic and social opportunities were open to Negroes and that it was up to us to take advantage of them. But you don't go where you're not wanted unless you're trying to win a battle or prove a point. No one told us we couldn't mix, of course. We just knew we weren't welcome.

"Oh, there were always a few Negroes who made out — who did mix. But most of us just stayed segregated in an integrated school. The only real contact most of us had with whites was in athletics. It didn't take any brains to be an athlete, you see, so obviously that was where we belonged."

Most Negroes wound up in the "general section" of Princeton High, thought of by many as the "dummy section." "Lots of people, including the Negroes, assumed that that's where most of us belonged," said one Negro. "We weren't very bright, you see. We were lazy. We were apathetic. We were the ones who made the discipline problems. That's what a lot of people said and the awful thing was that there was some truth in it. There were many Negroes who said, 'The white man won't let me,' instead of being honest and saying, 'I'm not able. I didn't study hard enough.'

"BUT imagine what it did to a person always to be belittling himself," he continued. "To have been told or shown every day that you were less than a man. Oh, Princetonians didn't put it that way, but it came through clear enough. And after you had heard it often enough you suspected that it might be true and finally things got hopeless and you stopped trying. Sometimes I wished that those teachers who knew why Hamlet did this or that or why some war took place—sometimes I wished they thought a little more about why Negroes were the way they were."

A Negro girl, still in Princeton High, said, "When the teacher asked a question in grammar school and I knew the answer, I didn't raise my hand because I was afraid I might be wrong and that the others in the class would say, 'Well, she's just a Negro. What else can you expect?' "

SCHOOL integration also had little effect on the Negroes' standing in the community. In employment most of the Negroes, frustrated by the barriers of society, were left to their traditional role as the community's servants. Very few were employed on the clerical, superintendent or professional levels—a fact which had its effect on their attitudes toward education.

"Why," asked one Negro, "should I have broken my back to do well in high school if the only job I could find afterwards was as a janitor?"

"I'm a cook," said another, "so imagine the kind of money I earn. Sometimes I wondered whether I had a right to encourage my children to get good grades because I couldn't afford to send them to college — and college, maybe, was the one thing that might have set them apart enough to compete for jobs. Of course, some of our Negroes did do well, and they did get good jobs — but not very often in Princeton.

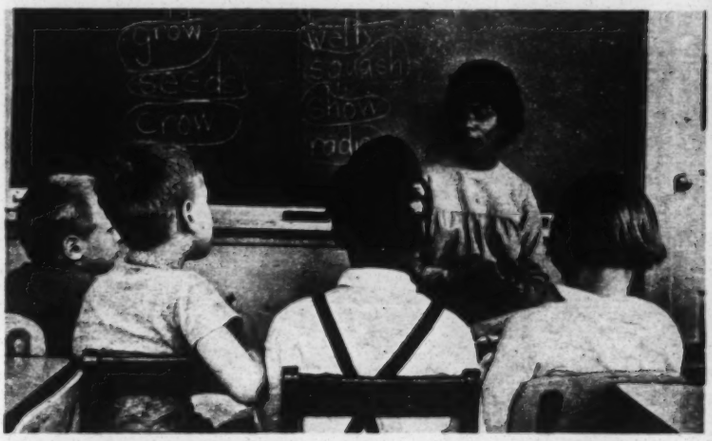
"There were other poor people who lived here and there still are," he continued. "Poor whites, just as poor as we were and they have had their problems here, too. But somehow, if they had initiative they could work their way out of this bind. But we just stayed stuck."

"We don't and didn't have a strong vocational program at Princeton High," said principal Howard Waxwood, "but at one time even the vocational schools wouldn't accept our Negroes because they couldn't place them after graduation."

The Princeton housing situation offered an equally difficult barrier. For generations Negroes occupied the same area in the center of town, hemmed in by the white business area and wealthy white homes. A few Princetonians labored valiantly to secure better housing for them. Between 1948 and 1960, 16 Negro families were settled in an integrated housing development and 34 more are now living in traditionally white areas. But it took time and effort to accomplish this, and in terms of the basic housing needs, the problem was barely touched.

"What good is a decent education if I can't find a job in Princeton?" asked a Princeton Negro. "And why should I really care very much about anything if I can't ever hope to find myself a decent place to live?"

And thus ended Act II of the Princeton Plan drama — the high hopes of Act I left unrealized, psychologically and academically, in the schools and in the community, by the barriers of an apathetic or prejudiced society.



FULLY INTEGRATED—Both faculty and students were integrated in Princeton. Here Mrs. Marguerite Allison, who went to Princeton schools when they were still segregated, teaches second-graders.

ACT III began in 1960, with the upsurge throughout the nation of sit-ins and militant civil rights agitation. For many Princeton Negroes this marked a watershed in their lives. Some now saw a glimmer of hope; the social and economic barriers began—just began—to tremble. "It was almost as if the white man looked at us for the first time," said one Negro. This shocked, first glance caused a significant part of the community, long blind to the Negro in its back yard, to set to work.

In May, 1961, a Youth Employment Service was established to help both Negro and white 14 to 19-year-olds find part time or full time work and to give them some knowledge of how to look for a job.

In January, 1963, the Princeton Study Center was organized. It provides a study hall for Negroes and whites whose homes do not contain either adequate space to study or reference books. The center is supervised by Negroes and whites who help the children with their work and who also

(Continued on Page 32)

(Continued from Page 30)

offer special tutoring service for students referred them by the schools.

In June, 1963, the Princeton Association for Human Rights, led by some of the town's most respected citizens, was formed. It sent 250 people, Negro and white, to the March on Washington last August. In addition, its employment committee has found jobs for a number of Negroes in companies which originally hired only whites. Awareness of the committee's activities has helped open up other jobs.

"IN Princeton High School I was advised to take the home economics course because domestic work was the only kind I'd be able to get here," one Negro girl said. "So I decided to try New York instead and I got a job there as a secretary. I came home last year because I want to go to Europe and living with my family was the only way I could save money. When I came back I found that Princeton had changed. I got a job as a medical secretary. I'm planning to return to Princeton when I get back from Europe — if I can find a place to live."

"Our most recent case," said a Princeton Negro associated with the human relations group, "was of a Negro who was turned down for a job he felt he was qualified to hold. He thought he'd lost it because he was a Negro. We checked the case and found that the office had been willing to hire him but he hadn't passed his medical exam; the insurance company wouldn't cover him. The Negro didn't get the job," she said, "but we all knew that there wasn't any question of discrimination and the air was cleared."

The long-active Princeton Housing Group made a house-to-house survey in October, 1963, leading to a statement signed by 73 per cent of those reached supporting the cause of equal housing opportunity.

IN September, 1963, a student civil rights group was organized in the high school. Some students have been agitating in favor of passage of the civil rights bill. Others — Negroes and whites working together — have tested the segregation that has prevailed in such places as barber shops and beauty salons. In the past some Negroes were refused service because "Negro hair is too difficult to cut." Negroes say that this discrimination no longer exists — probably because of the student activities.

Princeton University, too, has taken a strong stand. Last October it instructed its real estate office not to list for rent any units where there is evidence of owner discrimination. At the same time, President Robert Goheen reemphasized that the university was anxious to employ Negroes in other than service positions.

These are only some of the activities instituted to cope with Princeton's racial problem. The most significant change, however, is one of attitude, and it is a change that has affected many Negroes, but by no means all. It can best be seen in the high school and is best summed up by the same Negro girl who, just a few years ago in grammar school, was afraid to raise her hand in class.

"The white students," she explained, "have begun to talk to us, to be interested in us as people, in what we have to say — and a few of them have begun to invite us to their parties. Two years ago if the word 'Negro' was mentioned by chance in class I wished the floor would open up and swallow me. I was so embarrassed — so ashamed to be a Negro. But today things begin to be different. People want to know about Negroes. The subject is in the open and I'm not ashamed any longer."

"A few years ago," she said, "I would have thought college was out of the question and I wouldn't have cared. But today I know that if I want an education I can probably get it, and that perhaps I'll be able to use it. Now I care."

ACT III of the drama of the Princeton Plan has only begun, and no one deceives himself that a happy ending is close at hand. Already, however, there are some conclusions to be drawn from the history of the community's school integration.

The experience of Princeton suggests that integrated education barely begins to be an answer to basic Negro problems. By itself it may hardly affect basic relations between Negro and white. There must be much more; to be truly meaningful, educational opportunity must be supplemented by economic opportunity and by a change of social attitudes. For the Princeton Negro, an education began to have real meaning, to serve a useful purpose, only when it began to be useful in acquiring and holding a job which, in turn, might be useful in acquiring such things as better housing.

THE Negro's approach to his own welfare and education began to change when community attitudes toward him changed. For generations he had been told that he was inferior and incompetent. The result had been, in varying degrees, his psychological immobilization; frequently he had become psychologically incapable of seeking out or taking advantage of the opportunities offered him—educational or otherwise. When community attitudes began to change — attitudes of white toward Negro and, perhaps more important, the Negro toward himself — he was freed to some degree from this psychological bondage and began to be able to take advantage of his opportunity.

What Will Rights Law Passage Mean to Nation?

ATLANTA.

The 30 women meeting last week in a basement conference room of Atlanta's Peachtree Manor feared hometown pressures. Most were unwilling to disclose either their names or their home states to visitors.

This was one of the first meetings held by Southern citizens to study the civil-rights bill and ways to put it into effect once it becomes law. The women here, who came from 27 cities in 9 states, reflected widespread uneasiness over the task.

The bill itself was nearing the end of its difficult path to final passage. Only House concurrence in Senate amendments, then the President's signature, were needed before the bill could become law. Both were expected by July 4.

The one remaining possible obstacle to final passage was the House Rules Committee, charged with clearing the way for a House vote on the Senate amendments. But Rules chairman Howard W. Smith, Virginia Democrat and opponent of civil-rights legislation, reluctantly agreed to call a meeting of his committee for early this week to vote on the measure.

It Would Change Little

Participants in the Atlanta meeting knew that passage alone would change little. Sighed one woman: "The mayor of our town is against it; our governor is against it; our attorney general thinks it's unconstitutional, and the newspapers couldn't be worse."

Indeed, the news from across the South and from the North, too, indicated the immensity of the task of effecting the bill. Most of the nation's attention was focused not on this Atlanta meeting but on Philadelphia, Miss., where three civil-rights workers were missing, their station wagon found burned in a swamp.

In St. Augustine, Fla., where the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is leading an integration campaign, 300 screaming segregationists rushed at civil-rights demonstrators—pummeling some; hurling bricks, garbage cans, and pieces of picket fence at others.

And in Washington, D.C., Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), cautioned civil-rights workers that they must be "smart rather than loud" in pushing for civil rights.

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Hoping for Voluntary Compliance

The same cautious tone came from the Administration. The Justice Department announced it was ready to prepare lawsuits, if necessary, for enforcement of the bill, but it was hoping for voluntary compliance.

There was talk of the President's picking a Southerner to head the Community Relations Service established by the bill. Most likely candidate: Former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins, president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Still, desegregation will be difficult, especially in small towns. One woman at the meeting here in Atlanta declared that her community had flatly opposed compliance with any civil-rights act.

Mrs. Edward Vinson, representing an Atlanta group called Partners for Progress, told the women here that Partners for Progress had achieved success in convincing local businesses that there is some public support for desegregation. Still, several of her listeners were uncertain as to what they might do. They went into buzz sessions and talked less of strategy for implementing the act than of local racial incidents.

And there, in good measure, lay much of the problem for the Southern advocate of civil rights.

These women were pro-civil rights. The meeting, sponsored by the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights, brought together representatives of the United Church Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Negro Women, American Association of University Women, and Young Women's Christian Association.

The question, however, was not whether they would implement the civil-rights bill. It was whether segregationists could be persuaded to comply with it. And the women who met here last week did not really make contact with the people who oppose desegregation; they did not touch the quick nerve of the South. More important, they were extremely reluctant to do so.

Civil Rights Issue Has Two Sides; We Should Be Blind to Neither One

Whenever any new law is written, whether it cuts taxes or reforms schools, a period of apprehensiveness follows naturally. The people watch closely to see what it will do to the economy, or how it will affect the society. The future is never certain; the law simply reflects society's clearest consensus and best judgment on how a given need might be met.

If needs are met without a law being passed, society is better off. But a national consensus has held that an unmet need exists in the field of civil rights. So a law is being passed, and because it is so sweeping and far-reaching it is the subject of unusual apprehensiveness.

Only time can prove or disprove the merit of the law.

But the nation's view of the need, if seen clearly by all, can lend some composure in a time of apprehensiveness. At least it can clarify what the law is trying to do, and thus reduce confusion.

The nationally accepted view of the need for a law might be summed up in some such speech as the following, which a Negro leader like Martin Luther King Jr., could have made in talking about the South:

"We appealed to logic, and failed. We begged for reason, and were turned aside. We asked for understanding, and were scorned and ridiculed . . .

"Every American citizen is entitled to the full and unhindered enjoyment of every right guaranteed him by the Constitution . . .

"How can it be called civil rights to grant special privileges to certain citizens and take away the constitutional rights of others?

"How can it be called civil or right . . . to penalize old people, the sick and the needy, and school children?

"I do not believe that they will be willing to be told with whom they must associate in every walk of life, in virtually every area of human conduct from the cradle to the grave.

"The people have been sold a bill of goods. They have been caught up in a whirlwind of emotional confusion. They have been coerced and intimidated and sweet-talked to the point that they apparently are no longer able to tell the difference between what are constitutional rights and what are special privileges."

But this was not a speech by Martin Luther King Jr., talking about special privileges of white Southerners and advocating the civil rights law. It could have been, but it wasn't.

It was a speech by Sen. Herman Talmadge on June 17 talking about the opposite, and attacking the civil rights law.

It is an irony that the two sides might have been summed up in the same words. It was the national decision that the greater need lay on the side opposite the one Talmadge was looking at.

The law that was proposed to meet that need is being viewed with understandable, and natural, apprehensiveness. It's a tough law. But it can be faced with greater composure if the need, as viewed by the national majority, is at least recognizable to all who have not seen that side of it.

* * * * * *

7-2-64 Atlanta

Voluntary Rights Compliance Urged

A variety of leadership groups in Atlanta were teaming Thursday in an effort to encourage local businesses to comply voluntarily with the civil rights bill once it is signed into law.

The organizations all planned to issue statements during the day, either after the bill was finally passed by the House of Representatives or after President Johnson signed it into law.

A policy statement issued Wednesday by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce was in fact the forerunner of the utterances planned by other civic or religious organizations.

THE CHAMBER set the tone by stating that voluntary compliance with provisions of the civil rights law would be in keeping with the tradition of voluntary action already established by many businesses here.

Other organizations which were prepared to issue statements of similar content were the Atlanta Council of Churches, the Atlanta Chapter, Georgia Restaurant Association, The Atlanta Bar Association, and the Atlanta Hotel Association.

A statement of some kind also was expected from the Atlanta Negro Summit Conference. Apparently this would urge persons or groups in the city's Negro community to exercise restraint or wait and see if businesses do readily comply with the new law before initiating any efforts to test compliance with the law.

AT CITY HALL, Mayor Allen announced that he, also, would make a statement urging voluntary compliance with the law as "quickly as the President has signed it into law."

The chamber in its statement said voluntary compliance with the new law would be in the tradition established in Atlanta "during past months and years" and also would be "in the interest of a continuance of law and order" in the city.

The statement of policy was promulgated Wednesday afternoon by the chamber's executive committee. It reads in full:

"FOR THE PAST several years the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has urged its members and all Atlanta businessmen to adopt voluntarily the concept of doing business without regard to race, color or creed.

"It has been steadfast in its belief that this approach was better than inviting federal legislation which would eliminate the voluntary aspect.

"On or about July 5, the civil rights bill is expected to become law. It is not a simple law, but its provisions affecting public accommodations are seemingly clear. It provides in general that those businesses which serve the public, including hotels and restaurants, may not refuse service because of race, color or creed.

"THE IMPACT of the law will be difficult for many.

"The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce urges its members and all Atlanta business, as well as all individuals, to exercise good judgment as well as patience during this transition period so that peace and good order will prevail.

"During past months and years most Atlanta businesses have adopted the voluntary approach toward the principles which are now spelled out under the law.

"The Chamber of Commerce has reason to believe that the remainder of businesses affected will adjust promptly and peacefully in the interest of a continuance of law and order in Atlanta."

C of C Asks Rights Bill Acceptance

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce's Executive Committee Wednesday urged businesses to "adjust promptly and peacefully" to the civil rights bill which will become law this weekend.

The chamber noted, "During past months and years most Atlanta businesses have adopted the voluntary approach toward the principles which are now spelled out under the law."

RELEASES STATEMENT

Opie Shelton, exeuctive vice president of the Chamber, released the policy statement after a meeting of the executive committee Wednesday afternoon.

"For the past several years the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has urged its members and all Atlanta businessmen to adopt voluntarily the concept of doing business without regard to race, color or creed," the statement began. It continued:

"It has been steadfast in its belief that this approach was better than inviting federal legislation which would eliminate the voluntary aspect.

BECOMING LAW

"On or about July 5 the civil rights bill is expected to become law. It is not a simple law, but its provisions affecting the public accommodations are seemingly clear. It provides in general that those businesses which serve the public, including hotels and restaurants, may not refuse service because of race, color or creed.

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Allen Asks Whites to Obey Law, Urges Negroes to Use Restraint

Continued from Page 1

pass (or) any other law having to do with orderly government."

Existing police procedures "relative to these things will continue in force."

(3) Rules governing peaceful picketing, as adopted some months ago by the Atlanta Police Department, "shall continue in force."

Picketers who observe the rules will be permitted to picket "while those violating the rules shall be arrested and taken to the city jail."

(4) The rights act "applies not only to those public establishments engaged in interstate commerce but also to all public establishments as to which discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin is supported by state action."

"Therefore, the police department of the City of Atlanta, being a creature of the State of Georgia, cannot take any action to enforce discrimination . . . in any public establishment regardless of whether or not such establishment is in interstate commerce."

REPORTS TO U.S.

(5) Alleged violations of the new law should be directed to the U.S. district attorney's office or the Federal Bureau of Investigation so the complaints can "be investigated by the federal authorities."

The police guidelines directed particular attention "to the necessity in these tense times of using extreme patience, forbearance, understanding and tolerance while at the same time insisting on full compliance by all parties with the law."

Mayor Allen was the only major public official from the South to testify in favor of the Civil Rights Bill during Senate committee hearings last summer.

AFFECTS 225,000

Passage of the bill Thursday, he said, means that in Atlanta "full citizenship has now been granted to 225,000 Negro Americans."

Objectors to the federal action, said Allen, should remember "that segregation had been imposed and forced on American business by the greatest hodge-podge of state laws and local ordinances ever created on one subject."

The courts have declared "this hodge-podge" illegal, he said, and the Congress has followed up by passing the rights act.

"It is now the responsibility of every Atlanta citizen to obey the law of the land," said the mayor, "and cooperate with city, state and federal authorities in guaranteeing and assuring the peace, tranquility and progress of this city."

Mayor Allen said the American Negro for over 100 years had to learn "to be a courteous, gracious and polite loser."

Now, he said, the Negro has responsibility "to learn to be a courteous, gracious and law-abiding winner."

The mayor urged Negroes here "to restrain from any overt acts, particularly in those places that have shown antagonisms to the Negro in the past, and to use these newly granted rights in the normal course of events and over a reasonable period of time."

The Fulton Grand Jury, in term-end presentments, said it was "not to be assumed that every citizen overnight will believe in the advisability of these laws" but it was essential for the laws to be obeyed.

"We call on our government officials and law enforcement agencies to make clear their determination to uphold law and order," said the jury, "so that there can be no mistaking the necessity for abiding by the law."

Doris Lockerman

Southern Writers Find a Happy Spot to Gather

If Fort Frederica's Mary da Wanda (Mary, the Wanderer) emerges as a wistful wraith in alien literature all over the land, it will be because the Dixie Council of Authors and Journalists has introduced her and other coastal ghosts to working writers.

Epworth-by-the-Sea on Georgia's St. Simon's Island has much to recommend it over Aspen, Breadloaf and other writers' rallies that mark each summer, but not the least of its charms are the shades of the past flitting among moss - grown oaks on ancient stately plantations and the graveyards of Old Christ Church.

Doris Lockerman

While other workshops wane and falter under their own repetitious weight, attendance in Georgia boomed this month.

Drawn by the lures of the state's most historical and flavorful section, writer-teachers of note accepted the invitation to instruct in short-story techniques, journalism, fiction writing and poetry. They included Robert M. Burtt, script author of such serials as Sky King and Captain Midnight, Helen Diehl Olds, a juvenile authority; Lisa Grenelle, a syndicated columnist and poet, and Dr. Dozier Cade of Georgia State College.

The Dixie Council has a calculated interest in gathering writers to Georgia's romantic coast. One of the council's principal purposes is to stimulate interest in the history of Georgia with the hope that fiction and fact may result in forms suitable to classroom uses.

Mrs. Joseph Buffington, one of the council's leaders, says there is a growing dearth of published material available to high school social-studies teachers, and to librarians.

Educators are fearful that, in the over-all educational program of the United States, the special identity of Georgia may eventually be lost, and its historic impact forgotten.

With this in mind, pilgrimages were arranged to St. Mary's, Darien, Frederica, the old Butler Plantation, and the fabled Marshes of Glynn. Epworth-by-the-Sea itself is located on the old Hamilton Plantation.

Special bargain rates, so low many of the writers drawn from six states expected corn pone and side meat as a dinner entree, were another special inducement to attend the conference.

"And they will be back," Mrs. Buffington says, "despite the mosquitoes. No writer can resist the epitaphs on old gravestones."

Miss Carlisle Accepts Award For Sorority

The Zeta Tau Alpha chapter of Georgia State College has been presented the Achievement Award for the year.

It was presented at the climax of the week long national convention in Miami Beach.

Miss Judy Carlisle, ZTA president at Georgia State, received the award for the chapter.

The silver punch bowl presented with the citation is given to the college chapter which has made the greatest progress or continued to maintain its high degree of perfection during the two year period between national con-

N STRAWBERRY FLAVORED
10¢

Civil Rights Law--- Here's What It Does

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The civil rights bill enacted Thursday seeks to end racial discrimination in schools, jobs, voting, use of privately owned public accommodations, and in federal aid programs.

Except for the fair employment section, which goes into effect one year from the signing, the provisions of the law take effect immediately.

HERE IS SUMMARY

Here is a summary of its main provisions:

Voting (Title 1): Bolsters existing law against discrimination at the polls in federal elections by forbidding use of discriminatory tests for registration or disqualification on the basis of minor errors; requiring that literacy tests be written if used; establishing a rebuttable presumption of literacy where the applicant has completed a sixth grade education, and allowing the Justice department or a defendant in voting cases to seek quick action by a three-judge federal court.

Public accommodations (Title II): Outlaws discrimination in hotels, motels and other transient lodging places with more than five rooms; in restaurants and lunchrooms; in theaters, sports arenas, and other places of entertainment which "affect" interstate commerce. Private clubs are exempt.

IN PUBLIC PLACES

Public places (Title III): Authorizes the attorney general, upon receipt of a signed complaint, to institute court action to enjoin discrimination or segregation in facilities such as parks, playgrounds, pools, libraries and the like.

Schools (Title IV): Authorizes the attorney general, upon receipt of signed complaint, to bring suit to end school segregation, but only after he has notified the school of the complaint and allowed a reasonable time for compliance. Also authorizes federal aid to help solve school desegregation problems.

Civil Rights Commission (Title V): Extends life of the Civil Rights Commission 3½ years, through January, 1968, and broadens commission's investigatory powers in voting matters.

Federal outlays (Title VI): Bars discrimination in federal aid programs and provides that aid payments shall be terminated if compliance cannot be brought by less drastic means.

Employment (Title VII): Outlaws discrimination by employers, unions, employment agencies and apprentice programs. Enforcement will not start for one year. For a year after that, only firms or unions with 100 or more employes or members are covered, with progressive steps downward over four years to cover those with at least 25.

Voting census (Title VIII): Directs Census Bureau to collect voting data by race in areas suggested by Civil Rights Commission. A presumed step toward possible but unlikely action by Congress to deny representation to states to the extent they deny voting rights to their citizens.)

Intervention (Title IX): Gives the attorney general power to intervene in discrimination cases brought to court under the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection under the laws, but only if he certifies the case is of "general public importance."

Community relations service (Title X): Establishes a new community relations service in the Commerce department to conciliate racial disputes.

RIGHT OF JURY TRIAL

Jury trial (Title XI): Assures right of jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising under the bill, except for its voting section. In voting cases, 1957 provision is retained, providing jury trial if sentence is more than 45 days in jail or $300 fine. If tried for criminal contempt, a defendant could not then be indicted under federal law for the same acts.

General: Discrimination based on religion and national origin, as well as race or color, is covered in most of the titles. The fund cut-off section (Title VI) omits religion. The employment section (Title VII) adds sex to the prohibited list. Enforcement is based on suits and court orders, violation of which could result in fines or jail terms.

7-3-64 C

Comply in Peace, Both Races Urge

By TED SIMMONS

Restaurant, hotel and motel representatives here and around the state urged peaceful compliance with the civil rights bill Thursday.

And Atlanta's Negro Summit Leadership Conference called on the Negro community to exercise "dignity and responsibility" in accepting its "newly acquired freedom and equality."

In one of a number of statements which greeted passage of the bill, the summit conference also said it feels that "massive testing (in Atlanta) will be unnecessary."

MASSIVE TESTING?

"We feel that the provisions of the public accommodations section will be accepted by such a large number of establishments that massive testing will be unnecessary," the conference said. "We recommend that members of the Negro community assume some of the responsibility for the peaceful transition to the kind of society for which the summit leadership and its member organizations have worked for."

Among the other organizations urging compliance with the bill were the Georgia Restaurant Association, the Atlanta Hotel and Motel Association, the Atlanta Convention Bureau and the Greater Atlanta Council of Churches.

In a statement previously endorsed by its Atlanta chapter, the Georgia Restaurant Association urged its members to comply because "we have no alternative."

DUTY IS CLEAR

"As responsible, law-abiding citizens, our duty to obey the law is clear," the association said. "We are confident that our patrons, customers and friends will understand this position."

Executive Secretary Ed England emphasized, however, that the association will not attempt "to direct (the) course of action" of its numbers, and that failure to comply with the law will not affect any member's status in the organization.

He also indicated the association will probably support moves to test the constitutionality of the new law.

OTHER CITIES

Membership in the association, with chapters in Atlanta, Augusta, Albany, Columbus, Savannah and Macon, represents more than half the dollar volume restaurant business in the state.

The Atlanta Hotel and Motel Association released a brief statement in response to passage of the bill.

The association said its members "unanimously resolve to continue its tradition of law observance by full compliance with the civil rights act."

CALLED CHALLENGE

The Atlanta Convention Bureau called passage of the bill a challenge "which could dramatically affect Atlanta's great position of leadership in the nation."

"We call on all the people of Atlanta to exercise their traditional good judgment in working out a smooth compliance," the bureau said. "Patience and restraint should be the watch-

Continued on Page 11, Column 3

PAGE (s) MISSING

'...That All Men Are Created Equal, Endowed with Unalienable Rights...'

Congress had actually voted its resolution of American independence from Great Britain on July 2.

But it is July 4th that we celebrate, for that was the date Thomas Jefferson published his powerful declaration and handed it down the generations as one of the great title deeds of liberty.

Who yet can read without emotion those words pronounced at a nation's birth, when Americans decided "to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God" entitled them?

They were spoken into the teeth of the British armies and fleets. And they were well spoken:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . ."

That Declaration lacks just a dozen years of being two centuries old. And through the unfolding years the American union has been tested again and again. Only once did it break. The terrible surgery of war restored it, though much healing remains to make it whole.

Yet that healing progresses with each succeeding test. The fevers, the tensions and the inherent ailments are not wholly cured, and can never be in a free society. But they are controlled, and kept from being mortal, by the American institutions springing from Jefferson's first words of revolution.

He spoke in 1776, and nearly two centuries have passed. Yet in 1964 President Johnson still speaks of rights and union. "Let us lay aside irrelevant differences," he says, "and make our nation whole."

Our differences, measured against 1776, really are becoming irrelevant.

Our wholeness, as time and temper bring it, truly is inevitable.

Our greatness as a nation, resting on the worth of each individual, is growing because so many individual Americans are worthy.

But there is no rest.

So long as free men anywhere are threatened, American freedom is threatened, and peace depends on our strength and vigilance. But there is a second part of it that transcends mere survival, simple existence.

We must ask ourselves, as we honor the flag given us, what it is that our strength will defend, and what ideals we are vigilant to preserve.

And at this point we can go back with confidence and read again the self-evident truths of 1776. Men are created equal. They are endowed with certain rights. Among these are their rights to live, to be free, and to pursue happiness. Their governments are instituted to secure those rights. They govern not by unrepresentative dictatorship but by consent of the governed.

Great debates ensue. Convictions clash. But government answerable to the people reflects the majority will. And once the American will is expressed, Americans in their union obey. America could not endure otherwise. Love of country bands us all in service to it, above self.

Thus it has been nearly 200 years. Thus it will be for untold centuries to come if the spirit of 1776 stays ever with us, and if the Creator under whom we declared our independence so wills in the future as in the past.

Gallup Poll

7-28-64

Biggest Problem for Nation? The Racial Issue, Say 47 Pct.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director,
American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J. — The last five months have been marked by a growing concern among Americans over the race issue, and it now overshadows all other issues—both domestic and international—as the public's No. 1 worry.

Last May, international problems and the struggle over integration were cited equally often by persons interviewed as the most important problem facing the country. Going back to March, international problems were found at that time to weigh more heavily on people's minds than the race issue.

In the latest survey, 47 per cent cite the domestic issue as the top problem, while 35 per cent mention a problem in the area of international relations. Most of the responses in the latter category are expressed in general terms, such as "keeping the peace," "relations with Russia," and "the threat of communism."

Despite the volume of debate over the U.S. position in regard to Viet Nam, only about one person in five of those who mention international problems consider the situation in that country as the most important problem facing us.

The question asked of each person in the latest survey:

"What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?"

The results — when grouped into general categories—are:

Racial problem	47%
International problems	35
Unemployment	6
High cost of living	3
Other problems	16
No opinion	5

The above table adds to more

Continued on Page 6, Column 4

Gallup Poll

Race Issue No. 1, Say 47 Pct. in U.S.

Continued from Page 1

than 100 per cent because some persons named more than one problem.

If the race issue continues to be the public's top concern up to election time in November, it will be the first time in a presidential year since 1936 that a domestic issue has overshadowed international problems — war or threat of war—in the public's thinking.

A second question, asked of all persons who cited a problem, has proved to be a good barometer of party strength in presidential years.

The question:

"Which political party—the Republican or Democratic—do you think can do the best job of handling the problem you have just mentioned?"

This question, which has been asked regularly since 1940, has closely reflected the actual outcome in presidential years, when asked at the end of presidential campaigns.

When those who express no opinion, or say there is no difference between the two parties, are divided equally between parties, the Democrats emerge with a 63 to 37 per cent advantage.

Because of the relationship between the results of this question and the election returns in earlier presidential years, the Gallup Poll will continue to report results of this question from time to time between now and November.

In both 1956 and 1960, the results of these same questions, asked in surveys late in the campaigns, produced results which were only 3 percentage points away from the actual election returns in those years.

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FLORIDA

MIAMI AVOIDS RACIAL RIOTS

8-9-64

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Staff Writer, The Miami News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Aug. 8—Dade County (Miami) has avoided a long, hot summer of racial unrest because of understanding and close cooperation between whites and Negroes.

The racial issue has been treated with intelligence and restraint, a willingness to settle differences at the conference table under the leadership of the bi-racial Community Relations Board.

Here are three examples:

1. Negro leaders announced that for the remainder of the summer, the civil rights movement will concern itself with a voter registration drive as its principal project.

2. The Dade County Commission (Metro), meanwhile, is working out final details on what is believed will be the first local public accommodations law in the South.

3. THE YOUTH of two white churches operated a Vacation Bible School for Negro children. The white teen-agers, needing to raise $50 to buy supplies for the Bible School, sold 200 dozen doughnuts house-to-house.

Negro leaders believed they could block any possibility of summer restlessness turning into civil riots by their registration campaign which they hope will produce 15,000 new voters, for a county total of 50,000.

The Rev. Theodore Gibson, president of the Miami NAACP, says the local Negro community "now enjoys the best relationship of any city in the South."

He doesn't foresee any such racial problems as have taken place in Harlem and Rochester "because we have been able all along to negotiate. The people here have been more sensible about this problem."

In the 10 years since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its school decision racial barriers have been removed in many areas of community life.

The county's three biggest governmental agencies — the school board, commission and the Miami City commission—have adopted policies saying they will not discriminate in employment.

NEGRO PASSENGERS now may sit anywhere in a bus.

City and county recreation facilities are open to all.

Both public and Catholic schools are desegregated.

Public school officials say they no longer keep separate records as to white and colored, but that several hundred Negro children study alongside white children at 40 or 50 schools which once were exclusively white. A few schools have both white and Negro teachers and administrators.

The University of Miami, Barry College and Miami-Dade Junior College admit students without regard to race.

Most Miami and Miami Beach hotels accept integrated conventions or individual Negro guests.

Negro citizens have registered to vote here without question for many years—since long before the 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

When it was disclosed recently that teen-age gangs in the colored district were arming themselves, Negro ministers went into the homes of the youths asking them to hand over their weapons to avert Harlem-type tragedies here.

8-9-64

Letters

'PRAGMATISTS'

TO THE EDITOR:

I found John Roche's article ("How a President Should Use the Intellectuals," July 26) somewhat confusing.

First of all, it is difficult to conceive of Mr. Kennedy as an intellectual, and Mr. Roche as much as admits it when he speaks of him as a man of powerful, yet narrow, intelligence. As Richard Hofstadter points out in "Anti-Intellectualism in American Life," there is a critical difference between intelligence and intellect. One analyzes and clarifies; the other mulls, wonders and invents. It is clear that Kennedy represents the former.

Kennedy brought to Washington fellow pragmatists, pure and simple. The few we might classify as intellectuals—the men with capacity for new thinking—were clearly subordinate throughout his Administration. Schlesinger seemed nothing more than a court historian and Stevenson was put on ice at the U.N., while hardheads like Bundy and Acheson roamed the corridors of power at will. As Hofstadter also points out, intellectuals—true ones, not the products of a lazy or inexact press—were first encouraged to renew their interest in public life by the Stevenson campaigns, not by Kennedy.

To my mind, and in Hofstadter's terms, Johnson is as much an intellectual as Kennedy and probably a great deal more. After all, intellectuals are not determined by the college they come from but by the way they think. Johnson has the best intuition we've seen in Washington since F.D.R. (and Truman, at his best moments). I suspect that the dialogue between intellectuals should not be diminished by his regime, but enhanced, since he puts much less emphasis on whether it will pass than whether it is good. And whether something is good or not is Platonism in the best sense of the word.

HARVEY TURNER,
Upper Montclair, N. J.

'LAZY LIBERALS'

TO THE EDITOR:

John Roche is quite concerned about the failure of the current administration to effectively use the intellectual community in shaping our national posture.

May I suggest that, come next January, the role of the intellectual will assume a new importance in Washington, D. C.—and one that Mr. Roche will be quite unable to enjoy. Barry Goldwater, upon assuming the Presidency, may never get to know the editors of Partisan Review, but many of the key posts in his administration will be filled by staff members of the unapologetic conservative publication, National Review. Editor William F. Buckley Jr. would make a splendid special assistant to the President. Surely brother-in-law L. Brent Bozell, who ably assisted Senator Goldwater in shaping up his best-seller, "The Conscience of a Conservative," will find a niche from which to practice his forensics. The penetrating mind of educator Russell Kirk will most certainly give an academic tone and dignity to the new administration and in the area of foreign affairs President Goldwater can turn to James Burnham, formerly professor of philosophy at N.Y.U.

Since the days of F.D.R., the intellectual society has been dominated by those like Mr. Roche, who practice the liberal ritual. Almost unnoticed, Mr. Buckley has drawn under his wing a team of distinguished thinkers of conservative bent who are the match (and then some) of the liberals who have grown lazy in the chase.

FREDRIC KOLB,
Morristown, N. J.

P.S. I am a teacher of American history at Morristown, N. J., High School and a close observer of the New Conservative Movement.

DOES IT WORK?

TO THE EDITOR:

Tom Wicker says of our method of picking Presidential candidates: "It Is a Zany System, But It Works" (July 19). Does it? The reaction to the proceedings at the Cow Palace in San Francisco registers a negative answer.

Some years ago, the renowned theologian Paul Tillich made a significant contribution to our language when he coined the expression "the ambiguity of perfection." The recent convention seems to have achieved a perfection of ambiguity! Its ambivalence was exemplified in the projection of extremism as an instrument of moderation—and freedom; and, however intended, this formulation has caused consternation among many Republicans.

Taking a leaf from Al Smith's book—in 1936—some will "take a walk" for the duration. The walks will lead others into the Democratic camp for the election — only. Still others will be permanently alienated.

This bodes no good for the continuance in strength of a great party!

SAMUEL H. HOFSTADTER,
Justice, Supreme Court of
the State of New York.
New York.

OF WAR GUILT

TO THE EDITOR:

In the magazine of July 26, Hanson W. Baldwin discusses the crisis of July, 1914, which culminated in the First World War ("Their World Was Ending, But Few Knew It"). He speaks of the conflict as "the war nobody wanted" and says that "no single power—despite the Versailles Treaty—can be saddled with war guilt." He apparently relies on Sidney Fay's "The Origins of the World War."

Fay's book was published in 1928 and is outdated. During the Second World War, a fa-

(Continued on Page 17)

The New York Times Magazine

AUGUST 9, 1964

Contents

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MUCH MORE THAN LAW IS NEEDED. By Alexander M. Bickel ... 7
TARGET: MOON ... 8-9
'BLEED, BUT BLEED INWARDLY.' By Ben H. Bagdikian ... 10
BREACHING 'THE WALL': THE ODDS GROW. By Arthur J. Olsen ... 11
TAYLOR TRIES A NEW START IN VIETNAM. By Peter Grose ... 12-13
HERBERT HOOVER IN HIS OWN WORDS. By Louis P. Lochner ... 15
THE SENATE SHOCKS A SENATE PROBER. By Cabell Phillips ... 20
THE PLAY'S THE THING—NOT THE RAIMENT. By Howard Taubman ... 22-23
THIRTY YEARS AGO—. By William Barry Furlong ... 25
FOR THE KIDS IT'S THE FAIREST ... 37
DUEL IN THE SUN. By Sherwin D. Smith ... 72

HOME ... 46-47
PARENT AND CHILD ... 50
FOOD ... 52
FASHION ... 54-55
PUZZLE ... 62
PICTURE CREDITS ... 67

THE COVER—An artist's conception shows an astronaut on the moon. The success of Ranger 7 in photographing the lunar surface has been a major step toward the U. S. goal of making a moon journey by the end of this decade. For pictures of the moon project, see Pp. 8-9.

Cosmopolitan
August, 1964

COVER STORY

THE SOUTHERN MIND BLACK/WHITE

Negro and white Southerners are facing each other on the battleground of a civil cold war that threatens to turn hot as tensions boil. An outstanding Southern novelist makes her own survey of the passions on both sides, and of the great dilemma dividing our nation's people.

BY SHIRLEY ANN GRAU

The South is like a poor relation—stiff and proud, infuriating, talented but shiftless, tragic and ridiculous. No part of the country has had more problems and has solved them better. No part of the country has advertised its failures in a fashion better calculated to alienate the entire world. Sometimes the Southerner—particularly the rural Southerner—doesn't seem to belong to this country or even to this century.

I've been back and forth across the South ever since I can remember. Sometimes with my family, visiting scattered relatives. Sometimes by myself just for the pleasure of the trip—it is such beautiful country. Sometimes with collectors of folk music, clutching our tape recorders. Each time I'm amazed at the extent to which the South has remained different. The old-timers were fond of predicting that good roads, electric power and television would be the end of the distinctness of the region. It hasn't happened like that.

One perceptive North Carolina woman explained it this way. "I was born in the South and I've lived all my life there, one place or the other, and I understand a Georgian or a North Carolinian. But I reckon the North is as strange to me as the South is to Northerners."

Unfortunately, when a Northerner looks at the South, he usually compares it unfavorably with something else back home.

A New Englander who drove from New Orleans to Washington with me complained: "The rivers are muddy and full of trash. Not like the clear ones at home."

A Syracuse accountant said: "The whole place is dirty and nobody does anything about it."

A Canadian said: "It doesn't matter that the hourly wages are lower. Nobody works." (Way back in 1856, the traveler Frederick Law Olmsted was observing that the slave did a third as much work as a hired hand in New York State.)

National Scapegoat

All of these are going to hurt the Southerner's pride. He is not going to bother to explain that the rivers are muddy because in spring they flood out of their banks, and anyway a stream in the South isn't going to look like the rock-lined creeks of New England. He isn't going to explain that a lot of what is called dirt in the South, isn't dirt at all, just the shabbiness associated with poverty.

"We're the scapegoat for the entire country," a Texas historian says. "And we always have been. The old abolitionists—now they were worried about the plight of the poor Negro woman. They were so worried about that, that they forgot all about what was happening to the poor Irish servant girls in Boston."

Nothing infuriates the Southerner quite so much as unconscious patronizing. Especially in the matter of accents. It is really upsetting to hear someone say in a Manhattan drawl or an Indiana twang: "What a precious accent you've got." Or, "But you haven't got an accent." (Suspiciously.) Or, "Where did you ever get your civilized accent?" And I've seen a Virginian, with the unmistakable accent of the Richmond area, flush with anger when told: "But you don't have the sort of accent Southerners should have!"

Except for the cities, a Northerner is not particularly welcome in the Deep South. A boy in Lake City, Florida, pointed to a house and said scornfully, "Yankee lives there." He had lived there for thirty-odd years.

By and large the Southerner fears the North, fears its capital, its aggression. Hard work is not exactly a Southern quality. One gentleman, in an unusual flash of self-analysis said, "I'm afraid it

BATTLEGROUND, Nashville, Tennessee: white woman is blocked by Negroes picketing chain store refusing to hire Negro managers. She tried to push through, then left. *UPI*

(continued)

MAKE
ASHVILLE
A
BELOVED
CITY
SWEET

simply looks like bad manners to us."

The South is a kaleidoscope of changing colors and moods and incidents. It is a patchwork of geography, a jumble of impressions. The smooth green slopes of Albemarle County in Virginia. The elegant beautiful campus of the University at Charlottesville. ("Jefferson died broke," one alumnus says crisply, "but he had superb taste, and in spite of everything succeeding generations did to this place, you can still see his mark.") The jumbled tree-covered shoulders of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and farther south, the wilder Great Smokies. Stretching off far as you can see, unbroken, like a sea, truly blue. Ugly little Shenandoah Valley towns perched at the edge of the remote mountain world. ("It must have been a very hard winter," a housewife said, "the way the people came down from the mountains. I've been here five years and I never saw them do that before. Come right down into town, looking for work, wanting to clean your walks, or shovel snow from your porches. It must have been awful hard there, hard enough to drive them down into the towns.")

And the North Carolina tobacco country, the gently rolling, rather dull hills. And the Atlantic Coast, the wave-washed low beaches of Kitty Hawk, the coastal swamps of South Carolina and Georgia. The motel-lined sand of Florida.

The Black Belt. The Deep South. Cotton fields and cane fields and magnolias. The Gulf Coast, where military planes swarm overhead and Midwest tourists swarm underfoot. And coastal Louisiana, the Cajun country, bilingual to this day in a curious French patois, defiantly Catholic in a predominantly Protestant region.

Ever-Present Obsession

These are all the places you must think of when you try to think of the South, different as they are. And not just geography, but the people who live there, the almost fifty-five million people, 30 per cent of the United States' population. This is the South, the historical South, the Confederate states. All wrecked by the Civil War, exhausted and bled out; in many cases, fought over, and burned; in all cases embittered by the Reconstruction. And today's South—with an economic boom that has far outrun social and legislative advances. Business is fine in the South; but human problems are not doing so well. The South today is a melancholy country. It's been blighted by one ever-present fact which the South can neither settle nor forget. The one fact that is ever-present, that dominates every conversation, every event—the cloud of race, the Southern obsession.

The dusty sun-bleached street of Brookhaven, Mississippi. A lady waited in a patch of shade for the freight to pass on the IC tracks that run through the center of town. A construction gang was working at the corner. As usual, the supervisor was white, and the labor crew Negro. The white man was leaning against the wood barricade, looking at nothing in particular, not even the passing train. The Negroes were working very slowly, paying no attention to either train or supervisor, stopping now and then to talk or mop their faces on forearms.

The Sense of Property

The lady watched them from her little patch of shade. "Takes a black nigra to work in that sun. And I don't mean a part-white, yellow Negro. See that one out there, see how much more he's feeling the heat. Best ones of all, they got no white blood. Takes a blue gum nigra to work all day in that sun."

And the man in south Georgia, wearing the black felt hat of his class, the proud badge and boast of the cracker, said: "Bite of a blue gum nigger is poison. I knowed that all my life."

His Negro helper was standing right behind him, in the dusky recesses of the small grocery. He didn't appear to hear, or—if he did—to care.

The Mississippi dentist said: "I don't know when they'll make good citizens." (When a Southerner talks about *them*, he always means the Negro.) "Let me tell you what happened to me. I've got some cotton land, and there're houses on it, I'm thinking of two especially. These were real houses, not shacks, but good solid houses. They were empty—we don't need nearly so many people to work these fields as we used to. So the houses were empty. Well, first they took the windows and the doors, and then they took the boards off the porch, and then one thing after the other, until a couple of years later you couldn't see where those houses had been, there wasn't even a fence post left. And those are the people they're going to let vote? People without even a sense of property?"

These are the things you hear in the South—these are the attitudes, the stories, the feelings of Southerners as that unfortunate section moves steadily into a mounting race crisis.

In central Mississippi, a businessman said: "The months ahead are going to be terrible. I think we're on the edge of something very dangerous."

All back and forth across the Deep South, responsible people echo his words. They are preparing for a rough time. I personally don't ever remember anything to match this. It must be roughly similar to those days a century ago, when whites prepared to meet and suppress a slave uprising.

The Negro gets more and more restless. Whites have to stay out of Negro neighborhoods. Taxi drivers no longer drive through main streets that bisect Negro sections of Southern towns. I've heard rocks crash into the back of my car when I've strayed off the prescribed path. I know the sickening feeling of being an enemy because of the color of my skin.

Even so, there are bits of humor left in the South.

There's one Negro joke that I've seen straight across the South, in Louisiana, in Florida, in Tennessee. It's always a small sign hung from the side of a ramshackle, strictly segregated Negro café. It says, mockingly: WHITE ENTRANCE TO REAR.

"I've no prejudices," a Negro teacher says. "I think a white man's good as a Negro any day."

The Negro Ph.D. observed wryly: "White men will call me *Doctor* and not give it a second thought. But they'd never call me *Mister*."

And the endlessly repeated question: Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro? One woman—worried about her twenty-year-old daughter whose suitors were all bearded guitar-playing beatniks of doubtful pasts and more uncertain futures—answered promptly: "Only if he had a steady job."

One Orleanian who had been rather prominent in the drive to keep the schools open at all costs found her phone ringing day and night. She used this to amuse her dinner guests one evening. She let them pick up the receiver and hear (of all things) children's voices chant: "Nigger lover, nigger lover, nigger lover Jew, wait until we get you." When everybody's curiosity was satisfied, she said calmly, "We'll turn off the phone and have dinner."

Another young woman invited her young daughter's class to a birthday party. The school was integrated; there was one Negro girl on the guest list. When word of this got about, she was deluged by abusive calls. And why didn't she get an unlisted phone? She shrugged: "It's nice to know what's going on."

Telephone Solicitations

For a long time, I had a persistent heckler on the phone. (I, too, am too proud to retreat to the device of an unlisted number.) I got to recognize her voice; it was that of a rather elderly woman, I thought. One day in the middle of her set speech to me, I asked her a question, and she answered. We had occasional chats after that. She had rheumatism, she told me, and got paid for the calls. I agreed that it was a way to make a living. And I suggested some-

thing else to her. "Do they keep up with you?" I asked. "Can they check on your calls?" (By the way, I never did know who was paying her.) She told me that they did not supervise closely. So I made a suggestion: "Why don't you just *say* you called me? Save yourself the trouble, and save me the trouble. And you'd still be making a living. If anybody asks, I'll say you called." She hung up on me. Just one interesting thing—she called perhaps twice more, then not at all. And I wonder. . . . Is that little old lady submitting false reports of harassing activities to whatever hate group is paying her? I don't know, but I can hope, and the thought does amuse me sometimes.

There's precious little in the South that does these days.

The white Southerner knows he is in a small outnumbered section of the country and that he is at variance with the explicit laws of that country.

Southern Separateness

A man in the Montgomery bus station said: "We come through the Reconstruction, we'll come through this."

In a situation like this, where the minority is engaged in holding off the will of the majority, political skill becomes the key to survival. The South looks up to its politicians. Many Southerners carefully save every piece of correspondence from their Congressmen—those routine letters of congratulation or sympathy that every hard-working politician sends out by the thousands. They will show them to you proudly years later. The South has a very personal regard for its politicians.

Take, for example, Senator Russell of Georgia. For the past few months, he has been proposing mock solutions to the race problem. The redistribution of the Negro population to all parts of the country, so that each state would be sure of having its equal share. Or his proposal to investigate the use of violence in the dispersal of the demonstrators at the opening of the New York World's Fair. Senator Russell is an intelligent and extremely able man. These suggestions are not only to amuse him (though I suspect they must), they are directed to his interested audience at home. I've heard half a dozen Southerners from different states chuckle gleefully over his suggestions. As he intended they should.

But this Southern way of life that is so dear to the hearts of speech makers—this precious thing that must be preserved—is slipping away. Gradually, but still definitely. Dr. David Norsworthy, a demographer at the University of Michigan (formerly at Tulane University), thinks that there is definite evidence that the Southerner is drawing closer to the rest of the country. At least the trend is that

Gilles Steinkels, Black Star

AUTHOR interviews Adele Husband, New Orleans social worker who keeps a police dog for protection. Mrs. Husband feels ". . . a barrier between the races I wasn't aware of before, a barrier of communications."

(continued)

"...Relations between the races are worse than I have ever seen them....Things will have to worsen before they improve."

way. If the South were to read those highly technical sociological studies to which Dr. Norsworthy was referring (and it will not), it would not be happy. The South enjoys its separateness and wants to keep it, while having the benefits of the economy of the rest of the country. And thanks to the skill of its politicians, the South has long managed to do just that.

The South *has* thrived in the last thirty years. But, traditionally, the South has been rather like a colonial possession of the United States. At any time in history it has been markedly poorer than its Northern counterparts. As everybody remembers from his history textbooks, those slave-tended cotton fields did not make for a very stable economy. But, beginning with the 30s and the New Deal, the South began to improve. Perhaps here is one secret of the success of the Southern demagogue. He is able to take credit for years of almost uninterrupted prosperity. Governor Barnett in Mississippi may have shocked the country with his stand on the integration of the university, but he can also point to the fact that in his last year of office, the state registered a tremendous 7.9 per cent increase in per capita income.

The most dramatic improvement in the South, of course, has been in land reform —in the UN sense of the word, meaning everything from the actual agricultural techniques to farm credit. Thirty years ago, the South was a maze of small "one mule" farms, improperly fertilized, improperly worked. The farmhouses were rickety firetraps whose glassless windows were covered by wooden shutters. On a cold day, with the windows closed, it was dark as night inside, unless you could afford to burn a kerosene lamp. The walls were plastered with newspapers for warmth, and the beds and quilts were lined with newspapers and vermin. There was malaria and pellagra and tuberculosis. Most of the South—town and farm, black and white alike—lived on a diet largely of corn, which always remained cheap and plentiful. There are many Southerners today who will not touch corn—because of its associations. "We saw just too much grits," they admit. "Once you've lived off a thing, you get so you can't stand the sight."

Today the South is changed. Those small starvation farms are disappearing. There are a million fewer small farms (under fifty acres) than there were in 1935. As a matter of fact, there are actually 1,691,000 fewer farms of all sizes. The tenant farmer operated half the farms thirty years ago; today he works about a quarter. There are counties all over the South that have actually lost population during the last decade.

This exodus from the farms was inevitable; the land simply couldn't support the number of people crowded on it. (In the years 1940-1960, the rural-farm population decreased 62 per cent.) And, statistically at least, the move has been beneficial. According to Arthur Goldschmidt of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the South's per capita income has actually been growing faster than other regions of the United States. The average per capita Southern income in 1940 was $355; for the country as a whole, $595. Ten years later the South's was $1,076; the country's, $1,491. In 1960 it was $1,686 and $2,215. In 1963 it was $1,953 and $2,443.

And with all this, of course, goes the increasing urbanization of the South. The South is apparently not going to be a region of large cities, but it is certainly going to be a region of many smaller ones.

King Cotton Dethroned

I think the clearest description of the Southern development was given by Lucy Ballard. "My family grew cotton near Greenville, South Carolina. My father eventually gave up cotton and put in peach trees. My brother gave up the fruit trees. He's cut them all down and he's selling the land for building lots."

For the first time in their history, the people of the South are becoming town dwellers. The U.S. Census figures show something like this: in 1940, only 36 per cent of the South lived in urban areas; in 1950, 45 per cent did. For the first time, in the 1960 census, more than half the Southern population lived in towns.

By and large, the South looks prosperous. There are roads and wide bridges, and new schools and slum clearance projects in the cities. And in the country, that vicious, trace-galled sturdy mule has almost disappeared. This past spring I saw a team plowing in central Alabama, not far from Montgomery—it looked as strange as a man with a coonskin cap and a long rifle. The kerosene lamp has almost gone, too, except for the real back areas and the mountains. Now there are television antennas jutting up from tin roof and washing machines rattling away o back porches and under back sheds.

But the South is poor, terribly poo There are still deficiency diseases fro inadequate diet. Malaria is gone, but the is still diphtheria and typhoid. As a ma ter of fact, if living weren't considerab cheaper in the South, a lot of Southerne would never make it. They simply do have a lot of cash. Let's take a look at slightly different set of figures. The med an family income in 1959 for the count as a whole was $5,660. (And the media by the way, is the midpoint. If all incomes in the country were ranged in column and graded from lowest highest, there would be one figure in t exact center, with as many higher lower. That figure is called the median.

Not one of the Southern states a proaches the national median. Virgini by all accounts the wealthiest of the Sout has a median family income of $4,96 The median income in Alabama is ju about a thousand dollars less—$3,94 And in Mississippi, the poorest of all th states, the income is $2,880.

And this is the median income. Ther are as many families with incomes *belo* as above.

And it isn't just a matter of money, cash-in-the-hand. There are all the othe problems that go with poverty. There i the problem of education. As you migh expect, the Negro has a worse educationa background than the white—but bot are shockingly bad. Of rural Negroes i the Southeast (in 1960), some 10 per cen hadn't finished any level of formal educa tion, although 3 per cent of the white hadn't either. In the cities, somethin over a quarter of the whites will hav finished high school, something less tha 10 per cent of the Negroes.

"I had a civil defense class," a Louisi anian remembers. "Those guys wer white. They could sign their names, al right, they'd learned to draw them, bu they couldn't read the Red Cross hand book, so I'd read the instructions to them and they'd just sit there staring at me all those empty stony faces. And when was done, I'd say, tell me what I've bee reading, and they'd give it back to me word for word. They'd memorized it."

Now it's true that the depressing figure on education and income are influence by a large percentage of Negroes, bu the poor of the South aren't all Negro

GEORGIA-BORN Richard B. Allen, now associate curator of the Archive of New Orleans Jazz, tells Miss Grau: "I'm not concerned with race. I'm concerned with music. White and colored both have been playing jazz for many years. A lot of times I don't even notice the color of a man's skin—I'm listening, not looking."

Photo by Gilles Swinkels, Black Star

A young doctor who practiced in extreme north Florida put it this way. "I worm the kids automatically. I don't even bother to check. I know they're loaded with them. Like their dogs."

He was speaking not of the Negro but of the poor whites—the turpentine workers, the farm laborers, the owners of those small farms themselves.

"So I treat for worms, and even while I'm doing it, I know that they'll be reinfected in no time at all. Running barefoot in the mud. Living in houses full of the larvae. . . . I can explain. I can tell them to be clean, but I know it's not going to work any more than the advice I give them about diet is going to work. They can't afford to do either."

And this is the group that you see in the rural counties. The slack-jawed, the vacant-eyed: women worn out by childbearing, men worn out by futile labor. These are the people almost always on the edge of hunger. Theirs is the slow speech, the aimless fight—gun or broken bottle or razor—the occasional relapse into alcohol.

These are the poor whites. For generations they have been at the bottom, economically and socially, excepting only the Negroes of their class. They are the Rednecks, the Crackers, the Woolhats. Respectable well-to-do Negroes refer to them scornfully as "white trash." They're the Jeeter Lesters of *Tobacco Road*. When they migrate to cities, they remain at the bottom. "Cotton mill trash" is the most frequent word for them there. Middle- and upper-class whites prefer not to notice their existence at all; if they must, they refer to them scornfully, with a little lift of the mouth, a shrug of distaste.

Pecking Order

One crisp blonde woman from Memphis said: "They've always been like that. Dirty, shiftless. Hating Negroes with a blinding passion—after all, the poor Negro is the only one beneath them, and a lot of Negroes are making a better living now than they are. They make all the trouble in the South."

And she is right. The poor whites are always the troublemakers in the South. They make up the mobs—they were in the pictures of Birmingham, of Oxford, of Jackson—they do the lynchings, they are the dynamiters, the arsonists. But their real crime—and one they're not in a sense, responsible for—is stupidity. Ralph McGill, publisher of *The* (Atlanta) *Constitution*, who has put the problems of the South into forceful language for many years now, points out that the poor white is exploited and misused—and not only economically. If these poor folk riot, McGill insists, it is because they are invited to by their leaders. They are incited to violence by their governors, their local leaders, the White Citizens Councils, whose members are largely business and professional men. In short, the Southern poor white is used for the dirty work of his betters. This unfortunate group has deserved better leadership than it's gotten.

And of course the great problem of the South has been its lack of responsible leadership. In the few places where men of authority have been forceful and truthful in their dealings with both sides, the situation has been handled with a minimum of trouble. For example, Orlando, Florida. A young Negro gave me his ver-

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sion of the happenings. "There were some threatened sit-ins, and the mayor and the businessmen got together, saying they would tolerate no nonsense while they were proceeding with certain changes in an effort to desegregate. They changed some hiring policies—that had been one of the sore spots. Now they have at least a token number of Negroes in the shops and the stores . . . and when I went home Christmas all the restaurants were desegregated." He grinned. "Even in some nightclubs that had been completely Negro—that wouldn't have served a white person—they had desegregated, too, and were serving everybody." And he gave his final evaluation of the situation, "I could live in Orlando, the way it is today, and be happy there."

But Orlando is an exception. By and large, the most frustrating aspect of the Southern crisis is the utter failure of the well-to-do and responsible Southerner to assume leadership of his area. This group of educated citizens ought to provide the leaders of the community. It doesn't.

One very wealthy man from central Alabama (a man of great influence, respected and admired) talked about the extremely tense situation in his county. Was he planning to do anything in the face of this steadily worsening situation? "Look," he said, "the Klan and the Citizens Councils are active all over this part of the state. But what they want more than anything else is publicity. The best way to handle this is to pay no attention, and let it die. If I made any statement, if I took any stand against them, it would give them the publicity they want. So I'm not going to do anything."

Paradox of Progress

This is a very common attitude in the South. I've met it five or six times recently. These people are not Negro haters. They often are fond of Negroes—as individuals—and go out of their way to help them. But they will not make a public stand against bigotry. And I do not think anything is likely to change their minds.

Many—very many—thoughtful and well-informed Southerners think that the South was making considerable progress toward the goal of desegregation—without duress—during the 40s and 50s. Charles Roland, of Louisiana, is one of them. When he looks at the present-day South, he finds himself facing an unpleasant paradox. The Southern Negro has made enormous progress since the 40s in every field: education, civil rights, jobs. This very progress engendered a demand for more progress, more rapidly, and culminated in the sit-ins and the freedom riders. These, far more than the Supreme Court decision of 1954, alienated the white population, and changed their role from one of passive acceptance to active resistance. In short, many Southerners feel that the Negro would have had what he wanted more quickly if he had been more circumspect. But how do you keep a people patient? Mr. Roland shrugged. "You don't; you can't expect it. And that is the horrible part."

Prudent Politics

In my experience, too, the Southern attitude has hardened. The racist has turned cleverer and more subtle; his appeals and his threats carry more weight. It seems to me that the majority of the people of the South admit, in theory at least, that the Negro is entitled to a better deal than he has gotten. But these people are intimidated by the militant racist groups. After all, there are so many subtle, imperceptible ways to discipline people, and most of us are so very vulnerable. Children. (The tearful cry: "The kids won't play with me because you're a nigger lover." I've heard that myself.) Jobs. (A letter from a Mississippi employer insists that candidates for the job must be "prudent." It is so simple to pass over the man who is not. . . . "Oh hell," the young man said, "I've got a wife and two kids, I'll *be* prudent.") So many ways. Credit. In a small town this can be maneuvered deftly and is particularly effective.

All of these ways are quiet. The burning crosses and the hooded Klansmen are things of the past, too noisy, too crude, and there are always those nasty photographs in the Northern papers. The new way has nothing to photograph.

The young man sat very quietly in the Florida living room. Beneath the red acne scars, his face was white and bloodless. He had lost his job at the drugstore, and without that he could not continue in college. He had participated in some mildly integrationist discussions. The drugstore owner shrugged and answered politely, "I bought a new truck and instead of two boys on motorbikes, I'm going to run one truck. That's business, not politics." And he stood there, knowing it wasn't true, and daring anyone to find a way to say so.

There are ways, so many ways, if you have the will to find them and the power to use them.

In the larger cities, of course, this sort of pressure is less effective, because there are larger groups dedicated to integration. In New Orleans, for example, there was one private group that dispensed emergency funds (during the crisis over school integration) to anyone who lost his job because he sent his child to an integrated school. They paid for repairs to cars damaged by vandals; met house notes; bought groceries and found other jobs. Jack Nelson, a New Orleans attorney, estimates that the group kept a dozen white children in school that year and effectively broke the boycott of the segregationists. But none of this is much help in the small towns and the rural areas, and the South is, by and large, an area of small towns. One harried employer discussed the dismissal of a salesman involved in an integration suit. "Look, I like the guy and I approve of what he's doing. But my phone's ringing day and night, and there's cars driving back and forth outside the store, and business is falling off. What do you want me to do?"

The South is afraid. People are far more cautious of speaking their minds. Old friends will still talk, but they will most often say, "Don't quote me." One segregationist leader positively refused to make any sort of statement (though we'd been chatting for a few minutes). "I could write it out and it wouldn't do any good. You'd still put it in context so I'd look ridiculous. You hate me and my thinking."

The sides are being drawn more and more definitely. One extremely perceptive Louisiana Creole put it this way. "People I've known all my life, people I went to school with and have been friends with all this time—I don't see them anymore. It's not that we feel any different than we ever did, it's just that our tolerance for each other's position has decreased."

Token Integration

And I've noticed that in myself. I tend to avoid the company of racists. There is nothing I can do to change them, but I don't have to listen to them either.

The Southern segregationist is more determined to have his way. And what he wants right now is a democracy for white men dedicated to maintaining white supremacy. The more intelligent are openly talking about the "Chicago Method" of token integration. "Little integration's a good thing," one gentleman told me with a grin. "Look at that college now," (and he named one of the best Southern schools) "they got themselves five niggers, and the foundations give them fifteen million dollars. That means each nigger is worth three million dollars. And I figure we can do that right here. Few niggers won't hurt us, and if they're going to pay that high for them. . . ."

I've not included the name of the school, because I'm not at all sure his accusation was right. I've included his story because it does illustrate the Southerner's willingness to compromise with token integration—de facto segregation—and a pious request for Northern funds.

And there is nothing more infuriating than a Southerner who is being deliberately obtuse, as are these gentlemen who seriously propose a white democracy,

sparingly frosted with a tiny sprinkle of Negroes. They are noisily shocked to find that the Negro does not agree with them.

"What do they want?" they say piously. "Why do they want to go and riot around like that? What good is that going to do? What do they want?" They manage to say it in the shocked tone of a man who has just seen his dinner guest eat peas with a knife.

A couple of months ago, I was in Jackson, Mississippi. It's a pretty town, prosperous looking, with new stores, new office buildings, clean streets, and no Negroes visible downtown after dark. I started with a cup of coffee at the hotel. The old man sitting next to me at the counter asked me if I knew that Mississippi was a dry state. I told him I'd heard so. (As a matter of fact, the bellboy had already explained that to me; he had also given me the address of the "best diner in town and good likker same price as Louisiana.") He also told me a rapid-fire story about a bear and a bobcat and a possum. I've forgotten his version, but it was one of those humorous animal stories that you hear now and again through the South. He finished his coffee and said abruptly, "You hear they got white teachers staying at nigger houses? Poor little things from New Orleans don't know no better."

The Quiet Day

The waitress wiped her thin sweaty face with the back of her forearm. There was a burn on her arm, the sort housekeepers get from hot oven doors, and it was infected and crusty: "They going to catch some terrible disease."

She and the old man thought that was funny. As I left she said, "Come back, ma'am." The old man said: "Have a nice sight-see."

I walked up the street to the bus station; I'd seen it often enough on television during the disturbances of the year before. It's a small building, just off the main street. There was a single tall policeman standing outside the door. I asked him for directions, and he gave them politely and accurately. I looked around inside, a small station, busy enough and as far as I could tell still completely segregated. I left, passing right by the policeman. "Pretty quiet today," I said, because that was the only thing I could think of.

"You waiting for a bus?" It was a perfectly polite question.

"No," I told him, "I'm driving. I came by to see the place I heard so much about."

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XAVIER SENIORS, Lourdes Frigillana and Mackie Blanton, give student viewpoint to the author. Among many Southern Negroes, Miss Grau found "Suspicion and fear of the white man's world. Utter lack of self-confidence. These are handicapping elements the young Southern Negro has to overcome; some are doing it."

Ozzie Sweet

"There is an enormous residue of hatred in the Southern Negro. It has never yet been focused...."

"Nothing to see," he said amiably. "It's a pretty little town today; on the quiet side."

"That's what it is."

I went up the street to the Confederate museum by the state capitol. A very polite lady there (she was a visitor, too, but she'd obviously been there often before) showed me all the torn battle flags and the uniforms and the guns and the bullets and the swords from that ghastly suicidal war.

That day in Jackson, I realized that polite Southerners often remind me of Nazis . . . of those nice SS men who said "*bitte*" and "*danke*" and helped old ladies into the trucks on the way to the concentration camps.

Seeing those Confederate flags, tattered and stained by battle, I remembered something else. In the last decade or so, the Stars-and-Bars has become the symbol of rabble-rousing, of Negro-baiting, of the Klan and the White Citizens Councils. And to quote my father, who was certainly no integrationist, "It was an honorable flag once. Good men believed in it and died for it. But it isn't anymore. It's being disgraced every day!"

Can't Hide Color

Today, in the South, relations between the races are worse than I have ever seen them. I personally think that this was unavoidable; that things will have to worsen before they eventually improve, and that the Negro will, hopefully, have achieved something nearly his due in the process. In the meantime, of course, the white Southerner is in a perfect frenzy of race-awareness. It's almost impossible to talk for more than fifteen minutes without having the subject come up.

The middle-aged lady from the Gulf Coast was quite beautiful still, delicate and feminine and absolutely determined. From the shelter of her porch, directing the labor of a young Negro boy in her new zinnias.

"Color of the skin is something you can't ever get away from," she said. "Goes deep, clear to the bone. . . . You know, if you hold your hand up to a light —sun or lamp or something like that— the nigra blood will show? Yes ma'am, it will show. Show right around the base of the nail, like a halo or something, right down in there, there'll be a dark spot. Nigra blood, that's what it is. No matter how light your skin's got, no matter how much you straightened your hair, that spot'll show if you know where to look.

"It's there in people you wouldn't suspect. But they can't hide it. . . . A few months ago, I remember, there was a girl visiting Dorothy. They weren't exactly roommates but they stopped in the same dormitory at Newcomb College there. They came to see me one evening when there was five or six others here. Because it was nighttime, the lamp on the table was burning, and I started them off playing that game. We all held our hands up to the light, and there wasn't one of us but had nails without a spot. And that girl from New Orleans, would you believe it, she wouldn't even hold her hand up. She said it was silly, that she wouldn't do it, that it was just a superstition and all that. But we knew. We all just looked at her and we knew. Why wouldn't she hold her hand up there, if she wasn't afraid of what we were going to see?"

The South isn't all violence and bitterness. Last May I talked to Mrs. Robert Hyams of Natchez. She is a small, slight woman with the classic Southern coloring: dark hair, blue eyes, pale skin. She is also one of the few people in the South with the courage to state her personal convictions publicly. She is a representative of the very best of the traditional South. "Black and white must get along," she says. "We *have* to live together peacefully. I've always treated Negroes as people. I've always dealt fairly with them." She smiled. "I'd buy my cook a dress if she needed one before I'd buy one for myself. I believe firmly that they should have their rights as citizens, the right to a decent life, a decent education, good housing. But I do believe in keeping the races separate. I don't believe in mixing strains in animals or in people; I believe in thoroughbreds."

The South is always thinking about blood. Negro blood and white blood. Good blood and bad.

The Georgia pediatrician jouncing the tiny baby on his lap: "This little fellow's got the best blood six or eight counties around, and he gets it from his mamma and his daddy both."

Sometimes the South seems to think of people in animal terms. Blood lines. High spirits. All the fine animal virtues: good bone, good muscle. Bearing and beauty. Dash and honor and recklessness: young and old, those are the qualities the South prizes.

And all of this has to bear on that particularly Southern institution: the lady. Bearing and beauty. She need not be meek and gentle, not at all. She can hound her husband and children, be a tyrant in her house. She can drink far too much and drive furiously along the roads until she kills someone else or herself, she can have the unfortunate habit of stripping down to her skin at parties. It doesn't matter. There is a solid wall of conspiracy constructed by male and female alike to protect her. A Southerner quite automatically expects to make allowances for a woman's foolishness.

The Degraded Lady

Once I was driving down a street in my home town. I was going the wrong way—I'd forgotten or hadn't noticed or some such thing. Still, when the policeman stopped me, I knew I'd have to think of something. I put on my silliest smile and said something like "I know it's the wrong way, but I wanted to get to the highway the quickest I could and the street running the right way is so utterly dark I was scared." He escorted me to the highway so I shouldn't be afraid.

The Southern male will protect his women and expect practically nothing in the way of sense in return. The Deep South —Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—is the one remaining part of the country where a woman cannot serve on a jury. (Even Negro men can do that— at least in theory!)

This position, at once idolized and degraded, annoys the more perceptive Southern women. I talked to one such person. She is from North Carolina, a classic Southern beauty. Blue eyes, perfect white skin, cheekbones set a little high. In her immaculate house there is almost nothing new, nothing made in this century, except, of course, the kitchen equipment, and she is never in there. The furniture is from her family and her husband's, and on the wall is a portrait of her mother—who was much the same beautiful woman. I've known her for years, and I know that she dislikes Faulkner and Caldwell, Tennessee Williams and Carson McCullers. "They make me feel decidedly nauseated," she said. She is fluent in French—as is her husband—and they go to France as often as they can. (It is quite frequent, because they have no money problems.) "I can hardly wait to go," she says. "But then after a while I have to come back. I miss my home and

A SOUTHERN LAWYER speaks his mind. Jack Nelson is one of the rare white attorneys who will tackle civil rights cases. In New Orleans, he revealed frankly to Miss Grau that: "We in the South have used the law as an instrument of oppression. Southern legislatures have used laws . . . to oppress a minority group."

Photo by Gilles Swinkels, Black Star

my things." She indicates the room filled with things that aren't hers at all, but her family's. She doesn't know that she hasn't got a real identity as a person—but she suspects it.

Because we have been friends for years, she speaks more freely than she might ordinarily. "It's ridiculous to be a lady today. When the world is so different." We could hear a mockingbird outside, close and insistent. "We always kept a mockingbird in a cage—as a songbird. But there's a law against that now. I'm almost fifty and I feel like I'm a hundred. I can't change, but I do wish I were different."

The Southern lady knows she is an anachronism, but there is another and even stranger element. A middle-aged Alabamian put it into words bluntly. "My husband would probably leave me if he heard this. . . ." (He certainly *would* have been horrified.) "Sometimes—not often, but sometimes—once or twice, I find myself envying some of those nigra women you see around town here. Sure they're nigra, and that can't be good. But they're so sure and solid and determined. They're so capable, and if they're not, it doesn't bother them. They're there and they organize things and life goes on all around them, and they're at the center of it all. They're free as a man is."

I suspect that very same thought has occurred to every middle-class Southern woman at some time during her life. This one merely had the courage to put it into words. And immediately after saying it, she regretted it.

Negro Matriarchy

"Free as a man"—I heard the same phrase (disapprovingly, this time) from a grey-haired woman at a DAR ceremony in north Florida.

One of the strangest elements in the strange schizophrenic world of the South is the relation of white woman to black. Superficially the white woman has everything: her house will probably be better, her car newer, her husband is probably making more money, her children are in better schools. But in the same deep and fundamental way, the white woman is jealous of the black. (Does this, by any chance, go back to the days when a man had a wife for social and family reasons, and a black mistress because he loved her? I think very probably most white women believe deep-down that their husbands want a Negro woman. Whether this is true or not, I don't know. The most I've ever been able to get from a Southern man is that it's good luck to have a Negro girl.)

In her own world, the Negro woman does have a freedom and an importance and an affluence that the white simply does not have.

The Negro woman works very hard for very little, but she does have the enormous satisfaction of a matriarch. She is the undisputed center of the home: since in many cases, she is also the wage-earner, she assumes that added dignity and importance. Many social workers and many intelligent Negroes I've talked to have admitted this structure, though they do not think it a desirable state of affairs.

One interesting indication of this is in the pattern of Negro education. In private colleges (which charge tuition) there are always more females than males—this is exactly the reverse of the situation in white schools. It is as if the Negro parents were saying to themselves: "Our daughters will have to support their families; let's spend our money to give them the best education we can; they will need it more than our sons."

One young Negro attributes the lack of real pressure for civil rights in New Orleans to the pressure exercised by the

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THE SOUTHERN MIND (continued)

mothers. They simply do not want to see their children getting mixed up in anything. He is convinced their power is so great, their children dare not defy them.

Historians will tell you that the prime position of the Negro mother goes back to the days of slavery. Marriages between slaves were not allowed; the man-woman relationship was temporary, to be interrupted at the will of the owner, as the mother-child relationship could not be. Of course in the slavery system there was no practical necessity for the father to stay with his woman and their children. He did not support them in any real sense of the word. Food and clothing and all the necessities of life came from the owner, not the father. Out of this situation came the still prevalent pattern of the woman as pillar of the family, and the male as a wandering predator.

Puritanism Down South

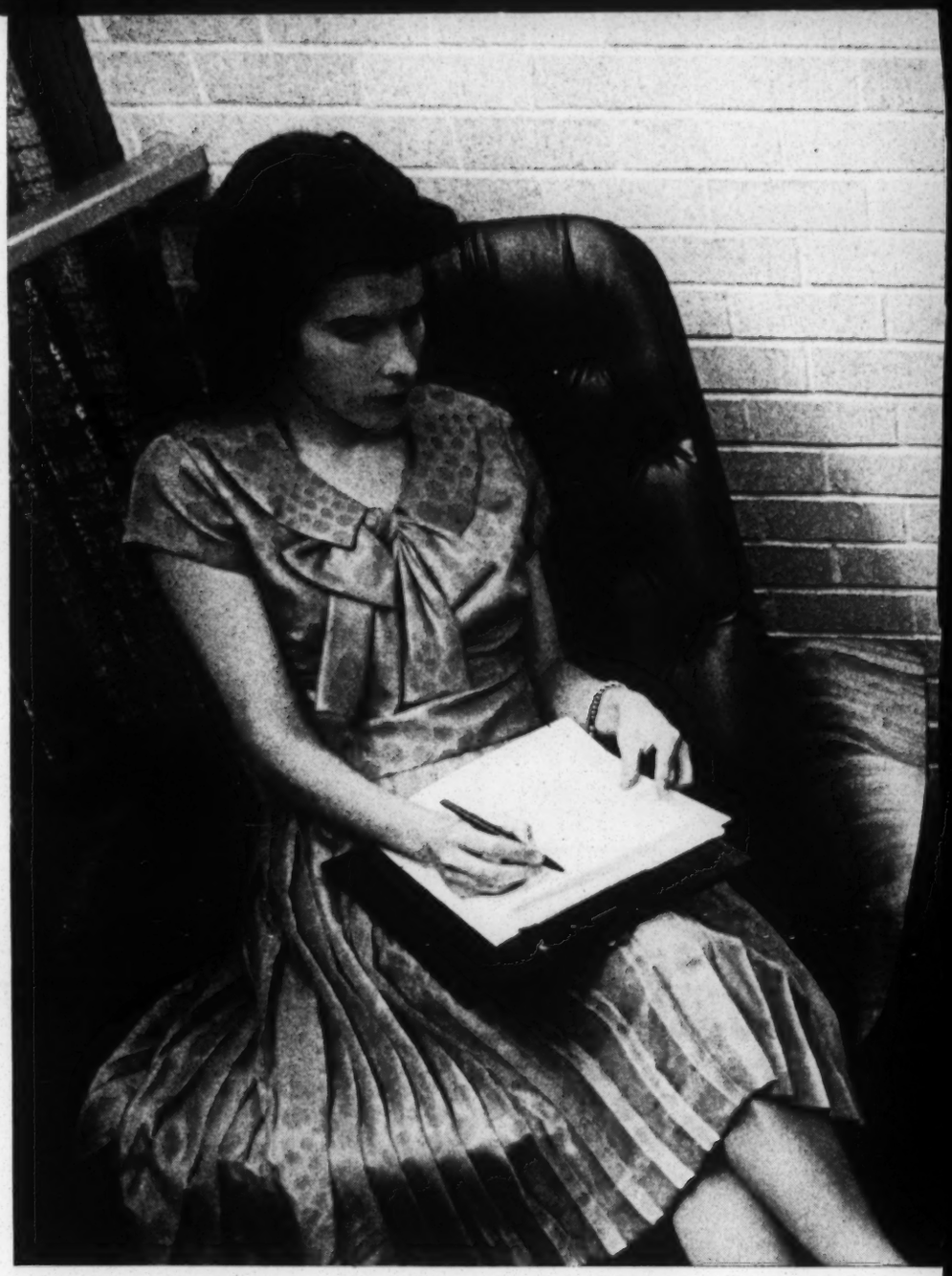
Slavery gave the Negro woman still another legacy, as historians point out. The slaves were, by and large, outside the pattern of puritanism; they were not burdened with the double standard of morality that plagued whites. The slave woman then and the Negro woman today enjoys the emotional freedom of the male.

It is this equality, even superiority, of the Negro woman that the Southern white woman so deeply envies.

Being a woman in the South today—as much as a hundred years ago—means occupying a strangely confusing position. She is essentially supposed to be what one Alabamian calls "steel-beneath-the-magnolias." She should be seductive and retiring at the same time.

The Southern male is a great seducer and great idolizer all at once. A very beautiful Texas woman said with a giggle: "They go on courting you and spending a lot of money and time figuring out ways to meet you, and all the time they're hoping you'll say no."

The Southern male is such a puritan he sees warnings and hints of illicit relationships everywhere. It becomes extremely difficult for a man and a woman to have a serious conversation in the South. Most conversations are carried on in a light bantering tone, or follow along strictly formal lines. A young Alabama matron told me. "You'll be talking along, happy to have found something you have in common, something you're both interested in, when all of a sudden there'll come a look on their faces and out will come the courtly manner and they'll go into their old South bit and say something like: 'Why do you want to bother your pretty little head with this?' And they make you feel like an idiot."



COLLEGE ADMINISTRATOR, lawyer, Norman Francis of Xavier University, New Orleans: "The educational system a man comes from determines

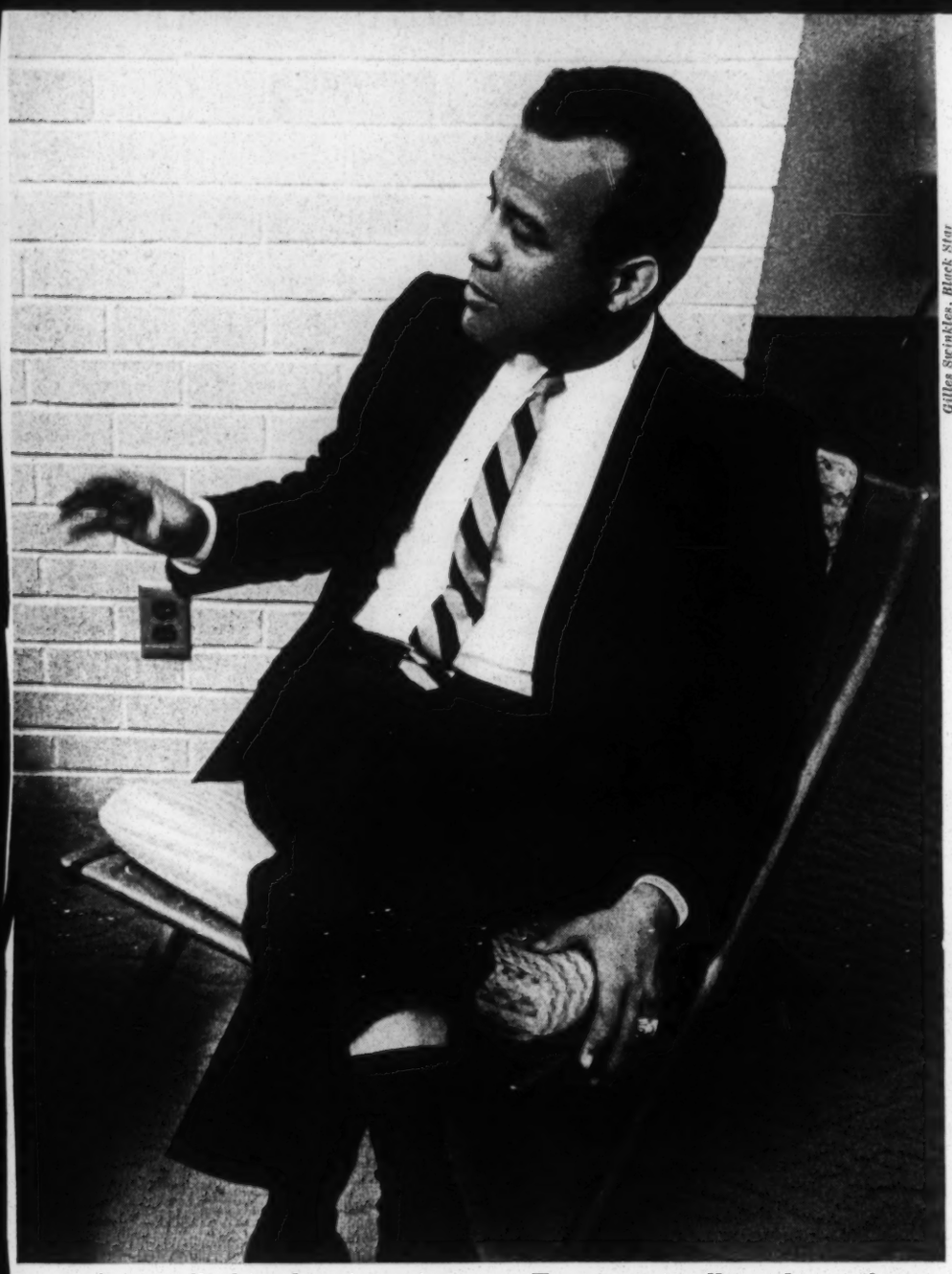
One ornately courtly Virginian had greeted his friends for years with "How is the radiant Miss Smith this wonderful morning?" Finally a short-tempered and badly hungover South Carolina lady snapped, "Don't be such an ass!" He was dumbfounded—genuinely appalled.

There is no part of the United States where the land itself is more important, more dominating. If you've ever seen the South, you know. It is a kind of smoldering, unreal country. The winters are short and not very cold; the summers are long and shimmering with heat. All through the South there is a pervasive feeling of the natural landscape, a feeling that the land runs people, that the land has never been tamed. Not really. New England is precise and orderly. The Midwest is fertile and productive. But the South—it has to do with the heat hazes and the heavy rains and the furious sense of things growing—apart from man, out of his control. Even in cities and towns, you can feel the grass bursting under the pavement. It's as unreal as the sight of a huge magnolia or a sweet bay tree in bloom, its waxy flowers thrusting up from shiny leaves. Or the evil stare of 'gators sunning themselves in the swamp. The land is the thing. The land is dominant; the Southerner, black or white, is only a small figure in it.

Perhaps this is why a Southerner is so given to dreams and legends. To remembering. To elaborating the past.

Perhaps that is why he is so willing to believe things he wants to believe.

When we were small, my sister and I and our cousins, like all children, had a favorite old man to tell us stories, and teach us songs. About Jesse James, and girls who had killed their babies, and hangings, and the battles of the Civil War. But a funny thing had happened to those battles: the South won. By the



Gilles Sweinkles, Black Star

substantially his place in society. . . . Too many intellectuals . . . for too long ignored politics and lost thereby the leadership of the South."

time I went to school, I knew a great deal of Civil War military history, all wrong. I'd never heard of the Second Battle of Bull Run. Chickamauga ("Your great-granduncle Henry died and was buried there") was a victory, as was Gettysburg. Appomattox we simply didn't hear about.

The South holds to its illusions.

The most famous of them is, of course, the mythical world of the antebellum South—the world of happy singing slaves, and lovely ladies in crinolines and noble gentlemen drinking mint juleps. It doesn't matter that that world never existed, that the harsh realities of the plantation system are described in many books, most notably Fanny Kemble's *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838-1839*. She found the white people vapid and stupid and cruel, the plight of the slaves unbearable.

The Southerner goes on believing what he wants to believe. Sometimes it's a matter of ancestors. Everybody's great-granddaddy was a planter, with thousands of slaves. Everybody's great-granduncle was a governor or a lieutenant governor—more governors than there were states to be governed. But it's not polite to ask too closely. . . . And families are carried back, quite seriously, to incredible lengths—out of the South to England or Ireland or Scotland. There are ancestors at Hastings, there are royal Scots, there are the legendary kings of Ireland.

The Past Glory

One witty lady from Pascagoula, Mississippi, puts it this way. "Every afternoon, if the weather was nice, we'd go for a walk around the land that we had owned once, couple of generations ago. We'd start at the point where the Ingalls shipyard is now, and we'd walk and walk, listening to stories of past glories—of lovely houses, and ladies with long golden chains twirling between their fingers. And because I was the youngest, I'd be the one to get tired first, and I'd be lagging behind and wishing that they would stop. . . . My mother still likes to talk about the great days when we had money. She still insists that we're a good family with excellent blood. That Cousin Walter wasn't really deserting from the Army in 1944, he was just lonesome for the sight of his mother, and he would have come back even without the police. And Cousin Anna was a bit flighty of manner and dress, as was her sister Harriet, but the people who said they were a pair of tramps soliciting the men from the shipyard and the airfield were just jealous of them. . . ." She laughs, delighted with the absurdity. "But we're still a fine family, great blood. . . ."

One of the very first things a proper Southerner will do is try to discover the maiden name of the mother of the person he is talking to. If he can identify that, he will feel much better.

And there are the relics. Like the Civil War cavalry saber that Great-Grandpapa used at Gettysburg as he charged up the hill with Pickett.

The South is violent country. It has been so historically, and it remains so today. For example, across central and north Mississippi in the early days of that territory was the Natchez Trace, a favorite place for robbery and murder. And of course the most famous of the old time murderers were the Harpes, Big and Little. They managed to do in at least a dozen people, before their heads decorated trees. The ingenious Harpes, according to Paul Wellman, in *Spawn of Evil*, were the inventors of a method of victim disposal that became quite popular during prohibition: fill him up with stones and toss him in a river.

Today the South has a very high incidence of crimes of personal violence—murder, manslaughter and assaults. This fact doesn't necessarily mean that the South isn't law abiding—its robbery rates are far under the national average. For example, North Carolina's robbery rate in 1961 was only a quarter as high as the country's. Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia had half or less than half of the country's rate. All the Southern states were below the national average.

But these statistics from the Department of Justice do support the observations of many Southerners—that the South by and large has a low regard for human life. The Southerner is short-tempered and violent—far more than persons in any other part of the country. In 1961, Mississippi's murder rate was more than

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"In the few places where men of authority have been forceful and truthful in their dealings with both sides, the situation has been handled with minimum trouble. For example, Orlando, Florida."

double that of the country's as a whole. Alabama's and South Carolina's were higher than Mississippi's. (These statistics are for known crimes per hundred thousand population. The national rate was 4.7; Mississippi's was 10.3; South Carolina's, 11.6; Alabama's, 12.9) All the Southern states were higher than the national average.

Adjustment to Hostility

Aggravated assault follows much the same pattern, with a few exceptions: Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Tennessee are actually below the national rate. But it seems that you are more than twice as likely to be assaulted in North Carolina as in the rest of the country.

It is no wonder then that so many in the South have memories of violence.

"Every Wednesday night at church, we'd all be sitting there, and just at some specified time, the door'd open, and in the Klan would come, a procession of them, hooded and robed and all, and they'd march right up the aisle carrying their contribution and put it down. Then they'd turn around and march right out. That happened over and over every church night, the Klan bringing money to the worship of God." That was Elmore County, Alabama.

"He slashed her right in front of the house. He must have been waiting out there. And she sat in the kitchen and the blood was pouring out of the side of her face and she was moaning. I didn't know a razor made a cut like that." That was South Carolina.

A white woman recalled her childhood in Hattiesburg. "In the middle of the night our cook came pounding on the door. Her husband had just been lynched, she said. I remember my father grabbing his shotgun and rushing out into the dark. And that poor woman sat in the kitchen crying hysterically, saying over and over again that her husband had been lynched and her house burned down. We children were scared and confused, and nobody knew what to do. Finally my father came back and told us that it was true, every word she'd said."

But the South likes to think of itself as just another gentle, placid place—that's one of its delusions, too.

And the other—and the greatest delusion of all—currently is that it understands its Negroes.

I have frequently heard people insist, "The Negro was never happy after he achieved his freedom. It's been a burden to him."

"They shouldn't try to go to school with whites. They just get nervous breakdowns." This was a white teen-ager in Tennessee.

Actually, of course, the Negro child in a white school has managed very well. Dr. M. Robert Coles of Atlanta who has studied such children over a period of years, reported his findings in an article in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* last October. He found that if Negro children, young and old, come to this traumatic experience (the initial desegregation of schools) with no previous emotional disturbance, they suffer no significant psychiatric illness. Dr. Coles believes the record is so good because the child has made an adjustment to a hostile world long before entering school.

And the gas station operator in Jackson (everybody insists on talking about the Negro today) said: "Our niggers are happy. If those outside agitators would only let them be."

"Not like that around here," any Southerner will tell you in the rural areas. "We got good niggers around here; there won't be any trouble."

The man from near Memphis said: "We know what they're thinking, all right. See it on their faces plain as day."

They'd be astonished at how wrong they are. Actually, even among literate, intelligent people, black and white communication is very limited.

Whites talk freely to other whites, to Negroes, even when they don't care to be quoted. Behind every white, no matter what his social rank, is the security of the dominant race. That fact gives even the weakest a certain courage, at least for talking. Negroes rarely if ever do that. In some cases they are simply not verbal, not used to expressing themselves. But more often they don't care to communicate with a white person.

A teacher at a Negro college told me: "There ought to be more Negroes on the faculty. Fewer whites—I know that sounds bad, but it's true. The students need somebody to talk to, and they just can't talk to a white man: they wouldn't trust him." He was under no illusions why they elected him their confidant: "Because my skin is black."

In the South today, it seems to me there is almost no trust between the races. Some, to be sure, is the whites' fault. But some—and this is not a popular truth—lies with the Negro. The Negro tends to see everything in terms of color.

A couple of months ago, I was talking with an extremely intelligent novelist, who also happens to be a Negro. We were in the midst of an animated conversation, and I had quite forgotten the skin that sheltered this perceptive man. He had just come from the West, by car. He listed his route for me: legendary places—Grand Canyon, Snake River, Grand Coulee. It had been an incredible tour.

Now if there is anything the West needs, it is a fresh eye to survey it, and here, I thought, was a chance to hear a sensitive man's comments. "What," I said cheerfully, "did you make of all that?" "Well," he said, "the situation in North Dakota is rather bad. Only a fraction of a per cent of their population is Negro, but there's a lot of bad feeling. . . ." He was answering me in terms of race, of color. I wonder if he had even seen the country he passed through, if he wasn't too involved in the problem to see anything else.

Shield of Color

"Look," one young Negro told me briskly, "you just can't get away from it. We've got our social pressures, too, you know. If you're not concerned, you are called an assimilist and an Uncle Tom. If you are concerned, it gets to be an obsession. Either way, you're in trouble."

Often, too, the Negro uses his color as a shield against the unpleasantness of life.

In one of the colleges in the Deep South, a Negro woman applied for admission to graduate study. Her training did not seem adequate, but the department made the allowance that liberal Southerners so often make, and admitted her. It was an unfortunate experience. Her inadequate preparation was her undoing; she simply could not catch up fast enough, and she flunked out. She left in a nasty barrage of accusations,

insisting that they had failed her only because she was a Negro. Her accusations against her teachers were not only untrue, but they had the added irony of being directed against people who had gone out of their way to help her.

Now, as Negroes will tell you, what they want is political, economic and educational equality. Their aims are as simple as the white resistance is complex. And the whole situation is incredibly complicated by a lack of communication.

The Flight North

I think it is the fate of every white person in the South (and very probably in the North as well) to almost never have a serious personal conversation with a Negro. There are plenty of professional contacts, of course.

A North Carolina doctor's wife said, "When I was in nursing school years ago, my supervisor was a Negro and I didn't think anything of it."

And in New Orleans doctors' offices there are often Negro nurses, where they are apparently accepted by white patients without difficulty.

But still, these relationships, though they may be based on mutual respect, are not personal. And they are not common enough to have any real impact on the white South.

Mostly what the white man in the South sees is the mocking black mask. Negroes have cultivated this to a very high degree, mostly, I suppose, because they have had to. Negroes can be deferential in such a way that it is incredibly insulting. I've seen white people driven into furies by this attitude. "You saw him sass me," one white woman said exasperatedly. "You saw that." And I had. And he did. But there wasn't one word, one gesture, that wasn't the height of humble politeness. But the whole effect was as insulting as a Bronx cheer.

Suspicion and fear of the white man's world. An utter lack of self confidence. These are the handicapping elements that the young Southern Negro has to overcome, and some are doing it.

A Louisiana couple had three sons, all handsome young men. All three worked their way through college. Two are now schoolteachers, one is a businessman in Michigan; they come South twice a year to see their parents. Because I often ask rude questions, I said, "Why didn't you settle here, in your parents' home? This community needs you."

The only reason they bothered to answer me at all is because they are very polite men. "The community can do without us," they said.

These men are far more successful than the average, but otherwise their story is typical. The Negro is leaving the South. In 1940, 61 per cent of the Negro population lived in the Southeastern states; in 1950 it was 55 per cent; in 1960 it was 44.8 per cent. Unfortunately, it is the able, energetic Negroes who are leaving.

(Incidentally, the migration of brains and energy is not confined to Negroes. I rather suspect that it is also true of Southern-born whites. Part of it is economic: the better-paying jobs are usually Northern. But part of it is not; part of it is just the urge to flee from an intolerable situation. One young white man from Tuscaloosa took a job in Oregon at almost the same salary he was making in Alabama. "Well," he shrugged wryly, "they'll pay my moving expenses, but with the problem of finding a new house and selling this one here, I'll probably lose money on the deal. . . . So why did I do it? You'd think I'd be used to it, wouldn't you? But I guess not. And with the kids growing up, I just didn't want them to grow up in the South.")

It isn't all one way, of course. Recently, I had a long talk with Ted Gilliam of Orlando, Florida, a Northern-educated Negro who has chosen to come back to the region of his birth. He is a tall, slender young man in his late twenties. He was educated in the segregated schools of North Florida, went to all-Negro North Carolina College, then finally to the Yale School of Drama from which he graduated in due course. Looking back, he admits that he was needlessly disturbed and uncertain. "Before I went to New Haven, I was worried about a lot of things: whether I could keep up, whether there'd be incidents and unpleasantnesses that would upset me so I couldn't work. I didn't trust myself. I was worried. But when I got there it turned out Yale wasn't all that hard; my preparation at North Carolina College was a lot better than I'd imagined."

Apathy Comes Early

And then we turned to the problem of education for the Negro youth. Gilliam once taught in a Negro college in the Deep South and he has some cogent comments on his experience. "The students were apathetic. I was teaching speech and when I'd correct their pronunciation —or anything like that, any tiny thing— they'd object. They'd say, "Look, everybody around my neighborhood says it that way." So I'd try to explain that the rest of the country expressed it differently. But they'd just answer me: "Since I'm never going to be able to get away, to leave here, what's the difference? Since I'm never going to be able to do anything, I'll always be like this; why try?"

Gilliam smiled to himself, remembering when he, too, had been caught in that round of depression and discouragement. "That's what the Negro school system does to you. It leaves you so unsure, feeling you can't do anything."

His judgment was echoed almost exactly by another teacher, a white woman of wide experience with Negro college students. "I teach them English," she said, "and in most cases the preparation is so bad, I rarely get beyond the rudiments of grammar. In quite a few cases, though, the young people absorb knowledge like sponges. It's a pleasure to watch. But sooner or later there comes a point and they stop. It's as if they were telling you: *This far and no more.* Seems to me they take it all out in a social life that's as elaborate as a finishing school's. I can't help noticing that the girls change two and three times a day. They must spend a fortune on clothes. Money isn't the problem; their parents are successful enough. It's some sort of failure of will, some sort of fear. . . ."

"It's like that," Gilliam agreed. And then we went on to talk about the fact that the South, which has always managed to produce white writers at a great rate, has never produced a Negro writer, excluding the late Richard Wright. "Isn't that strange?" I asked him. "I would think that writing would be a very popular field. After all, it requires no special training, no special education, nothing beyond pen and paper."

A Desire to Start

Gilliam shook his head. "You almost have to have felt it to know what I mean. The school—your whole life—makes you feel worthless. You know you're licked before you start, so you don't start."

The earnest, serious educator from Arkansas: "If we did integrate the schools honestly and all at once—if we did that—we'd wreck the system. The rate of Negro delinquency is so high our disciplinary problems would triple. And even if we somehow got by the discipline, the Negro preparation is so utterly inadequate, their home life in general so bad—they either wouldn't stay in school or they'd flunk. Either way it wouldn't help them." Her face reflected genuine concern. "There's nothing more important than education, but we've backed ourselves into a corner, and there isn't any way out."

Bill Hogan, head of the department of history at Tulane University, says with a sigh, "The hardest thing is to get qualified Negro students. Lots of times, they don't fill out the form properly.

"And there's no funny business—none of the sort of things that happen with registrars of voters. We just have a form for all students. They just don't seem to finish filling it out."

After being second-class citizens for so very long, many Negroes have come to half-believe it. . . .

It's commonplace for Southerners to insist that they "know their nigras." They are deluding themselves. If they knew,

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they'd be shocked. There is an enormous residue of hatred in the Southern Negro. It has never yet been focused, and if we are lucky the South will make enough social progress to dispel it before it fully reveals itself. But the hate does exist, and every now and then you stumble across its signs.

If Hate Is Focused . . .

One of the most amazing and frightening conversations I ever had in my life was on this subject. I think it is probably the only personal—truly personal—conversation I have ever had with a Negro since I've been an adult.

Call her Alberta, though that wasn't her name. She was from one of the Black Belt counties of Alabama, a tall woman with a magnificent figure, very dark. "No other blood in me." She had very little school. "They taught me to read and that was about all." She had married unhappily. "He had no ambition." She was scornful of her husband even at a distance: "Didn't care what happened to him." So she left him, and went (as all energetic rural Negroes do) to the city. She got a job as a children's nurse, while she took a course in typing and shorthand. "They wanted somebody to live in, and I wanted a place to live. And I didn't mind working weekends; I didn't have any place I wanted to go."

She read voraciously because somehow in that dreadful little school (and many of the present-day Negro schools are not much above the level of the nineteenth-century field school) they had managed to teach her to read very well. She read fiction mostly, some biography, some history, and no poetry. The sound of language meant nothing to her, only the meaning. She read Frank Yerby, chuckled when she found out he was a Negro. She refused to read Richard Wright or Ralph Ellison. "I know about that," she said. One day, when she seemed more relaxed than usual, I asked her about her long-range plans. She wanted to go to secretarial school. "I'll have a good job, I'll be a good secretary, and the bosses will come to me and say: 'We want you to come to work for us,' and I'll look and I'll take the job I want. And some of those will be white people, and I'll say, 'No thank you, I worked for white people enough. I'd rather work for a black man now.' . . . And I won't ever cook again. I'll eat out every single meal, even breakfast." And then without any coaxing from me, she went on talking about white people. She wasn't looking at me, she was looking at the pages of the book in her hand, and so she didn't remember that my skin was the wrong color. She began talking about her job. "Sometimes at night, the kids cry, the girl keeps having dreams. And the baby, he wakes and cries, too. With the intercom turned on, I can hear them fine in my room. But I just lie there for a while and listen to them before I get up. It sounds good to me to hear them cry. And in the morning their mamma will say: 'Didn't I hear them cry last night?' And I'll just say: 'Just once until I could get there,' and she believes me. I like to hear white children cry."

I suppose she was a sick woman, and I hope there are not many more like her.

It isn't all like that in the South. It isn't all hate and struggle. There are memories of pleasant associations, memories buried indelibly in the mind of every middle-class child. Memories of a classless, colorless world. Memories of innocence before the fall. White children are raised by Negroes. Raised carelessly in Northern terms. Not terribly clean. Unbalanced diet. I remember having bread smeared with lard for breakfast—and I remember thinking it was very good. White child played with black—with the cook's child, the laundress's child, children from other streets who drifted by. Played in the back yards with chinaberry seeds and mysterious magic bones, always keeping a wary eye on the kitchen door, in case something interesting should happen there. There were supposed to be some rules: like the one about white children wearing shoes at all times. But no one bothered with that, and the shoes stayed on the corner of the porch. You were all children together. You pestered the cows, and climbed up to see birds' nest and fell out of the trees, hunted for ripe mulberries in summer and pecans in fall, you stole pomegranates from old ladies' yards and ran from stray dogs. You learned all sorts of things: when a watermelon is ripe, how to kick in a fight, what the good faces of the moon are, how to cast a spell and make lost objects return. . . . There was no difference, boy and girl, black and white.

The Unfelt Loss

Until school. When you are six, that childhood is over. Black and white go off to different schools. And after school, well, there always seem to be things to do. Suddenly. Dancing school for the girls, shooting for the boys, things to be done at the church, lessons to study. I don't know that this is a deliberate plan of the white adult world, I don't know at all; but the dark friends of your childhood disappear. And you don't even feel the loss, because they are replaced immediately with so many other things. But at some point—later on, somewhere—you will look around and you'll see that they are gone. You can remember what it once was, but things aren't that way anymore and you don't know a way back, because by then black and white have taken on the color of their lives.

And from that moment—when the white Southerner looks around and sees what happened to his world while he wasn't looking—he will never be entirely free from guilt.

But as long as there is guilt, it seems to me, there is the possibility of progress. More—far more—than we have ever had before. And conditions in the South are improving. The moderate responsible Negro will admit quite freely that he has a better chance today than he has ever had, or was ever likely to have. I talked to Dr. Leonard Burns in New Orleans. Dr. Burns, who is very active in the NAACP, has been subjected to the usual harassments of a civil rights leader—a phone that rings at all hours of the night; a large front picture window that has been broken several times. He is quite calm about the situation, though like any father he does worry over the possible effect on his three young children. He is also a successful Negro in the Deep South; his house is very modern, very well furnished and very well equipped—the house of a well-to-do man anywhere.

Dreams v. Reality

Dr. Burns sees the future this way: "In the South, things are getting better slowly. And please note that I said *slowly, very* slowly. But we *are* making progress. Why, in the field of race relations, things are happening today that we would not have dared *hope* for ten years ago, that we would not have even dared *dream* of twenty years ago."

That very same day I talked with Jack Nelson, a Mississippi-born attorney practicing in New Orleans. He is one of the very few white lawyers who will take a civil rights case, and he has tried many of them. He admits cheerfully that his pro-civil rights position has probably damaged his practice. (That is a fact that most Southern liberals have had to face in one way or another.) Surprisingly enough, Mr. Nelson says that his treatment by judges and courts has been extremely fair. He has been treated with respect and politeness by many people who do not agree with his basic position. That is one hopeful sign. And Mr. Nelson sees even more hope in the future. "We in the South have used the law as an instrument of oppression. Southern legislatures have used laws to perpetuate the mores of this section of the country, to oppress a minority group. The Negro today has the leaders as well as the numbers, and he will decide his own future." THE END

9-1264

Peace in the South

THE SOUTH so far in the fall of 1964 has acquitted itself with honor and dignity in the matter of school desegregation, and we do not think this fact and the reasons for it should escape attention.

One has only to recall place names in the headlines of the recent past to realize how great has been the change. Remember the stories from Little Rock, New Orleans, Clinton and the others where change was accompanied by agony and the distorted faces of hate provided material for all the world's front pages?

This year such cities as Albany, Ga., and Montgomery, Ala., where sad stories were reported in the past, have desegregated their schools calmly and with dignity.

Despite all the defiance out of Jackson, Miss., on other matters, Mississippi acquitted itself well when it finally confronted public school desegregation in several localities this fall. Its public officials generally acted with great responsibility in preserving order in each instance. Even Leake County, Ross Barnett's home, made it over this hurdle despite the former governor's comments that he was working to prevent desegregation there.

Nowhere in the South were there the opening-day disasters that characterized some former years.

What explains the change?

Obviously, 10 years and many riots after the Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation, the inevitability of desegregation has been accepted by most people. This is part of the explanation.

Yet it seems equally obvious that the absence of political opportunism and demagoguery was a basic factor. Governors were not out this time, as they were in the past, gainfully intruding in local school situations even over the objections of the elected officials running the schools. Some of the state-level agitators could not agitate this time because they are under specific court orders based upon their past actions. Without their interference, local communities have been able to do what they had to do without riots and consequent great damage to their areas.

All this is worth noting in 1964, the year when there were no opening-day headlines on violence in the South.

Win Over Foes, Negroes Urged

By DICK HERBERT

A leading Atlanta Negro educator told some 200 civil rights leaders Monday night that they must concentrate on converting their foes into friends rather than merely defeating them.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, said the movement "must change from an emergency push to a sustained drive to a larger end —complete victory." He explained that victory is not complete when enemies are merely defeated, because then "they'll wait and try to get back at you."

Richardson addressed the first Point of Progress Dinner of "Operation Breadbasket," an organization of Negro ministers that has been seeking new and upgraded employment for Negroes.

A leader in the project, Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, revealed that Negroes have been placed in 750 new or upgraded jobs with an increased income of $1,500,000 during the program's first 18 months.

"This is the most successful project conducted by a civil rights group in Atlanta during recent years," he said.

He presented three merit awards for contributions to the civil rights movement. They went to Jesse Hill Jr., a consultant for "Operation Breadbasket"; Larry Fox, president of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "Operation Breadbasket" is an affiliate of SCLC.

In his address, Dr. Richardson praised the ministers' work in securing better jobs for Negroes because he said job opportunities "are basic" in all civil rights goals.

"Financial relief, whether public or private, sustained over a long period, is not the answer . . . It tends to destroy initiative," he commented.

However, he added that he is "concerned" that the civil rights movement prepare itself "for the long continuing struggle."

He called for unity among civil rights advocates under selected leadership so that the goal of a victory "complete enough to end the war" might be reached.

The Motel Case: 'The Suit Must Fail'

7-23-64 Journal

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA ATLANTA DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION NO. 9017

HEART OF ATLANTA MOTEL, INC., a Georgia corporation,

Plaintiff,

—versus—

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and ROBERT F. KENNEDY as the Attorney General of the United States,

Defendant

This is a complaint filed by Heart of Atlanta Motel, a large downtown motel in the city of Atlanta, regularly catering to out of state guests, praying for a declaratory judgment and injunction to prevent the Attorney General of the United States from exercising powers granted to him under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C.A., Section 1971, as amended. The suit also attempts to obtain recovery from the United States for substantial damages alleged to result from a partial taking of the complainant's property without just compensation.

Conceding, as it does, that it is regularly engaged in renting sleeping accommodations to out of town guests, seventy - five percent of whom come from without the state of Georgia, and that it "has refused and intends to refuse to rent sleeping accommodations to persons desiring said accommodations, for several different reasons, one of which is based on the grounds of race, unless ordered by this Court to comply with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," the suit attacks the constitutionality of the public accommodations sections of the Civil Rights Act as applied to such a motel.

Since this is a suit seeking an injunction against the enforcement of a Federal statute on the alleged grounds that it is in violation of the United States Constitution, a three-judge court was convened as provided for in 28 U.S.C.A., Section 2282.

The Attorney General filed a counterclaim seeking, on behalf of the United States, a temporary and permanent injunction against future violation of the Civil Rights Act by the plaintiff. The case was set down for hearing, and after the introduction of oral testimony on behalf of the United States, the signing of stipulations between the parties, and oral statements made by counsel for the plaintiff in open court, it appeared that no factual issues remained. The parties also conceded in open court that the matter might be treated as a hearing on the petition for the final permanent injunction.

In the first place, the claim of the plaintiff for damages against the United States on the alleged ground of deprivation of property without just compensation alleges no grounds for relief, entirely aside from the question whether such alleged deprivation would be justified by reason of the power of Congress to enact this particular legislation. This is so, because such a claim for damages or recovery for value of property taken by the Federal Government must be asserted in the United States Court of Claims unless the amount sought is not in excess of $10,000. However, in the view we take of the law, such a suit is not maintainable in any event.

The real question presented by this complaint and counterclaim is whether Section 201(a), (b), (1) and (c) is constitutional.

"Sec. 201(a). All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin.

"(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:

(1) Any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence; . . .

"(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); . . . ."

In substance, this section of Title II declares the right of every person to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services and facilities of any hotel or motel which provides lodging to transient guests if it contains more than five rooms for rent or hire. The section is a congressional ascertainment and declaration of the fact that such "an establishment affect(s) commerce within the meaning of this Title."

Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution provides: "Clause 1: The Congress shall have power . . . Clause 3: to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:" and Clause 18 "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers . . ."

In United States v. Darby, 312 U.S. 100, 118, the Supreme Court said:

"The power of Congress over interstate commerce is not confined to the regulation of commerce among the states. It extends to those activities intrastate which so affect interstate commerce or the exercise of the power of Congress over it as to make regulation of them appropriate means to the attainment of a legitimate end, the exercise of the grant of power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. See McCullough v. Maryland, 4 Wheat 316, 421."

Thus, it need not be decided whether the outlawing of racial discrimination by a hotel accepting transient guests may be justified on the ground that it is actually in the stream of commerce. The power of Congress, when that body seeks to occupy the full extent of its powers under the Constitution, "extends to those activities intrastate which so affect interstate commerce . . . as to make regulation of them appropriate means to . . . the exercise of the granted power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce." Of course, the initial determination of whether the challenged regulation is such "appropriate means" is for Congress. Courts may not overturn such determination unless they conclude that under no reasonable theory could Congress find them "appropriate to the attainment" of its power to regulate commerce.

This Court, as recently as July 10, 1964, in the case of Marriott Hotels of Atlanta, Inc. v. Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc., C.A. No. 8832, held that the operations of Heart of Atlanta Motel (1) are in the stream of commerce, and that, in any event, (2) such operations affect commerce so as to subject it to Congressional regulation under the Sherman Antitrust Act. It being undisputed that in the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress has seen fit to exercise its full power as granted it under the Constitution the scope of its operation in this field must, therefore, be taken to be at least as broad as that which it exercised in the adoption of the Sherman Act. Its scope is, therefore, also as broad as in the legislation affecting labor relations under the National Labor Relations Act. It is broader than that exercised by Congress in its regulation of wages and hours of services under the Wage and Hour laws.

In the specific field of hotel operations, the Supreme Court has ruled that the National Labor Relations Board could not lawfully follow a policy of refusing to take jurisdiction over unfair labor practices and other labor disputes in hotels and motels as a class. Hotels Employees Local No. 255 v. Leedom, 358 U.S. 99. Following that decision, the Court of Appeals of this judicial circuit in N.L.R.B. v. Citizens Hotel Co., 5 Cir., 313 F. 2d 708, overruled a contention by the Citizens Hotel Company, operator of the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth, Texas, that its operations did not fall within the constitutional reach of the National Labor Relations Act because it was not either engaged in commerce, nor did its operations affect commerce. In arriving at that decision the court referred to the Supreme Court's opinion in National Labor Relations Board v. Reliance Fuel Oil Corp., 371 U.S. 224. That case dealt with an attack by the local fuel oil corporation on the jurisdiction of the Labor Board because, while most of the products sold by Reliance had been acquired from Gulf Oil Corporation and had been delivered to it from without the state of New York, they nevertheless had been received and stored in the state before sales were made to Reliance. It was thus contended that Reliance was not engaged in commerce nor were its operations such as to affect commerce within the constitutional sense. The Supreme Court said:

"That activities such as those of Reliance affect commerce and are within the constitutional reach of Congress is beyond doubt. See e.g. Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111."

The opinion also significantly quoted from the court's earlier decision in Polish Alliance v. Labor Board, 322 U.S. where, at page 648, it had said:

"Congress has explicitly regulated not merely transactions or goods in interstate commerce but activities which in isolation might be deemed to be merely local, but in the interlacings of business across state lines adversely affect such commerce."

It is clear that the attack by the complainant on the constitutionality of these sections of the Civil Rights Act must fail. It is equally clear that the United States is entitled to the injunction prayed for by it in its counterclaim. An injunction will issue in the following terms:

ORDER

The plaintiff, Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc., a corporation, its successors, officers, attorneys, agents and employees, together with all persons in active concert or participation with them, are hereby enjoined from:

(a) Refusing to accept Negroes as guests in the motel by reason of their race or color;

(b) Making any distinction whatever upon the basis of race or color in the availability of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages or accommodations offered or made available to the guests of the motel, or to the general public, within or upon any of the premises of the Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc.

So that the plaintiff may have an opportunity to prepare its record for appeal and, if so advised, seek a stay of this order, it is ORDERED that the foregoing injunction shall become effective twenty (20) days from the date hereof, on, to-wit, the 11th day of August, 1964.

This 22nd day of July, 1964.

S/ELBERT P. TUTTLE
Elbert P. Tuttle
United States Circuit Judge
S/FRANK A. HOOPER
Frank A. Hooper
United States District Judge
S/LEWIS R. MORGAN
Lewis R. Morgan
United States District Judge

Civil Rights: Facts vs. Fiction

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a new bill of rights for everyone, regardless of race, creed or color.

This basic fact has been overlooked, ignored or distorted by those who are opposed to equal rights for anyone.

This is—in capsule form—what the act provides:

JOBS: Starting in July 1965, discrimination and segregation in employment, or in unions, is forbidden. Complaints will be processed through state agencies; the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission acts only if a state fails to act.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS: Effective at once, every hotel, restaurant, theater or other facility catering to the general public must do exactly that. Thirty-one state laws, already in effect have even stronger provisions.

SCHOOLS: The Attorney General of the United States has greater power to implement the Supreme Court decision of 1954 prohibiting segregation in public schools.

VOTING RIGHTS: Both the federal courts and the Attorney General are instructed to make sure registration and voting rights are safeguarded under uniform, reasonable standards.

There are other provisions in the law; a detailed analysis is available free of charge from the AFL-CIO. But these are the basic points.

Enemies of civil rights, enemies of labor, enemies of democracy itself are spreading lies about the terms of the act in order to play upon the fears of homeowners, parents, employers and workers. Here is the truth about the kind of lies that are told:

FICTION: "If you sell a house, you have to sell to a Negro."

FACT: The AFL-CIO believes that discrimination in housing should be ended. But there is no reference whatever to housing in the Civil Rights Act.

FICTION: "Your children will be sent out of the neighborhood to some Negro school."

FACT: Local school boards in some cities, operating under state and local statutes, have instituted pupil transfers in an effort to achieve better racial balance in their schools. But there is no such requirement in the Civil Rights Act, which provides only that schools must not be segregated.

FICTION: "A certain number of Negroes will have to be hired on every job, even if white people have to be fired to make room for them."

FACT: This is a myth. The law will properly put an end to discrimination in employment —including discrimination in seniority systems. But it does not in any way interfere with existing job rights. There are no "quotas" established. As a matter of fact, "inverse discrimination," even if intended to offset past evils, would actually be a violation of the law.

In short, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in letter and spirit, is dedicated to justice—to the principles of democracy and fair play which are in the highest American tradition.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC

New File check all pages

Newsletter

Volume 1 MAY 1961 No. 1

Ray Simons photo

ATLANTA STUDENTS—Briefing Before Demonstration

Atlanta Sit In Agreement

During the winter of 1960 eighty students and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were arrested for sit-in demonstrations. They chose jail rather than bail. Later, store owners dropped the charges against them. A negotiating committee was formed with Atlanta's Mayor, William B. Hartsfield serving as liaison with the merchants. A thirty-day truce was set during which student demonstrations were halted. Negotiations broke down at the end of the truce and demonstrations were renewed. The adult Negro community widened its boycott to the entire downtown business area in support of the student protests. A. T. Walden, retired attorney and civil rights leader was selected to explore the renewal of negotiations. He immediately reestablished communication between the students and merchants and negotiations were reopened.

On March 7, 1961, Ivan Allen, Jr., president of the Chamber of Commerce representing the merchants released a statement to the press setting October 15, 1961 as the latest date for desegregating eating facilities, the re-employment of Negro persons discharged because of closed lunch counters and restuarants and the up-grading of Negro workers on the basis of merit.

It was erronously reported to the press by Mr. Allen that the merchants had decided to desegregate when the Atlanta public school issues "are fully decided upon". The Negro leadership did not agree to that. Item No. 2 of the Agreement between the merchants, and signed by both sides, reads: "The final date for desegregating all lunch counters and other eating facilities as agreed upon by a group of merchants, is October 15, 1961 or before if deemed practicable, even if there be a delay in the school matter."

Great confusion resulted when the impression was given by the press that desegregation of lunch counters would be contingent on solution of the school integration problem which the community faces under a court order to desegregate when schools reopen in the fall.

What further nettled the Negro community was the reopening of lunch counters on a segregated basis. Neither students nor Atlanta Negroes feel they can in good conscience go back to the stores as long as the lunch counters are segregated. Therefore, the boycott continues and all indications are that it will remain effective as long as eating facilities in the stores remain segregated.

See page 3

Prince Edward County

Our Federal government usually moves with dispatch when flood or famine strikes and a quick phone call assures the local community that Uncle Samuel is on call for the aid required. From our posture, we see in Prince Edward County, Virginia what we seriously believe to be disaster as great or greater than famine or flood. This rural community in the heart of the 'Black Belt' of Virginia is the only school district in the fifty states without public school education. And this situation has prevailed since June 1959 when the Board of Supervisors shut-down the public school system in the face of a court order to desegregate. (Prince Edward is one of the three original cases that brought about the May 17th Decision of 1954). More than this, Farmville, the county seat, is little less than 150 miles from the Nation's capitol.

The NAACP, almost a year ago entered a suit seeking to reopen the schools and it appears that the machinery of the District Federal Court has broken down entirely. We would not expect to hear any word from Mr. Eisenhower. Perhaps it has never occurred to the Justice Department that someone's civil liberties have been abridged. Federal funds are squeezed into the mortar of the bricks that hold these school facilities upright and the physical plants are deteriorating at a great loss to the county, state, and nation.

SCLC through its Virginia Conference (VCLC) proposed that within the first 100 days of Mr. Kennedy's administration, it may be well if he were provided an opportunity to act via executive authority in the light of this disaster or use the moral influence of his office to encourage some remedial action post haste through the Judicial or Legislative branch of the Federal government. To be sure there are some problems of precedent-setting to be considered, but none so grave as the nearly 4,000 young American citizens in Prince Edward County, Virginia without a public school system.

The method used might be a Congressional Sit-In for Public Schools. The Prince Edward situation might be pointed up to the nation and the new Administration, if, on an appropriate day, the parents and children of this beleagured county were to come to Washington, D. C., and 'sit-in' on our law making bodies until some respite is forthcoming. Already, several human relations organizations have given their endorsement or tacit approval to join in such a concerted direct action. CORE, The National Beauticians Association, the labor industry, and the American Friends Service Committee are numbered with these.

Perhaps you would lend your voice of protest to relieve this disaster of another stripe. For further information, Write: CONGRESSIONAL SIT-IN, c/o SCLC, 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

REV. JAMES M. LAWSON JR.

Staff Consultant

The Reverend James M. Lawson, Jr. recently joined SCLC as staff Consultant to serve as lecturer and will work in program development of the Philosophy of Nonviolence.

While a graduate student at Vanderbilt University School of Divinity, Nashville, Tennessee, Mr. Lawson was expelled for his participation and arrest in lunch counter demonstrations. Two-thirds of the Divinity School's faculty members supported Lawson by immediately resigning in protest.

Mr. Lawson spent two years in India as a Methodist Missonary, and served as a Southern Regional Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). He will continue as pastor of the Scott Chapel Methodist church of Shelbyville, Tennessee.

NEW LEADERS

Training new leaders in the social struggle will advance on an organized basis now that SCLC has launched its Leadership Training and Citizenship Schools programs. Officials of SCLC have long realized the need for trained leaders working in their local communities to implement the social struggle for full citizenship.

The Affiliate organizations of SCLC will select persons to be trained as teachers and leaders. The trainees will go to Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee to attend a five (5) day course. They will learn to teach Reading and Writing, Civics, Simplified Politics, the Philosophy of Nonviolence, Picketing, and other subjects necessary for understanding How our Nation Works.

Voter-Registration is a primary goal of the Citizenship Schools which will operate under the affiliate organization. There are no charges for attending these schools and receiving Certificates of Completion. Home study courses will be available at nominal costs for those who do not attend schools.

As the number of schools increases, training centers for teachers will be established throughout the Southern States to reduce travel time and cost. The first year will produce 240 schools and train about 12,000 citizens. Further information is available from Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Educational Consultant of the Atlanta office.

CONSPIRACY

On February 21, 1961, attorneys for the Reverends Ralph Abernathy, Solomon Seay, Fred Shuttlesworth, and Joe Lowery filed a complaint in the Federal District Court at Montgomery, Alabama charging conspiracy by Governor John Patterson and other state, county and City of Montgomery officials, to deny them their Constitutional rights, guaranteed by the First, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments.

This action followed a judgment totaling one million dollars against the ministers, ordered by an Alabama Court in favor of the officials who charged that statements printed in the New York Times newspaper were libellous. The ministers' names appeared in a full page ad. The New York Times is co-defendant in the suit which is still before the courts.

Automobiles and property owned by the pastors were impounded and sold at auction. Salaries will be garnisheed and all other property owned by them subject to auction.

In their complaint, the Negro leadership documents the design of intimidation, harassment and violence which is aimed at them. They charged further that state, county and city police, and judiciary are used to implement the conspiracy to impede their efforts in promoting full citizenship for Negroes under the Constitution.

Negro leaders are finding constantly increasing use of "officialdom" in efforts to defeat their mounting demands for full citizenship. The Courts are suitable arenas for this type of fight.

SCLC Newsletter. James R. Wood, Editor. Printed in Atlanta and available without cost. Write SCLC NEWSLETTER, 208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

AFFILIATE ACTION

SCLC affiliates have been active in many areas where social protest and mass direct action have taken place.

• In PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, the PETERSBURG IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, an SCLC affiliate has moved steadily forward in its efforts to desegregate eating facilities.

The successful desegregation of the public library and the opening of eating facilities at the Trailways Bus Depot were high points in its program. The program at present has moved into merit hiring and non-segreated housing throughout the city.

• The recently formed VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE has its headquarters in Petersburg and will serve as liaison with the parent body of SCLC in local and state programming.

On January 1, 1961 the VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, Dr. Milton A. Reid, president, led a Prayer Pilgrimage to Prince Edward County, Virginia focusing national attention on the plight of Prince Edwards' schoolless children. $1,000.00 was raised to aid in the reopening of public schools in the county.

• In LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA where SCLC recently conducted an institute on Nonviolence, the LYNCHBURG IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION of which Rev. Virgil Wood is president, has been pursuing its human dignity program relentlessly. A suit in Federal Court against the city to desegregate all public facilities has been presented to the City's biracial committee as the alternative to the City Council's refusal to desegregate voluntarily.

• The MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION of MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, an SCLC affiliate has moved its fight into the courts. Under the worst possible kind of terrorism of citizens by police the faithful leaders and followers continue their fight for freedom. The personal loss of property resulting from court judgments against the civil rights leaders strikes a vicious blow in the hearts of these men who so courageously lead the fight for freedom.

• At a recent testimonial banquet in his honor, the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith, president and organizer of the NASHVILLE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL, an SCLC affiliate, tribute was paid to his dynamic leadership in the social struggle in NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE and its surrounding area. Many notables including the Mayor of Nashville; Dr. Walter S. Davis, president of Tennessee A & I State University and others were present.

The Reverend Smith organized and directed the students and adults in the protest program which resulted in the desegregation of eating facilities in the City of Nashville. The Reverend James Lawson, Jr., at that time a student at Vanderbilt University assisted with the training of students for sitting-in and picketing.

Often referred to as the "Athens of the South", Nashville, Tennessee has been the scene of the kind of cooperation by students and adults which demonstrates outstanding leadership and deep dedication by all to the ideals of the social struggle.

• Since the Montgomery bus boycott, numerous organizations in California and surrounding states have given support to the Southern struggle. In January, 1961 this support took on structure when Martin Luther King, Jr. went to LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA where he met with over one hundred ministers and the WESTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE was formed. The Reverend L. Sylvester Odom, pastor of Ward A.M.E. Church was elected president. The Reverend Edward Stovall, pastor of the Progressive Baptist Church, Berkley, California is vice-president. The WESTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE encompasses California and six surrounding states. The State of California is divided into Northern, Central and Southern divisions. Dr. King recently returned from a very successful visit to OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA at the invitation of the Northern Division of the WESTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE where he was principal speaker at a fund raising rally in the Oakland Auditorium.

10,000 persons attended. With the auditorium filled the crowd overflowed to the park next to the building. More than $8,000.00 was raised under the leadership of the General Chairman of the meeting, the Reverend Edward Stovall, vice-president of WCLC. The general program of the WESTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE is to provide financial and moral support to SCLC in its general crusade to bring first class citizenship to all Americans. It will also continue supporting the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S scholarship program for students forced to leave college because of participation in the social protest; to provide aid to the four ministers against whom the State of Alabama was awarded a two-million dollar judgment and whose personal property has been sold at auction and income garnisheed.

SCLC and HIGHLANDER

It is standard routine for segregationists to label those working toward full citizenship for all Americans as "communist" or "red". Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee has been under constant attack since its founding, twenty-eight years ago. It has never been proven that the program of the school or its staff is anything except sincerely devoted to the task of pointing the way to better racial understanding through education.

There is increasing use of the "red smear" to silence liberals working for a new South. However, SCLC will not curtail its program because of intimidation and harassment by segregationist "red baiting" tactics. Highlander has been supported by such great liberals as: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry Golden, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and others.

This school has given great support to Southern liberal leadership throughout its history.

DOROTHY F. COTTON

Educational Consultant

Dorothy F. Cotton, formerly Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director of SCLC, has been appointed Educational Consultant, to develop and direct educational programming of SCLC.

She is a graduate of Virginia State College and Boston University, and a native of Goldsboro, North Carolina. Mrs. Cotton will conduct liaison with SCLC affiliate organizations in the development of the Correspondence Institute, Leadership Training, Citizenship Schools, and other educational projects.

PROTEST *In Jail*

ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA —Eight Negro students, jailed for sit-in demonstrations, have carried the Nonviolent Method of resistance to work-gangs of the South Carolina Penal system. It has been reported that eight students were put in solitary confinement on bread and water for a "sit-down" and refusal to work. Cause of the protest was an order for the group of eight to shovel thirty-six loads of dirt each day. A companion crew of 27 prisoners were required to make thirty-two loads each day. Considering this unequal treatment, the student protest followed.

The moral courage displayed by students throughout the nation is a shining example of the "new" Negro.

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....
(street)

.....
(city & state)

Amount of Contribution .....

Send to: SCLC
208 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Benefit Show

Heading a cast of star performers, Sammy Davis, Jr. Frank Sinatra, Sidney Potier, Mahalia Jackson, Count Basie, Dean Martin, Jan Murray, Nipsey Russell, George Kirby, Carmen McRae, Ruth Brown, Sy Oliver, and many other headline performers staged a benefit for SCLC and "Tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr." which grossed $53,000.00.

Under the sponsorship of A. Philip Randolph, the Reverend Gardner C. Taylor of Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn, New York, and Harry Belafonte, the Committee to Aid the Southern Freedom Struggle (New York group of SCLC), organized and promoted the benefit which took place at Carnegie Hall in New York City. The night of January 27, 1961, the auditorium, famous for the great names which have graced its stage was completely sold out.

Squads of extra police were detailed to handle the huge crowd milling backstage in an effort to catch a glimpse of performers and notables.

A telegram from President John Kennedy was read which congratulated the Committee on its effort to aid the Southern freedom struggle. He also stated his determination to "make democracy in this country, not only a name but a reality".

Harry Belafonte, Sidney Potier and many other celebrities are members of the New York group.

During intermission Harry Belafonte stated " . . . we are taking a stand for what we believe is right, moral and democratic . . . "

• VOTING •

From the beginning, SCLC has been acutely aware of the unlimited potential of the Negro vote. Steadily it has been building up its voter-registration activities. The field staff is being enlarged to more effectively develop its program in the deep South states. Increased education in the Philosophy of Nonviolence, through workshops and institutes is scheduled for these areas. Several large hard-core states have been selected for highly intensified voter-registration campaigns.

Equality Now

In an article published in Nation Magazine, February 4, 1961, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speaks to our President.

Carefully documented are the powers, rights, and privileges of the Nation's chief executive to destroy segreation in all walks of life.

" . . . the primary goal of a well meaning administration should be . . . to wipe out immediately, every vestige of federal support and sponsorship of discrimination", noted Dr. King. "We must face the tragic fact that the Federal government is the Nation's highest investor in segregation".

Reprints of the article EQUALITY NOW are available. Write: SCLC, 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

SCLC *Newsletter*

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Atlanta 3, Ga.

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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC

Newsletter

Volume 1 AUGUST 1961 No. 2

FOR FREEDOM

Montgomery, Alabama: Left to right the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Clyde Carter, Bernard Lee, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

SCLC AND THE FREEDOM RIDES

SCLC did not initiate the Freedom Rides. That wonderful idea was the creation of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality.) Everybody who reads the newspapers or looks and listens to a TV or radio knows of the violence that the twenty-odd Negro and white bus riders, who headed South on May 4th, encountered when they reached Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama. Since the bus drivers refused to take them on to Montgomery, the CORE group took a *plane* for New Orleans, the terminal point of their journey.

At this time, students of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, an affiliate of SCLC, picked up the challenge, resolving that a Freedom Ride had to go on to Montgomery and to Jackson, Mississippi and that the segregationists must not be allowed to feel that their violence and obstruction could thwart the drive to test the proposition of whether Negro and white traveling companions could exercise their rights to use the eating and comfort facilities of the bus depots.

The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, "Mr. Civil Rights" of Birmingham and Secretary of SCLC, from the very beginning played a key role in the Freedom Rides. He was CORE's main contact in Birmingham and sent automobiles to rescue the Riders after their bus was burned by a mob at Anniston. When Shuttlesworth was seized by Birmingham police, his wife telephoned to the SCLC home office and was much relieved to learn that the Rev. Wyatt Walker, SCLC Executive Director, was already en route to the scene of violence and confusion.

When the Nashville Riders pushed on to Montgomery, it soon became clear that this would be the crucial task of the big battle for human dignity. Accordingly, SCLC leaders in various parts of the country dropped whatever they were doing and hurried to Montgomery. Jim Lawson SCLC staff consultant, joined the Nashville group, Wyatt Walker, Ralph Abernathy and Martin Luther King, Jr., flew in and began to mobilize the nonviolent forces.

Great questions for American democracy were at issue: What would the notorious Governor of Alabama do? What would the U. S. Department of Justice do? Could the Freedom Riders be frightened or crushed?

The world now knows the answers to these questions.

As the Riders streamed into Alabama and Mississippi, SCLC leaders maintained contact with the Department of Justice as well as with some of the local law enforcing agents, and the press. Moreover, A Freedom Ride Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was set up that brought together CORE, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and SCLC. This closer cooperation among these sister organizations made for a more systematic approach to the Freedom Ride operation. It was realized, however, that many individuals and groups with varying backgrounds and orientations would join the movement. The coordinating committee insisted upon the discipline of nonviolence and pled for prominent Americans as well as others to bear witness to the cause by joining the Rides.

Some SCLC leaders were roughed up by police and mobs or were jailed. Wherever they were, in front or behind bars, they kept up their prayerful persuasion by song, word and conduct.

To date, SCLC has expended nearly $15,000 in legal fees, $10,000 in staff and transportation, $3,500 in telephone and telegraph communications and nearly $7,000 in cash appeal bonds. There are many related expenses which cannot be tabulated accurately. This is indeed a worthwhile though expensive commitment.

Operation Freedom Ride has given the nation — and the world — some realization of what the Negro traveler undergoes. Even more, it has given a vivid demonstration of the power of nonviolent social action. The inevitable victory for human decency has been brought closer. SCLC has conscientiously attempted to play its part.

• VOTING •

There are those who would like for the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides to stop and that instead the revolutionary energy be channeled off into a campaign of voter registration. This might be less of a problem for moderates and certain government officials; less of a confrontation for those who deplore confrontations.

SCLC does not recognize "the either-or" theory of social change; rather, the "both-and" theory. It is not the courts *or* Sit-Ins; Freedom Rides *or* political action. All of these measures help reach the common goal of freedom and equality for all of God's children.

Thus, SCLC has planned for a stepped-up South-wide campaign of voter registration and hopes to get the large financial support that such an endeavor requires. In the meantime, as a sort of pilot project, SCLC is cooperating with the Atlanta citizens committee to secure some 10,000 new voters within a three-month span. Jim Wood, Public Relations Director for SCLC, is presently giving full time to this effort and SCLC is making other contributions of funds, facilities and personnel to this drive. It is hoped that new and more effective techniques will be developed in Atlanta so that a similar methodology may be applied elsewhere.

Leadership Training

It has been found that many persons do not vote because they are illiterate. To this end, SCLC has been seeking to set up literacy training centers that will give potential voters at least a "functional literacy" in a very short while and at the same time introduce them to the general philosophy of nonviolent social action.

This venture is meant to be an ongoing, long-range project. SCLC is gratified that the Marshall Field Foundation has granted $26,000 in much needed financial support. This has been done in cooperation with the Congregational Church.

After several trys, a training center for teachers of literacy has been set-up at Dorchester Community Center in McIntosh, Georgia, thirty miles south of Savannah.

Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Educational Consultant for SCLC, has special responsibilities for this program and Mrs. Septima Clark, fully experienced in this work, has agreed to direct the instruction of these teachers for an intensive two-weeks course. She has joined SCLC staff.

A number of retired school teachers have volunteered to take this training in order that they may be better prepared to teach the would-be voters who would learn to read and write. Many more are needed. Friends and well-wishers are urged to help us recruit others.

Contributions

It is a healthy sign that financial support of SCLC is gradually becoming as dependent upon sustained subscription giving as upon collections at mass meetings. For too long the burden of financial responsibility for the organization has rested largely upon the shoulders of our President. He found it necessary to speak continually in order that our monthly payroll could be met.

Within the past year, a substantial number of our friends and well-wishers have been persuaded to make and redeem pledges for a definite sum each year and this has enabled us to plan ahead a bit, instead of living, so to speak, hand-to-mouth.

Nevertheless, our income is still far beneath the call for our services; consequently, campaigns all over the nation are still necessary in order to balance our budget. Moreover, many of these mass meetings are such great spiritual experiences that we hope our friends will see that their contributions at the moment of inspiration are followed by regular, periodic giving during the months ahead.

Recently, several impressive rallies were held in different sections of the country that demonstrated the financial as well as moral support of our crusade. The Baptists of the Greater New York area sponsored a series of meetings that resulted every time in a standing-room only crowd. At the final meeting in Albany, Governor Nelson Rockefeller was present. Before hand, he had held an off-the-record conference with Dr. King and Rev. Walker. Dr. Sandy F. Ray sent a certified check for $18,000 to SCLC on behalf of the Empire State Baptist Convention, the sponsoring organization.

In California, Dr. King, along with such stars of the entertainment world as Toni Harper, Dick Gregory, Mahalia Jackson, Herb Jeffries, George Shearing and Sammy Davis, Jr., with the Governor of the state and scores of other political and civic leaders in attendance, appeared before some 20,000 enthusiastic listeners on June 18th. The police estimated that more than twice that number had to be turned away from the Sports Arena. Some 6,000, who waited until the meeting was over, were admitted afterwards and for them Dr. King obligingly repeated his speech. Over $26,000 was raised.

San Francisco also had a successful rally on July 23rd at the Cow Palace.

On July 9th some 12,000 persons cheered at the Pittsburgh rally. Among the program sponsors was heavy-weight champion Floyd Patterson. Sammy Davis, Jr., would have been there but for the birth of his daughter which occurred about the same time.

The special civil rights night of the National Sunday School and BTU Congress, held in St. Louis, was also remarkably successful. In addition to Dr. King, other SCLC luminaries participated in the program—the Revs. Abernathy, Shuttlesworth, C. K. Steele of Tallahassee and Kelly Miller Smith of Nashville. More than 12,000 delegates and friends contributed $5,500 that Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Congress President turned over to SCLC.

A dinner for friends who gathered at Theodore Kheel's home netted $7,000 of which Mike Quill's International Transport Workers Union donated $2,000, ear-marked for the legal defense fund of SCLC Alabama leaders who have been sued for libel by public officials in that state.

Many smaller groups throughout the country have sent in contributions that in proportion to their membership represent as great gifts as those listed above. All are needed and fully appreciated.

DIRECTOR AND WIFE JAILED

The newspapers have carried some account of the jailing and treatment of the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director of SCLC, and his wife, Ann. They were Freedom Riders, who on their well-publicized departure from Atlanta found a mob as the reception committee in Montgomery. The threat of a bomb that supposedly was hidden in the bus terminal gave police the excuse for not permitting the Freedom Riders to enter the Montgomery depot. It was being cleared for bomb searching.

Upon arrival in Jackson, Mississippi, the Walkers and their companions were promptly arrested and, as the papers have reported, their stay in jail were quite rigorous. Upon their release, a controversy broke out between Jackson law-enforcing officials and the Walkers. A $275 ring and $75 in currency were missing when the jailers returned the belongings to the prisoners. When Walker made these losses public, the Jackson authorities attempted to put the blame upon Negro trusties. However, the latest word from the sheriff is that the Mrs. Walker will get her wedding ring and money or the sheriff himself will make them good.

VIGNETTE OF THE MONTH

Abernathy of Montgomery

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy was in Atlanta at the home office of SCLC over the weekend of July 7th and he looked tired. He had a right to appear this way, for there are few men in America who have taken the battering that Abernathy has. As the world knows, Abernathy was second in command every step of the Montgomery bus boycott. Then, when Martin Luther King, Jr., shifted his base of operation to Atlanta, Abernathy became commander-in-chief of the famous MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association.) This meant that he was now the principal target of the segregationists — and this often meant the law-enforcing as well as lawless elements. Too, hardly a week passed without some direct or snide abuse by the local press.

Last spring Abernathy was in the midst of the anti-jim crow demonstrations that rocked the campus of Alabama State College. He did all that he could to prevent the slaughter of academic freedom — but in vain. There before his eyes, he saw faculty members kicked out and students expelled and those who remained shackled by self-incriminating oaths and a system of espionage and surveillance.

Because of an advertisement in the *New York Times* in the interest of fund raising for the defense of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the sit-in students, Abernathy, Rev. Joseph E. Lowery of Mobile and the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Birmingham — all SCLC Board members and the Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr. of the MIA — were sued by Montgomery officials and the Governor of Alabama. When the all-white juries in local courts decided that the integration leaders had libeled city officials, Abernathy was stripped of his few worldly possessions. His joint interest, with his sisters and brothers in the family farm homestead that has been established by their parents, was seized and sold as was his automobile, though it was joint property of his wife.

When the Freedom Riders pushed through the Montgomery mob, Abernathy was right there. His church — First Baptist — was the object of the young hoodlum mass assault that brought forth the first action of the U.S. Marshals.

When he, Wyatt Walker, Shuttlesworth, Bernard Lee and others were seeing off a contingent of Freedom Riders to Mississippi, they decided to eat at the bus station restaurant. To their surprise, they were arrested, even though a similar group had eaten there the day before.

Abernathy was asked about things in Montgomery. He answered that the Freedom Rides had helped greatly. Despite the violence, Negroes, along with whites, are now using the general waiting rooms at transportation depots and though reluctantly, officials and depot managers are taking down the "white" and "colored" signs. Local people are encouraged by the bravery and success of "the outsiders." However, the lid is still down on Alabama State College. Although students from all over the nation are participants, to date not a single 'Bama State student or teacher has joined a Freedom Ride!

Abernathy laughs when he recounts some of his experiences in jail. True to the spirit of nonviolence, the Freedom Riders won over other prison inmates and soon had them singing the songs of freedom. "By now," Abernathy chuckles, "the movement has no doubt spread through the prison camps of the whole sovereign state of Alabama."

When the jailers put into a cell section with the Freedom Riders a prisoner whom they hoped would upset and perhaps assault the non-violenters, the first night he raised such a ruckus that nobody could sleep. However, the next day when he recognized Rev. Abernathy, he, too, joined the movement and thereafter threw his fits *against* the guards and jailers.

Despite adversity, good fortune has occasionally smiled on Abernathy. He has been given a new automobile by the joint effort of the people of Montgomery and California. The Victory Baptist Church of Los Angeles, Dr. A. A. Peters pastor, made the presentation of a 1961 Electra Buick. (His old car was a '56 Century Buick.)

Even better news than that, the Federal District Court at Montgomery has ruled that Abernathy, Lowery, Shuttlesworth and Seay were fraudulently held responsible for the *New York Times* ad by those officials who were suing them. The three SCLC leaders and the Rev. Seay are now free of suits pending and probably will be able to recover damages for the judgment that has been executed against them. The two suits that were lost in the lower Alabama courts are now being appealed.

Rev. Abernathy has received a call from the West Hunter Baptist Church of Atlanta. This is an attractive offer. As we go to press, he is still pondering this difficult decision. If Abernathy should leave Alabama, it will be a terrible loss. Like Fred Shuttlesworth in Birmingham, he has become such a bulwark of courage and fortitude that it would be most difficult to replace him.

Record of Suffering

It is surprising that so little writing has come out of the travail and imprisonment of what is presumed to be part of the most articulate sector of our society. College youths and other intellectuals, preachers, and teachers are regarded as specialists, who are endowed with talents and abilities for reading and writing — not to mention speaking. And yet few poems, essays, pamphlets and books have appeared from the pens of participants in the civil rights struggle. And this includes the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides. The usual account that the public reads is done by some journalist. This is very well but quite different from what a *participant* himself would write.

In the light of this general condition, we are all thankful to the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker. Not only did he keep a diary while he was in jail in Montgomery, but has also written up and submitted to the Department of Justice a clear and succint account of what he and his fellow passengers underwent during their Freedom Ride from Atlanta to Jackson, Mississippi.

Moreover, Rev. Walker and his wife, Ann, exchanged notes by way of trusties and other messengers while they were in the Jackson jail. This correspondence gives striking sidelights on living conditions there. The *Afro-American* and the *Atlanta Inquirer* have published some of these letters and leaves from the Walker diary.

We ask all 'jailbirds' — of the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides especially — to write us a long letter, telling about the treatment, good and bad, to which they were subjected and above all, their own thoughts and feelings while confined.

We will be happy to publish these singly or as a collection, if the response lives up to expectations. For example, wouldn't it be wonderful to know what Jim Lawson was thinking while he was behind the bars or what are the details that caused Jim Farmer to issue the public statement that his stay in the Mississippi prison tried his very faith in human nature.

SCLC NEWS LETTER
Publisher, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: JAckson 5-1763
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., *President*
F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH, *Secretary*
RALPH D. ABERNATHY, *Treasurer*
WYATT TEE WALKER, *Executive Director*
L. D. REDDICK, *Acting Editor*

UNITY

Left to right: James Farmer, CORE, Martin Luther King and Wyatt Tee Walker, SCLC and Ed King, SNCC (not shown in picture) helped set up a coordinating committee on the Freedom Rides that represents all three organizations.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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ADDRESS.....
(street)

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(city & state)

Amount of Contribution.....

Send to: SCLC
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Briefs . . .

Farewell:

Mrs. Ernestine Brown, who for two years served as a devoted secretary in SCLC's home office, has moved over to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation at Marietta, Georgia, where she has helped make a break-through to positions previously denied Negroes.

Hail:

Mrs. Virginia McCarton Brown, A.B. degree from Clark College, Atlanta, has joined SCLC office staff as clerk-typist.

Mrs. Edwina Hudson Smith, native Atlantan, recently returned from California, has been appointed manager of the SCLC home office. She reveals that she attended both San Francisco State College and the University of California at Berkeley where she studied sociology and anthropology and engaged in modern and primitive dancing during her leisure hours.

Bernard Lee, leader of the nationally famous anti-jim crow demonstrations of Alabama State College students and presently continuing his education at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, has given valuable assistance to the SCLC staff — especially with the Freedom Rides.

Marion Barry, one of Fisk University's great contributions to the Sit-In movement, has the difficult assignment of field work for SCLC in Mississippi. Diane Nash and Charles Sherrod of SNCC were also part of operation Mississippi.

Standbys:

Two other SCLC staff members have been with the organization so long now that they are "old-reliables" rather than "new comers." Miss Dora Edith McDonald became secretary to Dr. King on November 1, 1960. For a half dozen years she had been secretary to J. B. Blayton, Sr., head of the Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association. Miss McDonald holds the B.S. in Business Administration from South Carolina State College, and collects antique china in her spare time.

She succeeded Mrs. Maude L. Ballou, who had served Dr. King through the dark days of the famous Montgomery bus boycott. After four devoted years to MIA and afterwards to SCLC, Mrs. Ballou accompanied her family when it moved to Virginia last fall.

Mrs. Lillie A. Hunter is another alumna of the Montgomery struggle. She was Dr. King's secretary at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where her record-keeping was so efficient that she was invited to become the bookkeeper for SCLC. She accepted the position on March 7, 1960. After working hours, she plays progressive jazz records and writes poetry.

The work of our field representative, the Rev. Harry Blake, has been outstanding in Louisiana. Not only has he assisted many mothers of fatherless children in getting restored to the public welfare rolls but Rev. Blake gave invaluable assistance to the federal civil right commission's investigation of voter discrimination and disfranchisement. Not only did he himself testify but he secured many affidavits and persuaded several persons to run the risk of presenting at an open hearing evidence of malpractice on the part of Louisiana officials who handle registration and voting.

Of our affiliates, the state of Virginia seems to be forging ahead. It is now in process of setting up as a state office under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Milton Reid.

SCLC *Newsletter*

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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC

Newsletter

Volume 1 SEPTEMBER 1961 No. 3

CONVENTION ISSUE

SCLC Convention In Nashville, September 27-29

The Annual Convention of SCLC is scheduled to open in Nashville Tennessee with a scintillating benefit concert billed as a 'Tribute to the Freedom Riders' starring Harry Belafonte and the Belafonte Folk Singers. The show will be augmented by Miriam Makeba and the Chad Mitchell Trio. The intermission of the benefit will provide one of the high moments of the three-day meeting when ten young collegians who decided to continue the Freedom Ride after it was stopped by mob violence at Anniston and Birmingham will be especially honored. Dr. King and Mr. Belafonte are scheduled to make the awards.

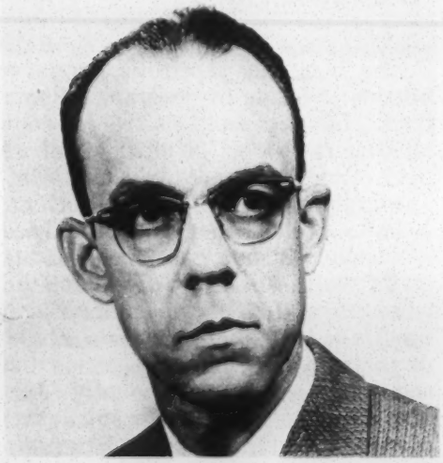
The top names of the civil rights struggle in the Deep South will grace the platforms at the Nashville meeting. The Rev. James Lawson has been named as keynoter; James Farmer, National Director of CORE will address the plenary session as will Spottswood Robinson, Dean of the Howard University Law School and member of the Civil Rights Commission. William Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union will address the Lawyer's Forum and Seminar on Friday. Dr. King will speak at the city-wide Freedom Rally at the War Memorial Auditorium Wednesday evening.

The Nashville Christian Leadership Council serves as host affiliate with its president, Kelly Miller Smith as Coordinator. All sessions (day) will be held at the Clark Memorial Methodist Church with the exception of the Lawyer's Forum and Seminar on Friday that will meet at First Baptist Church. The Belafonte concert will be held in the Ryman Auditorium.

The theme of the three-day meeting is "The Deep South in Social Revolution." In addition to the annual business session on Thursday morning, workshops will be conducted daily in Nonviolence, Voter Registration, Community Organization and the Rural South as they relate to the present sharp change in social patterns across the South. More than two hundred registered delegates are expected to attend from the seventy affiliates of SCLC and other human relations organizations around the nation.

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President of SCLC*

James M. Lawson, *Keynoter, Nashville*



Spottswood Robinson, III, *Dean Howard University Law School, Member Civil Rights Commission*

William Kunstler, *ACLU lawyer and author*

James Farmer, *National Director CORE*

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Citizenship Schools in Action

SCLC is moving forward in its Leadership Training Program. In the July workshop thirteen were trained from three different states: Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina. Four of the persons are now able to operate centers training others to teach. Others in the class are setting up local classes. In August fifteen persons attended from Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. The September class has participants coming in from Prince Edward County, Dinwiddie, and Petersburg, Virginia and from Atlanta, Georgia.

Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, Mrs. Septima Clark and the Reverend Andrew Young will tour key area Louisiana and South Carolina during the month of October explaining the Citizenship Program and recruiting persons to take the five-day intensive training course at Dorchester Center, McIntosh, Georgia. All churches and organizations affiliated with SCLC are participating in this effort to help all of our people become fully participating citizens. Other groups which share our basic aims and philosophy are invited to join hands with us. Our staff and program are at your service.

Recent statistics have shown that in ten or twelve southern states there are over two million illiterates. Your help is needed if we are to effectively erase the cause of much of our suffering. Not only must we have basic reading and writing skills, but we must know something about Social Security, health benefits available, how equal job opportunities and better housing facilities are acquired, how government is run and those who control it. There are not enough governmental jobs to go around, but one way in which we can all participate in government is to register and vote.

For detailed information on the Citizenship School contact Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton, Educational Director at SCLC. Join Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his noble efforts to reach all of our people—wherever they are.

HARRY BELAFONTE AND MARIAM MAKEBA STAR IN BENEFIT CONCERT

Harry Belafonte has become one of the world's best known artists through his individuality as a singer of folk songs and distinctiveness in choice of material and method of presentation.

He has emerged not only as a name of stature among the few "real stars", but as a unique combination of creative artist and commercial success — a man who has discovered the formula for maintaining a great mass appeal without compromising his art.

He has been called the "true musical historian of our times" and "the man who has brought folk singing into its own with other musical forms such as jazz, opera, and the classics".

The Belafonte repertoire knows no bounds of locale or geographic limitations. His songs are the songs of people all over the globe, of all fields of endeavor and every area of expression.

Miriam Makeba, a favorite performer in her native Union of South Africa, is a unique blending of singer, actress and visual historian of a great culture who has stirred music enthusiasts of the United States to extreme heights of praise within the short period that she has been in this country. Miss Makeba, an Xosa tribeswoman, lived most of her life in Prospect Township, Johannesburg, South Africa before coming to this country.

VIGNETTE OF THE MONTH

Shuttlesworth of Birmingham

The nationally televised 'CBS REPORT', *Who Speaks for Birmingham,* described the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, ". . . the man most feared by southern racists and the voice of the new militancy among Birmingham Negroes . . ." Friend and foe alike, with understandable respect, agree that this Alabama-born-and-bred Baptist minister is probably the most courageous man on the civil rights scene in the Deep South.

Fred Shuttlesworth has been pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church for the past eight years. It has been the focal center of the fight for freedom in Birmingham ever since 1956 when the NAACP was enjoined from operating in Alabama. In May of the same year, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights was born with Fred Shuttlesworth as president. ACMHR bridged a gap that was desperately needed in the wake of the NAACP's forced exit from Alabama.

Shuttleworth's civil rights biography reads like something akin to an Horatio Alger story: Christmas 1956, Shuttlesworth home bombed and completely demolished; winter 1957, Bethel Baptist dynamited by racists; late 1957, Shuttlesworth and wife, mobbed, beaten, and stabbed; jailed eight times —four times during the Freedom Rides; sued for three million dollars by state officials of Alabama; automobile and personal property sold at public auction; drivers license revoked for a whole year; the three Shuttlesworth children illegally arrested and beaten at Gadsden (Alabama).

Dixie's most fearless freedom fighter is currently involved in twenty-seven criminal and civil actions. He has received sentences totaling three and a half years in time and $5,000 in fines. Fred Shuttlesworth is without a doubt the most abused and arrested minister in the nation.

Birmingham has been described as the 'worst city this side of Johannesburg, South Africa.' Despite the likes of Eugene (Bull) Connor and deeply entrenched habits of segregation in both the Negro and white community, Fred Shuttlesworth and the ACMHR have had an impact that Birmingham will long remember. The desegregation of the city buses, delayed through seemingly endless litigation and police harassment, is now a reality. Visitors to Birmingham today are shown street lights, paved streets, Negro policemen — all credited to Shuttlesworth and ACMHR. In the north Birmingham section, residents will point out 'Shuttlesworth School', 'Shuttlesworth Park' and 'Shuttlesworth Pool', each hurriedly built to stave off the persistent demands of Shuttlesworth and Company for adequate tax supported facilities.

Standing shoulder to shoulder with the dynamic leader is Mrs. Ruby Shuttlesworth. They have been the 'one-two punch' of Birmingham. Their three children have already demonstrated their mettle in the Greyhound incident at Gadsden. Mr. Shuttlesworth has high praise for the hard-core of faithful workers without whom, he confesses, "we couldn't have a movement". W. E. Shortridge, Treasurer of ACMHR and stabilizing force, Reverend Billups, the President's right-hand man, the George Prices, Mrs. Lola Hendricks, the Reverend Nelson H. Smith, are but a few of the dedicated and courageous people who have helped Fred Shuttlesworth make Birmingham a little better place to live.

Nationally famous in the civil rights struggle, Mr. Shuttlesworth is in demand all over the nation. His personal magnetism attracts great crowds wherever he speaks. He has traveled and lectured in Europe. He is a founder and Secretary of SCLC.

The anti-climax of this vignette is the fact that Fred Shuttlesworth, whose name has become synonymous with Birmingham, is leaving Birmingham. Late last month, Fred formally severed his ties with the faithful congregation of Bethel to accept the pastorate of the Revelation Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. The hard and cold reality of educating three children on the modest salary of a southern pastor influenced Mr. Shuttlesworth's decision to leave. ACMHR unanimously requested him to continue as president. He is determined to see the Birmingham struggle end in victory. Although he has accepted the new church in Cincinnati, Mr. Shuttlesworth commutes weekly to insure positive leadership in Birmingham. He continues to serve as Secretary of SCLC and on the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Everyone is agreed that the loss of Fred Shuttlesworth's full-time energies is difficult for the struggle to sustain. It will be a long time before we find another 'man for Birmingham'.

The most recent issue of the *Movement Newsletter* of Birmingham had this to say: ". . . the South has not finished with Shuttlesworth,—nor has Shuttlesworth finished with the South!"

Mob Wins Again In Alabama

Eleven freedom fighters, ten clergymen and one graduate law student, succumbed to Alabama's brand of 'justice before the law' on September 15. Judge Alex Marks of the Montgomery County Court found all eleven guilty of two charges of 'breach of the peace' and 'unlawful assembly' with single exception of SCLC director, Wyatt Tee Walker, who was acquitted of the first charge.

Evidently operating under the logic of 'jailing the bank president instead of arresting the bank robber', Judge Marks imposed fines and/or jail terms on each. Counsel for the defendants argued brilliantly on every point of law producing the incontrovertible evidence from the Federal Court that General Graham testified under oath that the eleven were arrested because he was 'disgusted'. Despite the introduction of several Federal questions that established violations of the 1st and 14th amendment and the presentation of the Federal Judge Johnson (Middle District of Alabama) ruling that the arrests were made 'solely to enforce segregation', all were convicted. The group included the Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC treasurer and Montgomery Improvement Association President, Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham and SCLC Secretary, and Bernard Lee, Special Assistant to Mr. Walker. In addition to SCLC personnel, four New England professors tasted Alabama justice; William Coffin and Gaylord Noyce of the Yale University Faculty and John David Maguire and David Swift of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. The other three are graduate students; George Bundy Smith of the Yale Law School and Clyde Carter and Joseph Charles Jones of the Divinity School of Johnson C. Smith University at Charlotte, N. C. Dr. Abernathy and Bernard Lee were fined $100 and sentenced to ten days in the county jail; the others were meted the same fine and sentenced to fifteen days in the county jail with the exception of SCLC Director Wyatt Tee Walker who was not fined but sentenced to ninety days in jail. All of the cases were appealed to the Circuit Court.

The defendants were represented by Fred Gray, Charles Conley, and S. S. Seay, Jr. of Montgomery, Louis Pollack of the Yale Law faculty, and Jack Greenberg and Norman Amaker of the Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Members of Kenya Legislative Council, Kadu Party, visit SCLC. Left to right, Daniel T. Moi, Secretary of Education; Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director of SCLC; Wafula Wabuge, Deputy General Secretary; J. K. Oletipis, Secretary of Agriculture; and Fred Van Cort, State Department. They conferred with Dr. King for two hours discussing the problems of Kenya and the Deep South.

CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

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(street)

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(city & state)

Amount of Contribution.....

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Briefs . . .

Good luck and best wishes to Ed King who has resigned as Executive Secretary of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) to continue work toward a law degree at Wilberforce University in Ohio . . . Welcome to SCLC staff: Andrew Young, a minister of the Congregational Church who comes to us with high recommendations from the National Council of Churches; Andy will be working with the Field Foundation Project, namely the Citizenship Schools . . . *Stride Toward Freedom* is now on the newsstands in a paperback edition . . . The dismissal of the Reverend Virgil Wood (Lynchburg, Virginia) from the faculty of Virginia Seminary has caused a stir in civil rights circles all over the South; it is alleged by administration officials that he is 'too involved' . . . Best wishes to Sammy Davises and Harry Belafontes on their new arrivals; both are ardent SCLC supporters . . . Freedom Ride Scholarships are available through home office of SCLC; applications must be in writing including need, academic standing, involvement in struggle and the college or university in which you are (or will be) enrolled.

SCLC *Newsletter*

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NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

TO: Friends of the Union

FROM: Duke Employees Local 77, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

DATE: March 28, 1966

Local 77 has reached a critical phase in its campaign to gain recognition from Duke University. Thus, it seems a good time to post you on current events so that you will understand possible future actions of the Union and the University. We also hope that through contact with you we can draw on your ideas for our campaign.

BACKGROUND: Since affiliation with AFSCME in September, 1965, Local 77's negotiating committee has held that although improved wages and hours are a vital concern, the protection of non-academic employees against the arbitrary use of power by departmental supervisors at Duke is of equal importance. Since Duke lacks a centralized and objectively interpretable personnel policy and since most supervisors and department heads can best be described as "red-necks", Negro employees suffer not only low wages but also job insecurity and cruel disregard of their dignity.

The Union's position is that a bi-lateral binding agreement (contract) is essential to guarantee equality and dignity for Duke employees. With such an agreement objective personnel policies can be established and enforced as can bargaining power for wages and other economic benefits. Three points that the Union would want in such an agreement are: impartial third party arbitration of grievances, seniority rights with respect to lay-off and promotion, and payroll deduction of Union dues. The final point is necessary to give the Local the economic stability necessary to be a continuing force working for the employees.

LEGAL SITUATION: There are no state or federal laws providing for unionization of employees at a private non-profit institution such as Duke University, nor are there any laws prohibiting unionization. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically excludes private non-profit hospitals from the Act's jurisdiction and the NLRB has interpreted the Act to exclude private non-profit universities. This exclusion does not prohibit unionization but simply denies the employees the protection of the law. There are no state laws governing unionization of private universities or their employees.

CAMPUS SUPPORT: A number of students are working actively among the employees to explain the value of union membership and to learn of specific employee problems. A number of faculty members have given the Union their advice and support, particularly in terms of communicating with the Administration --often a difficult chore.

NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS AND LABOR SUPPORT: There are national implications to the effort to organize Duke University. Duke is a prominent symbol of wealth and Southern paternalism. The success or failure of a union campaign at Duke will effect similar campaigns in the South. In addition, the campaign at Duke is in progress at the same time that a massive campaign to organize what Walter Reuther calls the "working poor" is getting started in the South. Floyd McKissick

Martin Luther King, Walter Reuther, and other liberal labor and civil rights leaders, including Jerry Worth, President of AFSCME, are in contact with one another about such a campaign and their staffs are actively working on plans for a southwide organizing drive. As you would expect, these national leaders have become interested in the Duke campaign. Success here will give impetus to their efforts. On March 18, two AFSCME national office staff members plus Norman Hill of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and Rev. B. Elton Cox of CORE came to Durham to meet with Union leaders and Duke faculty members to study the Duke situation and plan the involvement of their national organizations in the campaign. As a result of these visits, a clear commitment to the Local's campaign has been made to the University by SCLC, CORE, SNCC and AFSCME. Each of these groups indicated to the University by mail or by wire that if the Local was not granted a contract, the national organizations would involve themselves in the campaign. Since this involvement would engender unfavorable national publicity for Duke and jepordize the University's fund raising efforts, we feel certain that this kind of pressure will be meaningful to the University.

PROGRAM: Since affiliation in September, Local 77 has requested recognition by the University under the following terms: that the Local represent only those employees of the University who voluntarily join the Union; that the University and Union establish a bi-lateral binding agreement on wages, hours, and working condition; and that the University retain the right to extend unilaterally to non-union employees the same rights won by union employees. This proposal remains open for the University to consider at any time.

At the suggestion of interested faculty members, Local 77 has submitted an additional proposal to the University. This proposal suggests that a Union recognition election be held among the employees to determine whether or not the University's employees wish Union representation. The proposal calls for withdrawal of the Union should it be defeated in such an election.

TACTICS: To reinforce the effect of our new proposal, members of the faculty are holding conversations with administration officials to convince them of the fairness of the Union's requests and to convince them of the reality of the potential involvement of national civil rights and labor leaders in the Duke situation if local level agreement is not reached very soon. Should the administration fail to be convinced and continue to refuse to accomodate the local, the Local will have to call in the commitments it has for assistance from national organizations. Non-strike picketing will begin on the campus. Membership rallies including McKissick, King, and other crowd attractors will be held for employees. News conferences will be held in New York, Washington, Durham, and Atlanta to publicize our case. The Local will not begin any of this sort of activity until it receives a reply from the University. Late last week we received a request for a few additional days time to consider the election proposal. We hope that when that reply is received later this week, we will find that the Union and the University have reached agreement. If not, we hope that we will be able to call on you for your support and assistance in continuing and stepping up the drive to improve the economic and personnel practices of the largest employer in Durham.

TO: Friends of Local 77

FROM: Local 77

DATE: April 4, 1966

Local 77 is seeking four major personnel policy concessions from Duke University. They are: (1) A binding bi-lateral agreement between the Union and University, (2) arbitration of employee grievances, (3) seniority rights with respect to lay-off and promotion, and (4) payroll deduction of union dues.

A contract is our ultimate goal. The University's resistance to integration and its failure to deal fairly with employees and the Union requires that a legally binding agreement be established.

The Union is flexible about the nature of Union recognition and bargaining rights. The University offers as rebutle to our demands that the Local is not representative. But for seven months the Local has proposed to the University that they recognize our Union as representative of only those employees who voluntarily join the Union. We have also proposed that the contract we request be binding only for those who do voluntarily join the Union and leave to the University the right to extend, unilaterally, the contract provisions to non-union employees. This proposal has been consistently rejected without explanation. Thus at the suggestion of several Duke faculty members, the Union has formulated a second proposal including two concessions to the University. This proposal, one that we consider final, calls for an election among employees to determine whether or not they want a Union. If the University will accept this proposal, we are prepared to cease activity at Duke if we lose, -- if the University will in turn agree to a concrete indication of recognition if the Union wins the election. We propose that this recognition be payroll deducation of dues. This traditionally signals the end of union busting on an employer's part.

The second concession that the proposal offers is that the election be held only among service employees and exclude clerical and technical employees. Until now, we have been seeking recognition for all non-academic employees. We have learned that this is not to the University's liking and have decided that our major concern must be for the service employees and thus will concede this point.

The right to arbitration of grievances would be a major point in a contract, should one be obtained. All attempts at justice will come to naught if final judgments on personnel policy and interpretation are left to members of the University administration. Impartial third party decisions must be possible for the fair settlement of disputes between employee and employer and no fair minded employer who intends to respect his employees and acts in a fair and reasonable manner can have reason to fear or resist arbitration.

Yet up to now, Duke has done just that.

The University resists granting seniority rights in regard to lay-off and promotion for obvious reasons. Hiring practices are basically disciminatory and the promotion of Negroes on the basis of length of service is inimical to such a system. The only Negroes who are promoted are those whom the employers feel can be used as instruments of control and token indications of fairness. The ability to lay-off employees arbitrarily also helps maintain a system of humiliation. Without the right to job security, Negro employees have no defense against arbitrary lay-off and demands by these employees for fair employment policies put them in danger of loss of their jobs.

Duke University is one of the richest in the nationa. It can afford every service available to fight a Union. Therefore, Duke employees must have financial solvency to maintain their union. In the United States it is accepted that many organizations are maintained by payroll deduction plans. The University has extended payroll deduction of contributions to the United Fund, but denies this right to Local 77. It claims that the reason for this is that United Fund contributions are "beneficial". Yet for years it has asked its Negro employees to allow these payroll deduction contributions to an organization supporting agencies that do not make their services open to Negroes. This raises the question of to whom and to what deducted contributions must be "beneficial" if the right of payroll deduction is to be granted.

University administrators have repeatedly asked Oliver Harvey, President of the Local, why, if Duke employees want their Union so badly, they don't pay their dues in cash. He has replied that that is exactly what they do do and will continue to do so long as payroll deduction is denied. But payroll deduction is a great convenience, especially to poor people, and it is not more morally reprehensible for the Union to ask for payroll deduction that it is for the United Fund. The reasons are quite the same.

Union address: 604 West Chapel Hill Street, Durham, North Carolina
Phone: 688-2202 and 688-2463.

THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT

VOL. III MARCH, 1966 NO. 3

Spring Conference Suppliment

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FLORIDA F.S.M., Compiled from reports by Lucien Cross and Alan Levin — p. 1
Dramatic Free Speach Movement emerges at University of Florida

CIVIL LIBERTIES — p. 2
Action against Du Bois Clubs threatens democratic rights

NEW ELECTIONS — p. 3
Court of Appeals enjoins Mississippi elections

INSURGENT PRESS, by Jim Moore — p. 4
How students at Tenn. Tech started an independent newsletter
Includes a list of schools which have similar papers

OVER 30..., by Elizabeth Tornquist — p. 5
Ideas about involving the older generation in the movement

FARMERS ORGANIZE, by John Zippert — p. 7
Co-ops formed in Louisiana

AGONY AND ECSTACY, by Jack Boozer - reprinted from the EMORY WHEEL — p. 8
God is Dead Controversy at Emory

RIGHTIST APPOINTED, from a report by the U. of Fla. Chapter of SDS — p. 9
Analysis of the potential impact of a Presidential appointment

MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE, by Sue Thrasher — p. 10
SSOC brings Mississippi students together for statewide perspective

ACTION AT ALCORN, compiled from reports — p. 11
SMAC challenges Alcorn Administration

RUMBLING AND GRUMBLINGS, by Uncle Ed — p. 12
Ninety miles from Cuba's Coast, "Restin' and Agitatin'"

SPRING FOLK FESTIVAL, Cover Story by Anne Romaine — p. 13
SSOC sponsors Southwide folk tour. Includes schedule and performers

PEACE VOTE, by Bob Dewart — p. 14
Argument for running peace candidates in Southern elections

TO THE EDITOR, by Miriam Wasserman — p. 14
Innovations of the Atlanta University Speakout explained

PEACE IN VIETNAM, reviewed by Carrie Buehl — p. 15
AFSC publishes significant essay outlining alternatives in Vietnam

SPRING CONFERENCE SUPPLEMENT

INTRODUCTION, by Howard Romaine ..... p. 17

ON POLITICAL STRATEGY, by Robb Burlage ..... p. 19

RESPONSE, by Jon Steinberg ..... p. 22

ON STRUCTURE, by Dave Kotelchuck ..... p. 24

RESPONSE, by Roy Money ..... p. 26

FLORIDA F.S.M.

Compiled from Reports by Lucien Cross and Alan Levin

In the early weeks of the winter trimester, Lucien Cross moved in front of the main University of Florida (UF) library armed with table, chair, reams of anti-war literature and a mind full of arguments opposed to US involvement in Vietnam. At first he distributed lit free; but, because of the expense, after about a week, he began to sell copies of Viet-Report, an anti-war publication.

Several days later, Alan Levin, presidential candidate of the campus protest party, Freedom Party, began selling the Charlatan magazine which the previous trimester had been refused access to the campus for "explained reasons". Levin stated his sole purpose in this action was "to protest the censorship according to content and the confused and arbitrary procedures followed for the approval of literature." Working with Cross and other interested students, Levin reviewed all the restrictive policies of the administration and encouraged students and non-students to join in establishing a Free Speech Area on the UF campus. Within one week, response to this call came from off- and on-campus civil rights, peace, and other groups.

Administration Cracks Down

The administration, scared to death of another Berkeley, responded by ordering Levin and Cross to petition for permission to sell their literature on campus. Due to the fact that they were not interfering with the processes of the university, Levin and Cross refused and explained their position in an open letter to the Dean. They were brought then before the Faculty-Student Disciplinary Committee in a closed session, the result of which was disciplinary probation for the remainder of their undergraduate careers. The following day all the participants in the Free Speech area were notified by letter of the administration's decision to prohibit the sale of any literature on campus and a temporary ban on the distribution of free lit.

It should be pointed out that in checking into the administration's permit procedures for selling literature, it was discovered that not only were there no formalized procedures, but that the administration appeared unwilling to create any. Therefore, the students set about drawing up their own permit procedures. This move was quite significant in that it marked the first time Florida students had taken the responsibility of legislating and administering an aspect of their university which is primarily their concern. Also by creating formal permit procedures, the university was forced to admit publicly and condone its policy of censoring literature on the basis of content.

Presidential Campaign Continues

During the course of the controversy, Levin continued his issue-oriented campaign for president of the student body. The platform of the Freedom Party called for the abolition of compulsory ROTC, student participation in the anti-poverty program, rigorous elimination of all vestiges of racial discrimination on campus, personnel and disciplinary procedures which are written, formal, and public, and, of course, free speech on campus. Levin was overwhelmingly defeated in the campaign; however, another protest party, Apathy Party, taking a stand between FP's radicalism and the conservatism of the two fraternity block parties received 2,334 votes while the winning party received only 3,362 votes or 37% of the total votes cast.

Student participants in FSM and FP are continuing their work for free speech. In addition they are supporting the boycott of Schenley products in sympathy with the grape strike; they are organizing a march to oppose the war in Vietnam to coincide with the International Days of Protest; and, they will be helping to campaign for John Due, a CORE lawyer, who is running for the Florida state senate.

THE IMPACT

CIVIL LIBERTIES

On March 5, the national office of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco was destroyed in the explosion of a terrorist bomb, DuBois club members were beaten on a Brooklyn street, and the Venice, California chapter was evicted from its office. This followed the action of Attorney General Katzenbach on the previous day, petitioning the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the DuBois Clubs to register as a "Communist front" organization under the 1950 McCarran Act.

Suppression of Dissent

The act is unconstitutional. Because it declares organizations guilty, then requires them to register, it has a built-in verdict. It violates the rights of free speech, assembly and the protection against guilt by association; and the Supreme Court has thrown out each provision that has been enforced. The action of the Attorney General cannot convict the DuBois Club of any crime, but is an attempt to discredit and isolate the DuBois Club and divide the peace movement.

It is also an effort to define who may participate in the political process and who may not, and as such is a direct infringement of civil liberties. The basis of Katzenbach's argument that the DuBois Club is a Communist front is that their position on various issues parallels Moscow's position. This is guilt by association and strikes at the core of a free society. When the government can put certain opinions outside the pale and deny the holders' of these opinions various rights, the decision making process is unnecessarily prejudiced.

Outgrowth of Vietnam War

This action, and the violent responses to it, are indicative of a climate of opinion in our country which is encouraged by the war in Vietnam. Committed as it is to the myth of a national concensus behind our policy, the administration finds it necessary to discredit the growing body of dissenters from the policy. It is a traditional device in American politics to avoid issues raised by the opposition by shifting the debate to personalities or credentials. For the American public, the cry "Communist" is sufficient to dismiss the criticism of the person so labelled, allowing the American public to avoid the social problems it refuses to confront.

The bombing is also a symptom of a growing reliance on violence. The labeling of an organization as Communist seems to justify violence against it in much the same way as the labeling of all native opposition in Vietnam as Communist justifies our killing them. Labeling a group not only avoids the necessity of dealing with the issues it raises, but also dehumanizes its members and justifies any means of dealing with them.

Urge United Response

The DuBois action is not the first, nor will it be the last occasion in which an organization has been popularly discredited without a fair hearing. The charges brought against them represent an attack on all who work for change in that it encourages the simple dismissal of unpopular criticism. Whether or not one is in sympathy with the particular objectives of the DuBois Club, one must protest this arbitrary treatment.

The National DuBois office plans to take the legal offensive through the Federal courts. The precedent they hope to employ is that of the Dobronski case which ruled in principle that action cannot be brought against a person or organization that in effect produces consequences as disruptive as a conviction itself. They hope to fight the case from as broad a base as possible by having other organizations join them as litigants. For further information, write to:

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America
1853½ McAllister Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94115

OF THE LAW

NEW ELECTIONS

The United States Court of Appeals for the fifth circuit handed down on March 11 what could well become a landmark decision. The impact of this decision was to force new elections in Sunflower County, Mississippi.

Background

On April 8, 1965, the Federal District Court had recognized that "for many, many years" the county had denied Negroes their right to vote. The court ordered at that time that discriminatory practices cease and entered a "freeze" order for a one year period to allow deprived Negro citizens the opportunity to "catch up" and participate on equal footing in the election process. In less than three weeks after this ruling 306 Negroes had registered.

State Evades Ruling

Municipal elections had been scheduled for June 8, 1966, with primaries to be held on May 11 and 18. However, Mississippi law requires voters to register four months in advance and pay a poll tax for the two preceding years. This in effect excluded Negro voters and candidates, because the four month period was two months before the court order allowing Negroes to register.

Mrs. Hamer Responds

In response to this situation, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, former Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidate for Congress, and four other residents brought on behalf of all the Negro voters and potential candidates in the county a case against Mr. Cecil C. Campbell, Circuit Clerk and Registrar of Sunflower County. They asked the U. S. District Court (Northern Mississippi) to (1) delay the forthcoming municipal elections and fix new dates for them. (2) fix a new cut-off date for voter registration for the new elections, (3) fix a new cut off date for registration of new candidates, and (4) suspend the requirement that poll taxes shall be paid as a prerequisite for voting. They also requested an injunction against the holding of new elections until the court ruled on their other request. The Norther Mississippi U.S. District Court ruled against the Sunflower County Negroes. They appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth District.

Final Decision

The Court of Appeals ruled that the District Court had erred in not stopping the elections. The Court of Appeals saw that unless the originally scheduled elections were enjoined, "for four years Negroes would be governed by city officials whose election they had no opportunity to participate in, either as voters or candidates." However, Circuit Court Judge Brown made it clear that the Court will not set aside elections simply on the grounds that a substantial number of citizens have been denied the right to vote.

Important Precedent

The important factors in the success of Mrs. Hamer's case are that the appellants attempted to enjoin the overruled elections and that they had demonstrated their willingness to fulfill the legal requirements for voting privileges and candidature. The final legal meaning of this ruling is not yet clear but its meaning so far as the Movement is concerned would seem to be that we can expect very real assistance from the courts so long as we document our attempted compliance with election requirements. If discrimination prevents candidates from running for election, the path of just recourse of this grievance has been clarified in this case. Since the M.F.D.P. challenged the seating of the regular Democratic Congressmen from Mississippi last summer, Negroes have been trying without success to force new elections. This decision makes it possible for new elections to be held in Deep South counties, but it will require hard work and numerous litigations.

INSURGENT PRESS

by Jim Moore

The Catalyst was created to serve the Tennessee Tech campus by a group of students who were interested in combating the complacency and apathy of the masses. After considerable thought, the students decided to print "A Review of Opinion" rather than a partisan newspaper. This decision was made because in this particular situation, there is a great need to present the controversial issues from both points of view. At Tenn Tech there are no organized student movements on either the left or right. (This situation is not unique in the South). Therefore, the editorial policy was established to allow all points of view to be published by any interested person. The editors do not oppose partisan newsletters and consider themselves a part of the New South student movement; but alignment with SSOC, SNCC, or NSA would only have succeeded in breaking communication with the vast majority of a largely conservative campus.

Communication Opened

The Catalyst has succeeded in opening communication between conflicting points of view. It has invited the participation of both those opposing the War in Vietnam and those supporting it. Other subjects concerning Moral Rearmament, teacher evaluation, the Great Society, etc., have been discussed because of these added facilities to the academic community. Subject matter may include issues facing our campus or the community of nations, and no effort is made to discourage the presentation of any point of view. I emphasize this point because we have a great fear that the student freedom movement on our campus may become a different type of legalistic conformity --or blind action as merely a professional liberal with inconsistent views toward the purposes of reform.

The first issue of the Catalyst was published and distributed at the expense of the editors. It was favorably accepted by the students, faculty, and administration as a legitimate publication of student interest. Many disagreed with and criticized the positions taken by the writers, but there was an amazing plurality of the campus willing to allow anyone to present his viewpoints. Because of the progressive image of the periodical, it was invited to become a project of a campus club (Speech Activities) and will continue as their project in presenting controversial issues for the enlightenment of this academic community.

In some situations, students can successfully pursue an editorial policy which restricts points of view which disagree with the freedom student movements; however, many are forced to compromise their own positions in order to communicate with an apathetic society. The term compromise should not scare you in this context. It merely means that the truly tolerant person will not only tolerate the presentation of a conflicting opinion but will encourage its presentation for all to consider. This has been a rewarding approach on the Tech campus, and we feel that similar situations exist on many southern campuses which necessitate a non-partisan publication that will become involved with the basic questions facing their campus, their community, their nation, and their world.

OTHER NEWSLETTERS

Insurgent newsletter are presently being published at U. of Arkansas, Duke, Emory, Fort Valley State, Guilford, U. of Kentucky, Louisiana State, Memphis State, Millsaps, U. of North Carolina, North Texas State, Tennessee Tech, U. of Texas, Texas Tech, Tuskegee, Vanderbilt, U. of Virginia, and Western Kentucky State. A complete listing of publications and their addresses is available from the SSOC office. We would appreciate receiving information regarding newsletters of which we may not be aware.

OVER 30...

by Elizabeth Tornquist

"Don't trust anybody over thirty" is now so common that even Harper's is quoting it. But it is also common knowledge that the older liberals and radicals in the middle class have a good deal to offer the growing movement on the left. They are not so much taking the long chance and risking their place in the world; but they are wise in the ways of the society, they have talents, skills, contacts and money, and they approach politics with a coherence developed over years of trying to fit hard facts into ideal visions. All this is reason enough for trying to involve more of them in the "movement". But there is another, perhaps more important reason: if the movement is not to stagnate, it must extend outward and begin to draw these people into its ranks; and only active use of their talents will draw them in. Conscience money will not do it.

Surely, No Easy Answers

I do not have the answer to the question "How?"; I only have a few specific suggestions based on experience. I see two main problems: finding the potential radicals in the middle class and finding the right things to ask of them.

It seems wise to start with the campuses; though there are just as many potential radicals in other professions, the academic profession is most accessible to students, and it is the students who are going to extend the movement.

The first step in finding potential allies is to become fully aware of what is happening around campus. Individual acts--such as letters to the editor--should be sought out by following the press and the campus gossip. A file for future reference should be kept of the names and actions of those who have some how committed themselves.

There are several ways to bring such people together initially. A non-partisan, non-activist political discussion group is one good way to do this. The Durham discussion group asks professors, graduate students and members of the community to speak on such topics as Textile Organizing, Politics and the Novel, Cuba, China, Keynesian Economics, etc. The group is unstructured and has no commitment to any projects; but people who come for the talk meet others who are involved in action, and they often get involved as a result.

Another good way to bring people into "the movement" is to keep them informed through a monthly newsletter about the progress of all liberal and radical political activities in the area. If the newsletter is distributed to the whole campus, many people--who would otherwise remain ignorant--just may discover that there are projects they would like to help with, and they will come forward without solicitation. (A striking example of the effect of a newsletter is the recent report to the Duke faculty by the union of non-academic employees. Many people who before were quite unaware of what was going on immediately offered their support to the union.)

Do's and Don't's

Once you have contacts, the question is how to approach them and what to ask them to do. I can think of several do's and don't's which are well-known to radical students, but are not always practiced by them. 1) Never ask anybody beyond undergraduate school to attend a meeting unless you know exactly what you mean to do at that meeting; it is important not to waste the time of busy, uncommitted faculty in fruitless discussions and long hashings over strategy. 2) Don't ask faculty members to form an organization. They already belong to too many committees and groups, and the less organization there is, the better they like it. 3) Don't ask a man

(Continued on next page.)

to do busywork until he is thoroughly committed. And even then, try to make the best use of his talents, for his sake and yours. 4) Try to give faculty members the impression that you are responsibly square like them. They are very quick to suspect that student radicalism is merely a form of adolescent rebellion, and it's wise to calm those fears. 5) When you ask a man to do something, try to let him do it his way, if that is not going to defeat your cause. The more responsibility you can offer him and the more you accept his ideas about strategy and tactics, the more likely he is to get seriously involved. Older people feel a real psychological difficulty in accepting the leadership of students; try to keep your control over project developments subtle and flexible. 6) Ask older people to get involved in something that is already going; don't ask them to initiate a project for you. Few of them have the time or desire to get involved in the mess of starting; they are cautious; they want to see that it's real before they commit themselves. At the beginning, it's often helpful and always good politics to ask them for ideas and strategy; don't ask for action until the action is prepared for. 7) Never suggest that older people get involved where there is no chance of victory. They get very tired of hearing young radicals say, "You could take over the League of Women Voters." They've been in these organizations all their lives; if you can't find more hopeful projects, you will not get them on your side. 8) Never force people away because they aren't radical enough. If you say "We don't want anybody who's unwilling to go to jail" (as a civil rights leader in Chapel Hill once did), you merely alienate people who might become more radical through involvement.

Political Psychology

It is my impression that success in organizing Negroes and the poor has come in part from following these do's and don't's. All I am saying is that in spite of their money and status, the middle class academic world has a similar political psychology, and to organize them you must use the same patience, skill and subtlety as with other unorganized and politically powerless groups.

The specific projects you ask people to work on must, of course depend on the situation in their area. Duke faculty members and graduate students have in the last year become involved in a number of projects which were suggested or encouraged by radical undergraduates. They have raised money for civil rights workers, held a teach-in on Vietnam, formed an ad hoc faculty committee to rally support for the union of non-academic employees and investigate administration positions on the union; attended union meetings and advised the social and the organizing committees; aided in the formation of a union newspaper and offered a reporters' clinic to teach writing; raised money for the non-official campus newspaper The Real World and contributed articles; supported (and picketed with) the striking school employees; and circulated petitions opposing the speaker policy at state schools; in addition, they have done political work which has no connection with students, like raising money for the congressional campaign of a local liberal.

There are many other projects possible here: it is easy to take over the precinct organizations of the Democratic Party by organizing support before the precinct meetings; a civil rights movement could be started in nearby Chatham County, where the citizens are ready and willing to work; a weekly liberal newspaper on the model of I.F. Stone could get financial backing and contributions of articles. One can think of dozens of things. And there are many people who are willing to work on all such projects as organizers, researchers, speakers, fund-raisers, and writers.

Need For Full Time Staff

Because they have other roles to fill, faculty do not have time to organize the projects they are involved in. SSOC can help here by recruiting people to work full-time in communities which desire a worker and can support him.

* * * * *

FARMERS ORGANIZE

by John Zippert

The New South must have a just economic structure as well as just political structures. The structures cannot be separated--it is the political strength that whites have wielded which has made possible the preservation of the system of economic suppression. The other side of the coin is that economic inequality has worked to preserve the system; the economic power of the rich and the white have enabled them to control the political apparatus. In order to bring about basic changes in the system, one must not only organize on a political basis by gaining and using the vote, but also attack the system at its economic base.

Whites Control Economy

All over our land, the economy is controlled by whites. White men own the stores, do the hiring and firing, set the prices, and control the sources of capital necessary for an individual to set up a business. It is a closed economic system into which Negroes are brought on the terms set by whites. In order to change this, people have set up various insurgent economic organizations. In the Mississippi Delta, sharecroppers have organized the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. A Poor Peoples Corporation and a brick making factory have been set up. In St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, Negro farmers are joining together to form several co-operatives.

Co-ops Formed

The Opelousas Progressive Co-op, the largest of the co-ops they are forming, has 200 members who have pledged to set up and support a food store, financed by $10 pledges by each member. In this way, they can raise capital independently of the power structure, and can possibly get money from the poverty program. The planning is being done by the people who belong to the co-op. Each member has one vote; each man participates in the decisions about what will happen in the co-op and what his money will work for. The profits will go back to the shareholders on the basis of how much they use the store, in order to encourage doing business with the co-op, as well as to realize the profits themselves, rather than giving them to the white man, as in the past. The co-op will make jobs for Negroes as managers, cashiers, and clerks, and buy produce from Negroes.

Dealing more basically with the economic basis of the society are two other organizations for St. Landry Parish small farmers, perhaps to be merged soon, a sweet potato marketing co-op and a farm supply co-op. The farm supply co-op will buy seed, fertilizer, and poison in large quantities and then pass the savings on in the form of lower prices to the individual member. Again, the capital will be raised by the members and borrowed from the government. These same small farmers are organizing a sweet potato marketing co-op, in which they have agreed to sell their sweet potatoes to the co-op. In this way, they will have a large enough quantity to store, ship, and sell the potatoes themselves, rather than being forced to accept the terms of the local buyer. As well as giving people more money for their potatoes, the co-op will also create new jobs.

The Future of the South

It may be that the future lies in the cities--that rural organizing will be outdated by urbanization and the increased efficiency of mechanized large scale agriculture. Nevertheless, some people have made a commitment to the rural South, to stay with it and change it, rather than flee to the dubious haven of the Northern ghetto. These people, forming co-ops in which for the first time they may join together on a basis of trust and competence, forging out an economic organization independent of white dominance, controlling their own resources, and making their own jobs, are creating an island of possibility for the emergence of a New South.

AGONY AND ECSTASY

GOD IS DEAD CONTROVERSY AT EMORY

by Dr. Jack Boozer--Reprinted from the Emory Wheel

Because of the support which people of the South give to religion, one might speak of the contemporary revolution in religious understanding as having unique sharpness for the South. Various pieces of correspondence which have come to many persons at Emory in recent weeks are indicative of this, although the letters have come from other sections of the United States as well.

The fact that one must scrutinize the letters, all of which are motivated by religious conviction, suggests that religion plays an ambiguous role in the lives of people. I believe that this is especially true in the South, but that the agony of reappraisal now taking place offers the possibility of an "ecstasy" of resolution in the New South.

Faith and Life

The crucial question upon which the outcome depends is that of the relationship between faith in God and other human activity. The particular way in which the issue has come into focus recently is apparent in the reaction of the religious community to the presence of a faculty member at Emory who held what was regarded by some to be a subversive opinion.

Various bits of advice were given President Atwood as to how to handle the situation. "Fire him." "Discipline him." "Do not increase his salary and perhaps he will leave." Fortunately for everyone who is really interested in Emory's being a university, Dr. Atwood handled these suggestions with singular clarity and firmness.

The End of Christendom

But what about the religious community? What about those persons whose religious faith leads them to be intolerant, who think that religious faith is safe only if alternatives are suppressed?

The predominantly Protestant Christian faith of the southern people has been too neatly identified with a white, isolationist (states-rights), agrarian, paternalistic, privileged culture, and the powers of sharp, intellectual criticism have been discouraged if not suppressed. The question which the man of faith is now being forced to answer is whether his faith encourages and sustains criticism.

Any faith which discourages the exercise of man's critical facilities will have little to offer contemporary man. This means that any religious community which seeks to control the culture, including educational institutions, is of little value.

South Given Opportunity

To be quite specific, the leaders of The Methodist Church in the South have been slow to respond to the recent "God talk" at Emory. They have the opportunity to claim Emory with pride and to show that The Methodist Church supports an educational institution on educational terms, without exercising control. The South has the same kind of opportunity to use her concern for God to assist people to develop and exercise their faculties of criticism, creativity, and appreciation.

It is not yet clear what the Methodists and the South will do with this rare opportunity. That there is agony in the camp is unquestioned. Whether the agony will be productive of a religious vision and power for the New South, indeed, of ecstasy, depends upon what the persons in the religious communities do in the next few critical months.

Some say the opportunity has been missed, once and for all. I think that there is yet time left, but the issue is urgent.

RIGHTIST APPOINTED

From a Report by University of Florida Chapter, SDS

On March 12, 1966 President Johnson, to the surprise of everyone in Florida, announced the nomination of Farris Bryant as Director of the Office of Emergency Planning.

Who Is Farris Bryant?

(1) Bryant is an open and committed segregationist. As state senator, he attempted to apply interposition in the school desegregation decision. As governor, he testified against the public accomodations act before congressional committees.

(2) His term as governor was nearly disastrous for Florida higher education. He made the Board of Regents directly responsible to him, and instituted unconstitutional regental orders, fingerprinting, compulsory civil defense training, legislative committee investigations, administrative denial of appropriated funds for salary increases, and conspiracies to terminate activist teachers, to send qualified Negro students out of state, to politically screen new students and teachers, etc.

(3) Bryant's additional rightwing activities also include: required fingerprinting and a qualifying civil defense test for all public employees, and institution of the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, a state model of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Finally, as chairman of the Governors' Conference Committee on Cold War Education, he published PATHS TO UNDERSTANDING, which outlines complete plans for state centers of civil defense training, cold war propaganda, and anti-subversive activities, with investigative powers, and in time of war, police power.

(4) Finally, in Florida, Bryant is politically bankrupt. He has no organization, the press, both liberal and conservative is against him, his record is dismal and he is generally distrusted.

Why Was He Nominated?

Thus it seems evident that Bryant's nomination has more to do with his rightist and cold war avocation than with his administrative skills or political influence. The former were never taken seriously until the advent of the war in Vietnam and the consequent anti-war movement, with dissent rising both in Congress and throughout the population. Thus, particularly in the light of future elections, it is entirely conceivable that he may want to take the burden of merchandising the cold war off the backs of the policy-makers and relocate it closer to the people.

The nomination of Bryant appears to be an adoption of the strategy both explicit and implicit in Paths to Understanding. The strategy of domestic counter-insurgency at a political level, decentralized in personnel and administration and financed and initially trained through federal resources, is precisely the background and expertise that Bryant brings to the OEP.

Recommendations for Action

(1) Urgent appeals should be sent to all friendly Senators calling for a full scale investigation of the Bryant nomination. His segregationist background combined with his extremist activities may make him intolerable to a majority of the Senate.

(2) Bryant's nomination associates segregation, war panic, cold war education, control of the opinion making processes, and many civil rights organizations, civil liberties groups, peace groups, and liberal coalitions may be united in action.

Full copies of the 7 page report published by the University of Florida SDS are available from SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee.

MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE

by Sue Thrasher

On the weekend of February 25-27, seventy-one persons attended a statewide student conference held at the Mount Beulah Conference Center in Edwards, Mississippi. The schools represented were: Rust College, Alcorn A & M, Mississippi State, Mississippi Industrial, Jackson State, Tougaloo, Mississippi Valley State, Mississippi State College for Women, and Millsaps College. Colleges represented from out of state were: Miles College in Birmingham, Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, and Fisk and A & I State Universities in Nashville, Tennessee.

Discussion of Issues

The program began on Friday evening with a discussion of "The Relevance of the Church". Clifton Whitley, chaplain at Rust College gave the principle address. He was followed by Mrs. Jane Schutt of the United Church Women, and Rev. Fred Lowry of the NCC Delta Ministry. Rev. Lowry introduced the group to Mrs. Wilson, who told of the plight of the Delta Negroes who are being pushed off the plantations by mechanization. These speakers were followed by a rather lengthy discussion of the social gospel.

On Saturday morning Kenneth Dean, Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, and John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, led a discussion which revolved around the strategy of the civil rights movement. Isaac Foster of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union also gave some background on the formation of the Labor Union and the strategies now being used in the Mississippi Delta by the Poor Peoples' Conference.

Political Confrontation

The Saturday afternoon session centered around the politics and economy of the state. Claude Ramsey, state director of the AFL-CIO, and also associated with the Mississippi Democratic Conference opened the session. After a rather sharp questioning period, Mrs. Annie Devine, former congresswoman of the Freecom Democratic Party responded to Mr. Ramsey's remarks. This discussion was probably the most tension filled of the entire meeting; it was also a very honest view of the political struggle now going on in the state.

Saturday evening was spent in small group discussions, most of which centered around strategy for social change. Following these discussions, the films Danger on the Right, No Hiding Place, and The Streets of Greenwood were shown.

Sunday morning was devoted to a discussion of the University. Howard Spencer, Tougaloo College; Betty Hill, Mississippi Valley State; Lee Makamson, Millsaps; Bill Scott, Rust College; and Tommy Richardson from Alcorn A & M, participated in a panel discussion about university restrictions on their own campuses. There was some general discussion about what could be done, but lunch cut the discussion short.

Homeless Sharecroppers

Perhaps the most educational value of the conference came as an aside -- in the form of thirteen Negro families who are now living at Mount Beulah. The families have spent most of their lives living and working on Delta plantations. Many of them were told to leave because they were being replaced by machines; others left because an opportunity to build a better life was opened to them through the Poor Peoples' Conference. (See Feb. newsletter.) In meeting and talking with the plantation folk, students learned first hand of the blatant injustices of the "southern way of life." The twelve-year-old boy who had never been to school, the old gray-haired man who sat quietly on the steps listening, and the anger of a young mother leveled at a Mississippi moderate -- all spoke very eloquently about "Mississippi 1966".

ACTION AT ALCORN

Compiled from Reports

Alcorn A & M College in Lorman, Mississippi is again the scene of strife that points up the interrelation between the freedom movement, greater job opportunities, and university reform. The present demonstrations are the first since those held at Alcorn in April, 1964. The previous demonstrations were in protest of a situation where students were not informed of book prices for their courses, but were simply presented with non-itemized bills at the end of the term; where male students were not allowed to meet their dates at the girl's dorm but were forced to do so on the street corner or at the Student Union Building; where there was no duly-elected student representative on the disciplinary committee; and where dorm hours for women were arbitrarily set at 9:30, weekends included.

All students who participated in the protests of '64 are denied nomination for class honors and have been excluded from possible honors awards upon graduation. (A thousand students were suspended in '64. They were forced into buses at bayonet point after an all-night "sit out".)

Student Movement Organized

An organization has just ben formed, however, that is speaking again to these problems. The STUDENT MOVEMENT OF ALCORN COLLEGE (SMAC) was sparked by the work of Charles Evers, NAACP Field Secretary, in presenting grievances of the college employees to the administration. Mr. Evers led a demonstration that sought to present a list of 32 complaints to college president, Mr. G. D. Boyd. When Mr. Evers tried to come on campus, he along with 175 others, including 7 Alcorn students, were arrested. Along with requests for better pay and working conditions for the employees, Mr. Evers' petition contained the request of better treatment and more mature privilegos for students.

The first real success the students have achieved is that men can now escort their dates back to the dorm. While the students recognize this to be a gain over their position before, they know that it is no more than a beginning. Other problem areas are coming to light that had not been fully recognized before. The library now closes at 8:30 every weekday night and at noon on Saturdays. It is not open at all on Sunday.

Students Fear Administration

One of SMAC's biggest problems is that students out of the fear of administration reprisal, are reluctant to speak out. There is no established due-process for student disciplinary cases and dissenters are arbitrarily removed. Students are being threatened with loss of their campus jobs or their National Defense Loans if they "cause any trouble".

The Student Council does not exercise a forceful voice on campus to criticize actions of the deans; e.g. the Student Council president was given a list of grievances by a SMAC worker, but he was not allowed by a dean to present them to the student body. Fraternities and sororities are forbidden any private social functions.

Strength In Unity

SMAC is now handing out leaflets on the Alcorn campus in the hope that the student body will come to recognize that they must stand together if they would make their college into a real experience in higher education, without the leftovers of a big kid's kindergarten. SMAC sees correctly that insofar as the administration gets away with abusing employees, students are vulnerable to the same arbitrary power. The students must recognize with the worker that their futures are tied together. If they are going to build a society that does not tolerate the abuse that is now so widespread, they will have to work together.

RUMBLINGS AND GRUMBLINGS

Ninty Miles From Cuba's Coast, by Uncle Ed

I have just spent some time in Miami, mostly restin'--but doing some mild agitating. On Saturday, February 12, I got to participate in a rather unique demonstration as part of the southwide protest against the war in Vietnam. The average age of the demonstrators must have been sixty (60) or so. Better than half of the approximately 200 marchers were members of an 1100 member senior citizens group of the Jewish Cultural Center in Miami Beach. The man carrying a sign in front of me was eighty-three.

The president of the group, later explained to us that the future is in our hands, and that we must carry the burden of change. We generally agreed with him, though we recalled that there was not a single University of Miami student in the demonstration, and that Miami-Dade Junior College had only provided two. (Both schools have enrollments in excess of 10,000.) For many of the oldsters this is their fifth U.S. war.

Vista Volunteers and Vietnam

The average age was decreased slightly by five Vista Volunteers. They are presently working with Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican migrant workers in the vicinity of Homestead Air Force Base in S. Florida. Have you heard of the Harlem Vistas who are organizing a community organizers' march on Washington to protest the war? It seems they feel that the war in Vietnam makes it difficult to organize a war on poverty. Well the government thought this was a pretty crazy way for them to look at things and tried to persuade them to desist. But the Vistas were adamant; they told ole uncle that if they were fired they'd just stay in Harlem and keep right on organizing. The government did however get them to agree not to identify themselves as Vistas. The director of Vista then sent a letter to all the volunteers in the country telling them that it is O.K. for them to participate in anti-war demonstrations as long as they keep their identity a secret from the viewing public. That was pretty democratic.

"Bomb Hannoi!" (sic)

The only incident that occurred during the march was a rather lengthy one. One of our government's "guests" from Castro's Island (of which there are nearly 100,000 in the Miami area) started yelling "Communists" at us. The only break came when he left his vigil across the street and returned shortly with a sign, which read "Bomb Hannoi" (sic)--"Dead than Red" (sic). (I couldn't help but sympathize with him in one of his problems since I have had trouble with double English consonants since I took Spannish.) One of our group, a fellow who had taken part in the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, tried to communicate with him--but to no avail. He just kept following and shouting "Communist".

Cubans versus Negroes and Poor Whites

I have very mixed emotions about our relaxed immigration policy vis-a-vis Cuba. (We have very low quotas for Latin America generally.) The government pays Cubans $100.00 per week if they are unemployed. A Negro gets only sixty from the state. Another problem is that, in violation of the law, many who draw the federal hand-out also work--mostly in non-skilled and semi-skilled jobs--thus depriving poor whites and Negroes of the only jobs which their inferior education equips them for. Many Cubans get federal scholarships to the University of Miami, a very expensive school--scholarships which are not available to many Negroes and whites, who happen to have been born right here. Do I sound like an isolationist? It's just that I'm irritated that quality education isn't being made available to all our native born. The fact that education is our third largest budget item only slightly moderates my irritation. I keep thinking about one room schools in Kentucky and flights to the moon and wars and stuff.

SPRING FOLK FESTIVAL

COVER STORY by Anne Romaine

The cover of the March issue of The New South Student is the same drawing used on the posters publicizing the Folk Festival which will be touring the South this spring. The itinerary and performers are as follows:

Richmond, Va.--March 31
Charlottesville, Va.--April 1
Lawrenceville, Va--April 2
Durham, N.C.--April 4
Columbia, S.C.--April 5
Laurinburg, N.C.--April 6
Tallahassee, Fla.--April 7
Atlanta, Ga.--April 8, 9
Birmingham, Ala.--April 12
Tribbett, Miss.--April 13
Tougaloo, Miss.--April 14
Tuskegee, Ala.--April 15
New Orleans, La.--April 16
Austin, Tex.--April 18, 19
Fayetteville, Ark.--April 21
Nashville, Tenn.--April 22
Lexington, Ky.--April 23

Rev. Pearly Brown--Americus, Ga. He is a blind street singer. His repertoire includes slave songs, spirituals and gospel, some of which he learned from the Carter family. He plays a twelve string guitar, bottleneck style.

Lyn Chandler-- Contemporary songwriter from New York City. He spent the better part of 1964 in the South working with civil rights organizations.

Mable Hillary--Brunswick, Georgia. She is a member of the Georgia Sea Island Singers, a group responsible for preserving Negro traditional folk culture. Her specialty is Blues.

Bernice Reagon--Albany, Ga. She helped to organize the original Freedom Singers. Because of her involvement in the civil rights movement she became interested in her own cultural background from which she draws most of her repertoire.

Gil Turner--New York City. A topical song writer and guitarist and banjo picker, he is noted for his ability in leading group singing. He has devoted much of his time to furthering the use of music in the civil rights movement.

Eleanor Walden--Atlanta, Ga. She helped to organize and is president of the Atlanta Folk Music Society. Her repertoire centers around southern Appalachian ballads.

Hedy West--North Georgia. Accompanying herself on the banjo, she sings the songs of southern Appalachia and those standardized by her family.

Additional performers who will be singing in only one or several festivals are:

Maybelle Carter--She sang with the original Carter Family from Virginia who were responsible for starting the movement toward making America conscious of its own folk tradition. Maybelle developed her own unique style of picking the autoharp.

Johnny Cash--Memphis, Tenn. He is one of the country's foremost singers of country western and contemporary music, the latter centering around the American Indian.

Barbara Dane--New York City. A Blues singer, she has devoted a lot of her time to the advancement of Unions, civil rights and peace in this country. She accompanies herself on the guitar.

Bill Monroe--Kentucky. He is the father of blue grass music. With his "Bluegrass Boys", he now sings on the Grand Ole Opry, as does Maybelle Carter.

Pete Seeger--Beacon, New York. He is America's foremost singer of folk songs.

Carolyn Hester--Raised in Austin, Texas. She has a very versatile repertoire including traditional songs of her region as well as southern mountain ballads. She also plays the guitar.

PEACE CARAVANS

College students will spend six weeks this summer raising peace issues on a door-to-door basis. For further information contact:
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina 27260

PEACE VOTE

by Bob Dewart

We of the Students for Social Action at the University of Virginia have been attempting to find a candidate to run on an independent peace platform in the November Congressional elections from Virginia's Seventh District.

The district and the state as a whole are terribly ill-informed about the Vietnam war. The press and radio present little but Pentagon propaganda. We feel that in an atmosphere such as this, the press coverage that a bona fide Congressional candidate would naturally get could be used to great advantage to expose the other side of the Vietnam issue to the public. We would mainly be concerned with running an educational campaign, since a peace candidate could hardly expect seriously to be elected.

What is Success?

This brings up the question of just what percentage of the vote we would have to get in order to consider ourselves successful. It has been said that if we fail to get a respectable number of votes, we would be doing our cause more harm than good. In this part of Virginia there is so little sentiment in favor of ending the war, that almost any action espousing peace is better than none. If we can get 5% of the electorate to vote for peace, that will represent a net gain of at least 500% to the peace movement in Virginia. Any gains that we make now will pay dividends in geometric proportions in future elections.

Finally, if we accomplish nothing else we shall force the major party candidates to take a stand on the issue of war or peace. Without a third man in the field, I feel confident that we can expect neither the Democratic incumbent nor the as yet un-named Republican challenger to take a very strong stand on the war. We can probably expect a fence-straddling performance similar to the one staged recently in New York to fill Mayor Lindsay's old seat. With a man standing firmly on principle in favor of peace, we can at least show up the opposition for what it is worth.

TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

In reference to the item about the Atlanta University Speakout on page 18 of your February issue, you added a hyperbolical zero. Not 10,000, but probably about 1000 people attended the Speakout. The list of speakers as you reported it also gives a misleading impression; there were six speakers, three supporting the war and three opposing it. I know that lots of people think that any program about Vietnam at all is anti-U.S. policy, but we did have as balanced a list of speakers as possible, considering the reluctance of most pro-war people to share a platform with anti-war people.

Poll Results Given

The reason for the prevailing reluctance may be somewhat demonstrated by the results of the poll which we took, asking the members of the audience to indicate their opinion of U.S. policy in Vietnam when they came to the speakout and as they left, and also to indicate which speaker tended to sway them or gave them any significant new information or insights. Of the 114 people who turned in responses, 35 said they changed their minds, 24 in the direction of opposing U.S. policy (from favoring or undecided to opposing, or from moderately to strongly opposing) and 11 in the direction of favoring U.S. policy. Ninety-eight references to individual speakers were made in the appropriate blank, there being 67 mentions of anti-war speakers and 31 mentions of pro-war speakers. While these results seem to illustrate that a balanced argument tends to turn people against the war, or more against the war, it may only mean that the people who attend such events are people who are likely to be so swayed.

We'd be interested in surveys taken by any other sponsors of similar events.

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman
Atlanta, Georgia

PEACE IN VIETNAM

Reviewed by Carrie Buehl

This month, the American Friends Service Committee released the results of a study of the Vietnam situation made by a Friends' eight-man working party. The book is entitled Peace In Vietnam: A New Approach In Southeast Asia, published by Hill and Wang, New York, N.Y. It analyzes current forces operating in Vietnam, the position of the different sides involved, and possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the war.

The preface gives the major orientation of the book: "The destructiveness of modern war can produce nothing but hatred, even among those on whose behalf the fighting is ostensibly undertaken, and hatred is no foundation upon which freedom and democracy can be built."

U.S. Position Criticized

The official United States' government position can be summarized in the view that Southeast Asia is being threatened by a takeover by Communist China, which is presently working through the Hanoi government. The U.S. must honor its commitments to aid anti-Communists in South Vietnam in their struggle against aggression and their fight for democracy.

Peace In Vietnam gives many reasons why the above stated U.S. position is erroneous and dangerous. Serious doubts regarding the likelihood of the National Liberation Front (NLF) forces being Chinese Communist inspired are raised. When analyzing the situation, two often-ignored facts should be considered: 1) that a social revolution, of which Ho Chi Minh is the national hero, is taking place in all of Vietnam, and 2) that there is a nation-wide hatred of the American supported Diem regime due to Diem's changes in the traditional village governmental structure and his negating of Ho's land reforms. These factors help explain the orientation, strength, and determination of the NLF.

Nationalism and the Domino Theory

The book states what it considers as the "three realities that dominate the Southeast Asian scene: the rise of nationalism, drive for social revolution, and the advent of a militant and reawakened China". It considers nationalism to be the most powerful political force in all the Southeast Asian countries. In Vietnam, and only in Vietnam, nationalism has been forced to fuse with Communism. In Burma, Indonesia, the Phillipines, and Malaya, the Communist national movements have failed. The conclusion is that the presence of a powerful intervening country, the U.S., has prevented nationalism from taking its normal course.

The "domino" theory of the U.S. is considered and discarded. Cambodia has a very stable non-Communist government. Thailand has a strong nationalist movement and with proper treatment from the U.S. there is no reason why it should become Communist. Pro-Communists in Laos, on the other hand, already control about half the country, and the whole country may go Communist independently of what happens in Vietnam. It should be noted that the U.S. government has tampered, in past years with the Laotian government.

Peace In Vietnam briefly outlines Chinese foreign policy. Its position is that China is much less concerned with world domination than with opposing what China considers to be its main enemy, the U.S. Reasons for and suggestions to deal with the situations are given.

U.S. "Commitments"

The necessity of the U.S. honoring its "commitments" is also questioned. The only commitment that the U.S. ever made was by Eisenhower in 1954 to the Diem regime specifically, promising economic,

(Continued on next page)

not military, support. The argument that the SEATO treaty pledges the U.S. support in Vietnam is erroneous. It should also be considered if doggedly sticking to a mistaken course of action is more honorable than a re-evaluation and possible change in goals.

Negotiations

A documented history of negotiation overtures is examined. The fact that the U.S. turned down seven offers from Hanoi is criticized. Peace In Vietnam also presents the North Vietnam, the NLF and the U.S. negotiating positions. In many respects the three positions are quite similar. Reasons for Hanoi and NLF suspicions of the U. S. peace overtures are given.

The authors of the book feel that two steps by the U.S. are absolutely necessary for a settlement. These are that the U.S. must immediately start de-escalating the war and, secondly, that the U.S. must allow all people of Vietnam, including members of the NLF, to decide their country's course. Further steps might include a general cease fire under the supervision of the International Control Commission and a reapplication of the Geneva Agreements. During this time, a temporary provisional government in which all political segments are represented could be established that would direct the phased withdrawal of both U.S. and North Vietnam troops from South Vietnam and would conduct free elections. The neutrality of the country and amnesty for all parties should be guaranteed. A provision for massive economic aid should be included. The book concludes by saying:

> (The United States) must become aware of the subtle and dangerous assumption that the U.S. can determine the course of the whole world, either through military power or economic power.

An appendix includes the 1954 Geneva Agreements, an outline of the program of the NLF, the South Vietnam law outlawing Communists, the background of the authors, and a bibliography.

The New South Student is published each month from October through May by the Southern Student Organizing Committee of Nashville, Tennessee. Labor is donated.

In an effort to share responsibilities, the staff is taking turns producing this publication. George Brosi is editor of this issue and takes full responsibility for the views expressed in the unsigned articles. Linda Baughn and Andy Tyler again took days away from studies to help on this issue. Ronda, Sue, Anne, Howard, Ed, and others also were invaluable.

If you wish to receive the New South Student, contributions of not less than $1.00 for southern students, and $3.00 for northern students and adults are requested. All contributions are tax exempt.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Office: 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee 37212.

Mailing Address: Box 6403

Telephone: (615) 291-3537.

Officers: Howard Romaine, Chairman, Nashville, Tenn.; Howard Spencer, Vice-Chairman, Tougaloo College, Miss.; Herman Carter, Secretary, Southern University, La.; and Roy Money, Treasurer, Vanderbilt University, Tenn.

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CONFERENCE SUPPLEMENT

INTRODUCTION

by Howard Romaine

The articles by Robb Burlage and Jon Steinberg in the following pages reflect, I believe, two different conceptions of what is going on in American society--although it is to some extent difficult to compare them because Robb concentrates much more on recommending specific programs while Jon presents an analysis with recommendations for action. The articles by Dave Kotelchuck and Roy Money discuss the interrelatedness of the problems of structure and program and make recommendations for structural changes in SSOC. I hope in this article to sum up the positions expressed by Jon Steinberg and Robb Burlage as well as outline my own thoughts on the future of SSOC.

Jon's View

Jon seems to feel that the principal issue facing the South and the nation is the unequal distribution of power. Thus he sees a need for SSOC to work to increase the power of those who now have no voice and challenge those who can wield power and their allies. Because he thinks the "new southern liberals" will be part of the mainstream of American power, helping them is less important than organizing those who are voiceless.

Robb's View

On the other hand, Robb Burlage feels that the critical need is for students to get involved in many different kinds of organizing--anything from working in regular Democratic politics for a liberal candidate to community and union organizing or voter registration work. Robb seems much less assured of the inevitability of the "Great Society" and much less fearful of "Great Society" liberals.

SNCC View

Another important view that should be considered in discussing work situations which are open to southern liberal-radical students is that of SNCC. With the qualification that my interpretation of SNCC's views are necessarily inadequate, I will attempt to briefly sketch them.

There seems to be developing in SNCC a feeling that Negroes should work for unity and to build their own community and movement--rather than depend on white aid which psychologically reinforces the system which they're working to break down. Also involved is the feeling that Negroes have to recapture their own identity before integration can be truly possible. Otherwise Negroes are integrated into white society on the white man's terms. For practical purposes this means that SNCC does not feel that it is particularly desirable to have whites organizing Negroes in community projects. Whether this means that white volunteers just won't be recruited or that they will be discouraged from working in the Negro community is not clear. Part of this new approach involves an African study program for staff members as well as student exchanges between several African countries and the movement in the U.S. It also tends toward conferences that are, as one SNCC staffer put it, "esoteric rather than exoteric"--a nice way of saying primarily for black folk, I believe.

It is in light of the articles by Robb and Jon, and of the above mentioned developments in SNCC that my own thoughts on SSOC's future are presented.

Students and the Community

I had hoped that by this spring SSOC would have moved closer toward becoming an integrated southwide student organization. I envisioned an organization

(Continued on next page.)

with much more of an action orientation, with chapters and members. The rough division of labor I saw shaping up was SNCC working primarily in the Black Belt and urban ghetto areas, and SSOC travelers organizing students into and around these projects--with the possibility of SSOC starting, or channeling more resources into, some of these projects. Also, SSOC would begin to experiment more with various kinds of white community organizing.

The basic strategy for SSOC's development I saw to be the building of statewide student movements based on action and education programs. The action would, at this point, be centered around black belt organizing projects such as tying students into FDP and MFLU organizing in Mississippi, VSCRC organizing in Virginia, SNCC's community work in Alabama, and similar projects in other states. It should also begin to include different kinds of organizing, however, such as labor union, white community work, regular political party work for "liberal" democratic candidates, etc.

Our travelers would attempt to link up students on a statewide basis with ongoing organizing in the individual states. By tying a student movement to a community near it--a community which is more or less permanent--one of the main difficulties of a student movement, its impermanence, could perhaps be partly overcome.

The campuses would serve as organizing and fund-raising bases for community projects. Students could also begin to do more research relevant to the surrounding community.

Of course, in this, the Mississippi-Berkeley syndrome of community action sparking academic oppression sparking campus revolt is quite possible, and perhaps even probable.

The Role of the Office

Along with this should go expanded activities of the SSOC central office, including a vastly increased education-research program on all pertinent issues. We should encourage a wider range of analytical writing and promote greater literature distribution through South wide, regional, and statewide conferences, and through the educational programs of local groups.

The SSOC office would also be responsible for centralized programming designed to stimulate thought, break down cultural prejudice and isolation, etc. This would include more speaking tours of radical or controversial figures, more things like the folk tour, and single issue conferences such as a southwide student forum on foreign policy should also be possible.

Another function of a central office would be to build regional support on key issues such as civil rights protests, civil liberties issues, the grape strike boycott, etc.

SNCC's Impact on SSOC

From this description of where I see SSOC moving, it should be fairly clear why SNCC's plans for the immediate future pose very difficult problems. The whole move toward black exclusiveness, whether this be at the level of community work, at the campus level, and/or organizationally, and whether it be for short or long run political or strategic reasons, or for community or activist level emotional reasons (that is, for the purpose of encouraging black people to build their own movement at the local level without white help, or for the purpose of building a consciousness among students of their African heritage as a basis for a political identification). does pose serious problems to any visionary who is thinking in terms of an integrated southern student movement in the near future.

How one judges the meaning of SNCC's trend toward black exclusiveness depends on one's individual judgment. It depends on how extensive one sees this motion - are whites excluded only at the community level, or at the campus-conference level too, or organizationally also? Is this a temporary or long term trend?

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ROMAINE . . . Continued

Does this represent a growing consensus in SNCC and the Negro community?

In the context of talking about foreign policy, rural and urban organizing at the SSOC conference some of these questions will certainly have to be discussed. At this point I personally do not feel I have enough understanding of what SNCC is moving toward to say precisely what this means for SSOC. In the states where SNCC is doing a lot of work with students, we probably will not be able to work toward statewide student movements on an integrated basis - at least not at the community work level. In other states we probably can and perhaps should. Hopefully, SNCC people will be able to spend a good bit of time at the SSOC conference, and we can come to a better understanding about our nutual relationship.

Assumptions

Assuming 1) that some kind of amiable or semi-amiable relationship can be worked out with SNCC, 2) that a majority of students at the spring conference do want to take on this or a similar kind of a Southwide program, and 3) that we can find sufficient resources, i.e. money and people to work full-time, then the problem of an organizational form adequate to make this program a reality is next.

Organizational Structure

The papers by Dave Kotelchuck and Roy Money deal with this problem. My thinking on this runs very parallel to Dave's. I agree that it is time now to create a Southwide multi-issue organization with student memberships. But I think essentially that this creation should simply involve certain structural changes in SSOC, and not the creation of a new organization different from SSOC.

The structure for SSOC that I would opt for would be very similar to that of SDS. Campus chapters would have virtually complete autonomy. Regional conventions would be held at least biannually to make major policy and or personnel decisions. A smaller representative body would meet more often.

If SDS would go along, I would also like to see the spring convention make our fraternal relationship more formal. By this I mean I would request that National SDS grant SSOC chapters voting privileges at National Council meetings. Similarly, SSOC would grant SDS chapters within its region full voting privileges.

I do not know what implications such structural changes would have for our tax-exempt legal status, but if certain aspects of our program endangered this status, we could create a non-tax-exempt arm of SSOC which would be separately funded to carry out these programs.

ON POLITICAL STRATEGY

by Robb Burlage

This is my acquaintance who is at the Institute for Policy Studies.

For SSOC now the issue is not simply racism. The problem is not simply the isolation decent men face. The answer is not simply better communication.

The issue is the undemocracy of the South, even the much heralded "New South", as a reflection of both regional and national elite forces, the power they spawn and the consciousness they spin. The answers are insurgency, confrontation, and action alternatives--the building of new agencies and institutions with a commitment to social justice and democracy expressed in continuous constituent action.

SSOC's Role

In my opinion, SSOC's greatest contributions to a movement for democracy in the South can come in the following ways:

Education

(1) Education -- To increase awareness among the committed as well as among the mainstream lookers-on of the existing forces for and against democracy and so-

(Continued on next page)

cial justice in the South today.

SSOC must create an effective research, writing, speaking, and educational interaction program aimed at such broad education in the South, rooted in a sense of progressive Southern history, saliant social analysis, and optative new political motivation which reaches people where they are.

Action

(2) Action--- To develop alternative forms in the South of protest and organization which raise issues of democracy and social justice in all sectors of life:

(a) unionization in the workplace that demands a real say in the economic system, including not only blue collar workers but white collar, government, non-profit institution employees, (including universities and hospitals);

(b) control over public programs by those whose lives are most affected--urban renewal, public housing, public welfare, war-on-poverty, schools and training--through neighborhood unions, welfare unions, independent poverty organizations, parent groups, etc.

(c) Control over college and university policy by the community of scholars, faculty, and students, not arbitrary rule by the academic bureaucracy and the conservative absentee trustees representing monied interests;

(d) organization of more democratically based organizations to meet people's needs--consumer and producer cooperatives, free universities, experimental schools, etc.;

(e) cracking through barriers to free speech--speakers' bans, book bans, politically selective parade and meeting hall permits, etc.--with organized civil disobedience, if necessary;

(f) demanding that all citizens be provided with accurate information, freedom of debate and protest, and effective participation in control over foreign policy;

(g) political organization beginning at the grass roots confronting all issues which are meaningful and important to people---ranging from insurgent candidacies and local and state independent parties to issue-oriented participation in general party primaries and elections to demand the defeat of undemocratic forces or to demand that certain issues be defended or faced by candidates.

In these contexts, political education, community organization, and electoral action are not either or but are questions of priority and tactics in a continuum of involvement.

New Developments

The two most exciting developments in SSOC, in my opinion, are: (1) the new emphasis on the need for Southern students to develop new agencies of change at the grass roots--new neighborhood and workplace organizing in the direction of community and employee unions, and (2) the attempt, primarily on campuses thus far, to confront the Southern Cold War taboos with hard new questions.

1966 Elections

So what do the '66 elections mean to Southern democratic insurgents?

---In some Black Belt counties with large Negro registrations this will be a time of testing people-power. Insurgent Negro candidacies have a real chance of winning, especially in parts of Alabama.

---In other areas the presence of Negro or white liberal candidates, especially in areas of large Negro population, can become the focus for political education and further mobilization at the roots--a time of trying out new means of expression and awakening new community interest.

---In some states the Older South machines face new State-wide challenges in Senate and gubernatorial elections: The Byrds in Virginia, Russell in Georgia, the Wallaces in Alabama, the Clement-Ellington heirs of Crump power in Tennessee--a time to tear down the Old as well as to build the new.

---In some urban areas the few "new moderates" in Congress from the South face tests from conservative forces (e.g., Congressman Grider in Memphis)--a time to prevent reversion and defend decency, as well as to build a broader base and raise issues.

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---In a few areas there will be a chance to raise new issues in more "liberal" candidacies: e.g., the independent Dugger Senate candidacy in Texas against no-choice conservative politics and for open discussion of the Vietnam War. Other opportunities may arise: An anti-war congressional candidacy in Charlottesville, Virginia? Will the grip of conservative political control in Tennessee state colleges against campus academic and political freedom, holding all SSOC groups in that state under its thumb and malice, be an issue in the Tennessee Governor's race?

I do not favor SSOC emphasizing electoral action or participation in campaigns outside of a broad educational and organizing context, nor do I favor SSOC getting into the candidate-endorsing and launching business as an organization. I would also discourage establishing at this point a SSOC "non-tax-exempt arm for political activities". That individuals or local groups of SSOC work in separate local, state, or national electoral efforts should not require a whole new programmatic or legal status for SSOC.

The Critical Need

The critical need is for SSOC people to get their feet wet in any kind of community organizing in the South, especially with constituencies not now being reached by SNCC and other insurgent civil rights groups (which doesn't mean the exclusion of SSOC working in predominantly Negro community organizing but means emphasis on new explorations outside).

What I would encourage organizationally for SSOC is:

(1) carrying out a major political education program focussed on the state and local levels across the South (as in Virginia with the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee and the Southside project) to make students aware of the new political realities and opportunities in the context of struggling for democratic values and,

(2) encouraging some diversity of grass rooted action projects which can develop electoral action or relate to electoral campaigns as this becomes appropriate.

SSOC can do more by pressing awareness and by encouraging demonstration projects in particular areas now than by trying to become a miniature political party with no roots.

Not only should SSOC serve as a regional information center to let students know of the range of opportunities in community action that are arising in the South (summer, part-time, full-time), but it should actively help create a selected range of opportunities, as well, in cooperation with local constituent groups. Stress should be on developing new kinds of constituencies (insurgent union locals, community unions, community forums etc.). Perhaps, a range of electoral action projects could be tried, if there is enough local interest-channeling students into everything from, say, an "Academic Freedom and Excellence Committee" working in the governor's race in Tennessee, a "Youth for Human Rights" group working in the Memphis congressional race, working with unionized whites in the Virginia senatorial races as well as the Southside community project, helping expand the political base of Durham union and community organizing, or reaching out to middle class people in the Dugger campaign in Texas, to helping with insurgent campaigns in Alabama and Mississippi.

Economic issues, as via union organizing, are the best potential link between Negores and poor Whites. Broad-issue electoral campaigns raising economic issues can also be an organizing link, expecially when race is not the preoccupation. At present, this is probably most feasible in urban areas, although the barriers even here to direct cooperation between Negro and working class white groups are still slow and difficult to overcome.

Questions

All SSOCers who enter any action and organizing situation should remember that they are organizing their co-workers as well as the community at-large. Each

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BURLAGE...Continued

should ask important questions of himself: How can this become a long-run base of independent and democratic people-power? How can the most important concerns be expressed? How can this experience and base be expanded to involve others? e.g., how can connections between labor and community unions and the campus be made and maintained? SSOC media, conferences, and workshops should continue to stress interrelating and asking hard questions about a growing range and intensity of real experiences.

The main point is that SSOC decisions for action emphasis should not be made out of ignorance of opportunities nor with prejudice against any means of action, including electoral. Electoral action or participation in electoral campaigns in the South related to rooted community organizing and expressing long-range democratic commitments can and must help lead the way in such insurgent experimentation and bridge-building.

I believe our greatest failures at this point will come from inaction or only-talking-to-ourselves more than from making wrong moves in the wrong constituencies, even though our ranks are small and scarce. Our greatest problems are inexperience and lack of political self-confidence. We cannot wait for the Godot of a new wave of sit-ins, a Mississippi summer, or other instant conversion experiences shared generally. We must experiment and learn from these experiments. And then we must re-set our sights as we know the terrain better.

RESPONSE

by Jon Steinberg

In deciding upon the best instrument for social change, two questions must be answered. The first is the type of change ultimately desired, and the second is what the present and possible methods for change are in American society today.

It is not the purpose of this essay to provide a blueprint for the good society. However, a broad vision, if not a blueprint, is necessary in order to decide upon any course of action. For this purpose the ideas implicit in much of the civil rights movement will be accepted.

The Vision

The basic concept is the increased participation of citizens in all aspects of the decision making bodies which effect them. This means a reduction in the size of government units to a "town meeting" level wherever possible, and open meetings and instant recall where it is not. More importantly, it means the breakup of the large military and corporative bodies which presently exercise a disproportionate amount of influence in our government as well as in the economic sphere.

Reduction in the power of the military can of course best be achieved by disarmament. The power of corporation executives can be removed in two ways, by nationalization and by workers' control, i.e. providing that the workers in a plant or office should elect the management. Nationalization would obviously mean a vast increase in the powers of federal government, and the continuation of the lack of control by those who work in the corporations. Therefore workers' control seems most attractive.

Present Trends

Now that we know what the good society will be, we can go just as deeply into the present trends in America. Far from moving towards the ideal envisioned above, American power is becoming increasingly centralized. The size and predominance of the military, federal government and "top 500" corporations is steadily increasing and concomitantly aggrandizing more areas of direct and indirect control. This is a natural consequence of the technological revolution,

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Steinberg . . . Continued

and mechanization and automation which hasten this change with increasing rapidity.

One consequence of this change in the South is a rapid transformation of the political scene. The balance of power in the Deep South has been held by a combination of agricultural and local business interests. Their representatives in the state and in Congress consistently supported legislation which was reactionary by Eastern standards but served the immediate interests of the "Southern Provincials". The most cursory examination of the present Southern economy will reveal the extent to which this situation is changing. In Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina national corporations already clearly dominate the economy. The rest of the South is quickly approaching this state. The influx of federal money has come in pari passu, and its potential power, as evidenced by its ability to force school desegregation, is correspondingly great and increasing.

Segregation is not in the interests of either big business or national government. Furthermore, they don't believe in it, at least in the blatant kind the South has enjoyed lo these many years. Segregation leads to inferior education at a time when the need for unskilled labor is steadily decreasing. It is inefficient, causing duplication of services. It results in violence, which is anathema to a group most interested in preserving stability and the status quo. It is a black mark against America in the eyes of the world, at a time when the U.S. is trying desperately to preserve and extend its international interests. Most dangerous of all, it creates a dispossessed and disaffected element which constitutes a potential radical force and threat to the present American system.

For all of the above reasons it is apparent that Southern-style segregation is doomed. In fact, the only thing delaying its burial is the obstinacy of Southern whites. Their resistance is being overcome by the enforced desegregation initiated by government, business and civil rights groups, which is slowly proving to Southern whites that most Negroes don't want to marry their daughters. It is also lessened by the infiltration of national communications media. The power of Huntly-Brinkley, particularly on the young, is not to be denied.

Examination of the factors given above will reveal that all of them apply in one form or another to poor people in general. A review of federal domestic welfare legislation over the past six years, particularly increased social security benefits, medicare, the not yet funded rent subsidy program, and President Johnson's proposal of a " reverse income tax" indicates that influential people are aware of these needs. In addition, the United States is fabulously wealthy and can easily afford much more. In fact, there is every reason to believe that America will.

Thus if the current trend continued (and no viable opposition exists or is on the horizon) severe poverty in America will be absolished within the next fifteen years. This is a laudable achievement, but it is important to remember who is doing it and why. The purpose of these programs is not to change the present power relationships in America but to preserve them. At the present time the political struggle in the South opposes small business and agricultural interests against big business, labor and the enlightened (i.e., those who oppose segregation) poor. If the poor and the very rich have a political alliance, experience has shown who picks the candidates. Although the poor will gain from this alliance, they will gain only insofar as it serves the interests of their corporate allies. In terms of votes for welfare measures, the benefits to the poor will be substantial; this state of affairs is satisfactory unless one is concerned with who pays the piper.

Implications for SSOC

Given the above analysis, the question of where to put SSOC's resources becomes easier.

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STEINBURG...Continued

SSOC's resources at present might charitably be called pitiful. Will the Great Society Program continue without them? We have reason to believe it will. While it is conceivable that the defeat of a long-tenure Southern congressman might hasten this program by a couple of years, the history of Northern liberals in Congress indicates it will do nothing more. If SSOC puts its energies into electing Johnson liberals it is merely helping to consolidate the power of those who now possess it, both by aiding their (often good) programs and by helping to entrench them in the South at a time when the political arena here is in a state of flux. If SSOC wishes to do more than this, to give power to those who do not possess it now, it must begin to seek them out, articulate their needs (and in the process our own) and organize them so that we may work to realize our goal of a truly democratic society.

This organization can be attempted through a political campaign for a candidate who can represent this goal. It can take the form of more immediate practical gains, such as improved housing or representation on a local anti-poverty board. Probably any project would eventually involve both approaches. Coalitions with other groups will become desirable and necessary, but they will be coalitions: both sides will have to make concessions. No matter how sympathetic he may be to your objectives, it is unrealistic to expect a candidate or official to sacrifice the interests of one group supporting him unless you can offer him substantial support. For this you need organization, and to have an organization you have to organize. So get moving.

ON STRUCTURE

by Dave Kotelchuck

A saying of which many scientists are fond is that the most important step in making a discovery is that of asking the right questions. This comes to mind as the time approaches for the third annual SSOC Spring Conference.

There are, of course, two kinds of problems about which organizations like SSOC must be concerned. The first involves issues; it involves discussion of the problems which face society, and the type of action which might remedy them. Since these are discussed in some detail in other articles (and in previous conferences), they will not be discussed here.

The Problem of Structure

The second kind of problem follows from the first and relates to structure. It is here I believe that people in SSOC are not asking the right questions. For the last year or two, organizational discussion has been directed, explicitly or implicitly, to answering the question "What role can SSOC play among students who wish to encourage change in the South?" When the question is framed this way, in terms of SSOC explicitly, then the answers elicited are always ones which suggest how SSOC may modify and expand its activities to meet the needs of concerned Southern students. What is ignored, I believe, is any consideration of whether SSOC organization is the best vehicle for meeting such needs.

Of course in our changing society the role of any such organization must be re-evaluated periodically. But there is a real question in my mind as to whether SSOC, specifically, is meeting the most important needs of concerned Southern students, although it is certainly meeting some needs.

But before we get into polemics, let us first frame the questions we want to consider. They should be, I think:
(1) What are the needs of concerned young Southerners?
(2) What sorts of organizations can satisfy their needs?

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(3) What role in particular can SSOC play?

I hope that at the up-coming spring conference these questions or similar ones will form a basis for the discussion of organizational problems, and that the discussion will be need-centered, not organization-centered.

Some Tentative Answers

Having raised these questions, let's try answering some of them. As regards the first question (on the needs of concerned young Southerners) it is first important to note that more and more they see the nation's and the South's problems in terms of a whole complex of issues rather than as ramifications of one issue (e.g. civil rights). There is general agreement that these issues include racial discrimination, poverty, foreign policy (especially the relationship of this country to the newly emerging countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America) decision-making at local and national levels, and the personal alienation of man from his fellow man. I think too that those who identify with the New Left also believe that solutions to these interrelated problems will require a major restructuring of American society, although few can (or want to) predict the form restructuring will take.

How do concerned Southern young people view recent changes in the South? I think that they are viewed as all well and good--that it is better to come to grips with the problems of 20th Century America than to be mired down in those of the 19th Century, but that this is scant consolation for those who want a truly good life for all, in a world at peace. There is the further feeling that Southern people's thinking has not begun to catch up even to the modest changes going on about them.

It is the slowness with which attitudes change that is responsible for what I think is the outstanding characteristic of the life of a concerned Southern person--the pervading sense of isolation. This despite the fact that there exists, as SSOC's mailing list alone will attest, significant groups of liberals and radicals in communities and college campuses all over the South. But because these groups have grown large and had formalized structures only in recent years, there is as yet no sense of community among them. Certainly this is most apparent at the level of individual members in these groups (or groupings). When people join a local group, they do not feel that they are joining a Southwide or nation-wide movement. (There are, of course, some chapters of national groups on local campuses, but these are uncommon.) And to say that people of the left feel isolated is also to say that the actions which their groups engage in will not be as forceful as they might be, and hence not as effective. In the long view also, if the American left is to grow and effect change in society, then we are led to the second of the above questions--What sorts of organizations can satisfy the needs of concerned young Southerners?

Multi-Issue Membership Groups?

I think the kinds of organizations most needed are multi-issue membership groups that engage in both education and action. Such groups already exist on a national level (SDS, for example), but I believe that the feeling of Southern particularism is too strong even among concerned Southern young people for large scale organizing to be successful in this region. But if a Southern group engaging in these activities were to be organized, it would, I think, have great potential. The immediate advantages of such a group would, I think, be clear:

(1) It would encourage a sense of community.

(2) It would permit joint action when desired by groups multiplying the effect of any one (e.g. outside of Atlanta, little or no action was taken in the Julian Bond case, although joint Southwide efforts would have been appropriate and effective.)

(3) It would permit small local groups to discuss and initiate activities on a scale which their local membership would not permit. Thus the small size of local groups would not have such an intel-

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lectually and emotionally stifling effect as at present.
(4) It would help provide direction for the many local groups that have no effective leadership.

That this should be a membership organization is clear. It is important for a local person to feel an identification with the group, and this can best be done by allowing him through membership in a democratic group to enter the decision-making process. Thus the group's decision is to some extent his own and he feels a commitment to it.

Of course a discussion of the need for such an organization leads directly to the question, "Is this the time to get up such a group?" and the reply is, "This is just the sort of question that a meeting of South-wide groups can best answer." Usually a new group like this arises on the basis of joint action on a specific issue, as for example some of us hoped SSOC would develop in the area of civil rights. But although there seems to be no unifying issue in the South today, such a group might still develop just on the basis of a generalized need for a sense of community. If this were possible, I think it would be very exciting and might be a major step toward uniting liberals and radicals in the South, and bringing them into the mainstream of the American Left.

A Future Role For SSOC

What finally would the role of SSOC be, if such a group were founded? Let me first say that I don't think SSOC can become the multi-issue education and action organization I am talking about, primarily because SSOC has a past and a present which live with it and color the views which young Southerners have of its future. The past and present of SSOC is that of a tax-exempt, educational, service group--one which has some value to be sure, but a limited appeal to many non-affiliated young people. In any case, a group based on a new concept should not have to carry with it as baggage the guilt for mistakes of the past.

But this need not mean that SSOC must dissolve if such a new organization were formed. I think that it could continue to act as a service organization to concerned Southern young people who are affiliated with this group. It might informally set itself up as the educational and informational arm of such a group, or it might do so formally if the tax laws permit.

All sorts of possibilities then of moving in creative new directions are open to SSOC and to concerned young people in the South. Let us hope that these are not limited by the poverty of our own imaginations.

RESPONSE

by Roy Money

There are two ways of looking at the problem of structure in SSOC. One is to decide on the kind of programs needed and to see how SSOC can best structure itself to serve those needs. The other is to try to do the things that need to be done and hope that a suitable structure will work itself out. The latter posture has been pursued by SSOC too often and has met with innumerable problems. The problems center around a lack of clarity as to how SSOC should relate to its constituency and thus confusion over the programs that SSOC should be carrying out.

There are basically two structural alternatives for SSOC; that of a service organization or that of a membership organization. To make the decision that SSOC should continue to be a service organization is to see SSOC's role as limited to communication and coordination. This position is taken by those who either do not see another membership organization as needed or who feel that while such is needed SSOC cannot fill that need. To make the decision that SSOC should try to become a membership organization is to

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MONEY...Continued

see SSOC's role as much more political and aggressive than it has been. This position is taken by those who see a membership organization as essential and who feel that SSOC should become such an organization.

So far, SSOC has been primarily a staff organization with students involved only very minimally. Perhaps we are not at a stage where a membership organization is feasible, both in terms of level of interest and the stigma attached to belonging to an organization. However, ways must be devised to greatly increase student participation in decision making and program implementation irrespective of SSOC's structure. Obviously this involves a much greater commitment to democratic processes within SSOC.

It would seem that a membership organization is needed in the South if students are to see themselves as an integral part of a "movement for change." However, since it is not readily apparent that students are presently ready for or want such an organization and since it is not clear that SSOC can successfully fill that need if students do want it filled, it is unclear as to how SSOC should respond to that need.

Caution Advised

I think we should be very careful, as Dave Kotelchuck points out, in presupposing a role for SSOC. However, we should also be realistic when talking about setting up a new organization. With as many organizations as there are now, one should approach the creation of still another one with due caution. Given Dave's analysis, which I think I share at least in part, I tend to think that SSOC should remain a service organization but should accelerate its program and try to prepare for the time when a membership organization can take roots.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ALAN LEVIN and LUCIEN CROSS are undergraduates at the University of Florida and active in the SDS chapter there.

JIM MOORE is a graduate assistant at Tennessee Tech in Cookeville.

ELIZABETH TORNQUIST (who just turned thirty) is finishing up her Ph.D. in literature at Duke.

JOHN ZIPPERT is a CORE organizer in Opelousas, St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.

DR. JACK BOOZER is acting chaplain at Emory University and a religion professor in the College.

SUE THRASHER is on the SSOC staff and organized the Mississippi Conference.

ED HAMLETT is on the SSOC staff and travels in Tennessee and Kentucky.

ANNE ROMAINE is on the SSOC staff and is coordinating the Folk Festival.

MIRIAN WASSERMAN teaches in the Atlanta University center and has been active in the Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam

BOB DEWART is a fourth year man at the University of Virginia and a member of the Students for Social Action there.

CARRIE BUEHL is at Fisk University in Nashville on exchange from Allegheny College in Pennsylvania.

HOWARD ROMAINE is chairman of SSOC and a full time staff member.

ROBB BURLAGE is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and last year worked for the Tennessee Planning Commission.

JON STEINBERG worked with the MFDP in Batesville, Mississippi.

DR. DAVE KOTELCHUCK is assistant professor of Physics at Vanderbilt University and active in the Nashville Committee for Alternative to War in Vietnam.

ROY MONEY is a junior at Vanderbilt University and treasurer of SSOC.

Two booklets which contain a variety of opportunities for summer involvement with very little duplication are

SCOPE
c/o Tim Carrell
U.S.N.S.A.
2115 S Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
and
INVEST YOUR SUMMER
C.E.V.S.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

The Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam needs full time staff. Contact them at Box 3501, Atlanta, Georgia 30302.

Approximately 125 students attended a state wide conference of Virginia students in Farmville, March 18-20. A coordinating committee was set up consisting of one student from each of 15 colleges, and plans were made for publication of a statewide newsletter. This committee will also coordinate recruitment for summer projects.

A conference on students and labor is being planned for the latter part of April in North Carolina. A planning meeting has been scheduled for April 2nd in Durham. The conference will discuss such issues as: The Economics of the South, the History of the Labor Movement in the South, and Labor and the South Today. Workshops are being planned to discuss specific ways students can relate to organized labor. For additional information write to Gene Guerrero, SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212.

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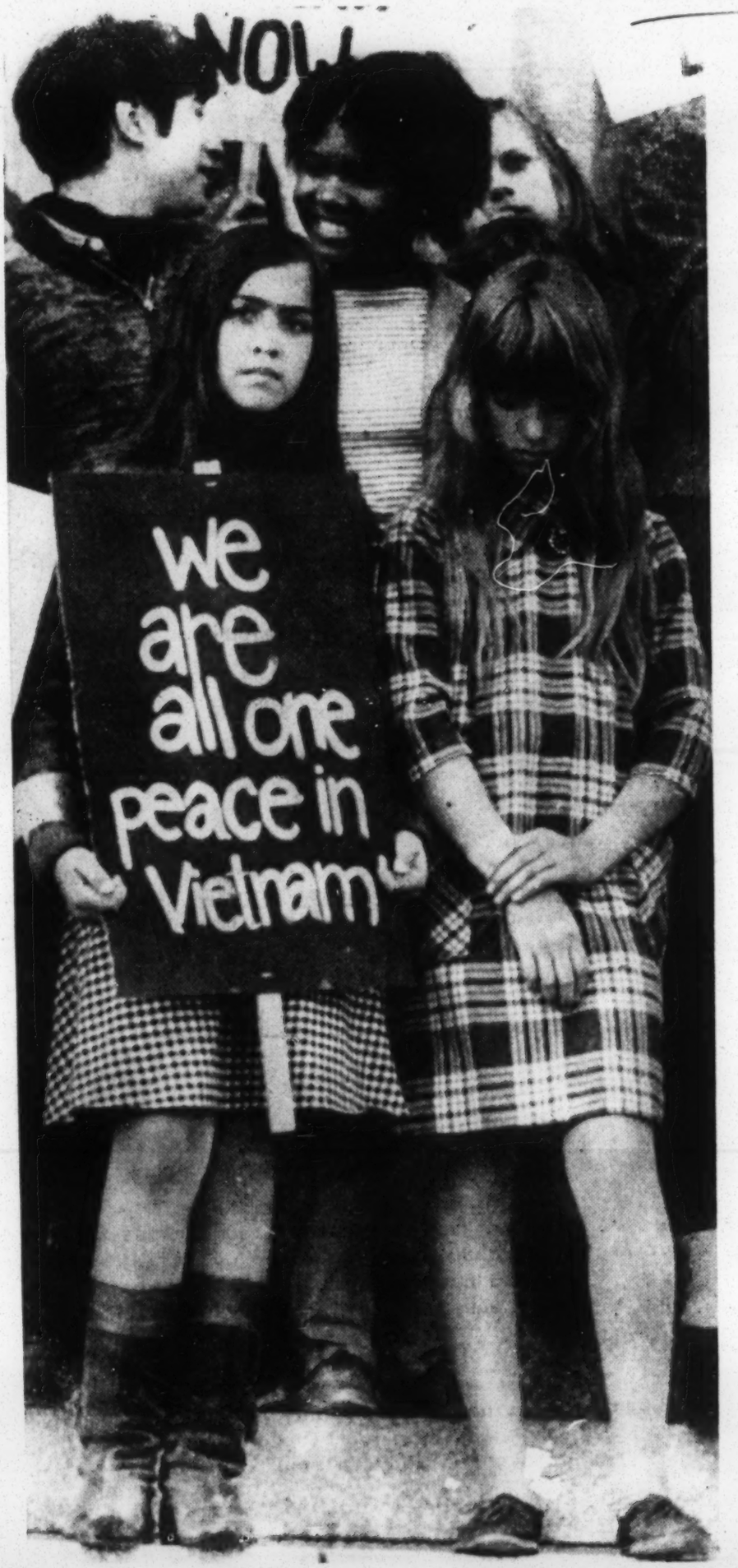

May, 1966
Volume III
Number 5

The New South Student is published each month from October through May by the Southern Student Organizing Committee in Nashville, Tennessee. Labor is donated.

Jon Steinberg and Gene Guerrero are co-editors of this issue. Our thanks to Liberation for the cover photo.

If you wish to receive The New South Student, contributions of not less than $1.00 for southern students, and $3.00 for northern students and adults are requested. All contributions are tax exempt.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BUILDING A MOVEMENT, by Gene Guerrero p. 1
JUNE CONFERENCE, by Jody Palmour p. 2
SUMMER PROJECTS p. 3
DELTAS: MISSISSIPPI AND VIETNAM, by Howard Romaine p. 4
SUMMER READING p. 4
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, by Ed Hamlett p. 5
WHITE ORGANIZING: NEW ODYSSEY, by Jon Steinberg p. 7
VIETNAM DRAFT EXAM p. 8
SCC MEETS p. 8
SUMMER PEACE PROJECT p. 10
DUKE EMPLOYEES LOCAL p. 12

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This is the last issue of The New South Student for this school year. It is somewhat shorter in order to reach you before the end of the academic year.

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SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Office: 1703 Portland Avenue
Telephone: (615) 291-3537

Mailing Address Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

OFFICERS

Chairman: Howard Romaine, Nashville, Tennessee
Vice Chairman: Howard Spencer, Tougaloo College, Mississippi
Secretary: Herman Carter, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisana
Treasurer: Roy Money, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

STAFF

Ed Hamlett, Tennessee and Kentucky; Tom Millican, Alabama; Gene Guerrero, North and South Carolina; Nan Grogan, Virginia; Herman Carter, Baton Rouge; Ray Payne, Atlanta; Alan Levin, Florida; and Ronda Stilley, Howard and Anne Romaine, George Brosi, and Jody Palmour, all of Nashville.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Before you get into the important parts of this month's New South Student, I would like to say a few things about building a movement of southern students, which is, after all, what SSOC is all about. Specifically, I would like to discuss one of the necessary ingredients to the building of such a movement.

Several months ago a benefactor from the North gave SSOC a good bit of financial support which when combined with foundation support and miscellaneous contributions meant that we were able for the first time to initiate programs on a large scale. Most of that money is gone now and the rest will be by the middle or end of the summer. With it SSOC expanded staff from four to sixteen, supported four SSOC related campus-community projects, sponsored two regional conferences, supported campus travellers in seven states, coordinated two South-wide protest programs, sponsored one South-wide conference, put out five issues of the New South Student, and distributed a variety of literature. We will have spent something like $15,000 in the past six months. Most of you have seen this money at work.

Although SSOC programs have reached several hundred southern students, it is important to realize that the job is just beginning to be done. We must expand programs in the fall. This will require a lot of work over the summer. Some of the proposed programs are a series of foreign policy workshops, more state campus travellers, a long range students and labor project, increased support to campus-community projects, and white community work. To implement these and other programs we must have, among other things, increased financial support.

From the beginning SSOC has pretty much relied on the North for money. We will continue to look North, but we must realize that support from the North will not be enough and that in fact it will probably decrease because of the increased activity up there.

We must begin to support our own programs. There are many sympathetic persons in the South who will support us. We must seek these people out and ask them to help. Also, there is a basic point which must be considered. We must have dependable support which will not be alienated as we develop programs which deal in a fundamental way with the problems of the South. The only group we can depend on for that support is our own constituency - you. Most, perhaps two thousand of you, are southern students. Many of the rest of you are related to the southern campus as professors, campus ministers, or recent college graduates. Almost all of you are able to support the building of a wouthern student movement. Some of you are already doing so. However only about five per cent of you support this newsletter financially. I can think of few students in the South who could not afford to pledge one dollar a month. Most professors could pledge five dollars a month.

We all must consider what it will take to build a student movement and what this will mean to the South. It will take more than your physical involvement and moral support. It will take your financial support as well. This is not something that would be nice or help a little. It is absolutely necessary.

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Enclosed is $____ for my subscription to The New South Student.

Enclosed is $____ of my pledge of $_____ per month for general use____ or specific program____ (please specify).

Name_____
School (if applicable)_____
Address_____
_____ Phone_____
_____ Zip_____
Return to SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville

MEETING AT BUCKEYE COVE

by Jody Palmour

The South is an underdeveloped, exploited area plagued by poverty, ignorance, and distrust. We have little more than the beginnings of an organized, popular politics, Southern students have seemed most prepared to build the required political movement that would free the South from the national problems so grotesquely caricatured in our land.

SSOC wants to help co-ordinate isolated, often times individual, efforts into a southern liberation front that will revolutionize our society, both economically and culturally, through comprehensive, non-violent programming. We will not be seduced into becoming like the carbon monoxide, ghetto North.

What We Gonna Do About It?

SSOC ain't gonna do nuthin. The peoples is. And we're calling a metting--the revolutionary council--to map out plans for the people's taking power in the South. We're inviting active student types to come to a camp in Buckeye Cove near Ashville, North Carolina on June 6 through 10 to report on what they have done this year, what their resources and plans are for next year.

SSOC staff members will present their analysis of where the South now stands and will offer concrete proposals of program and strategy. Delegates will offer their own proposals and the conference as a whole will decide on implementation for the coming year.

Resource People

In addition to you, we are inviting resource people to offer programs or general areas of concern they think we should work on. They will be talking about the relation of foreign policy programming to the domestic issues before the movement; radical education projects to create intellectually critical, radical professions and disciplines of study; the potential of full community organizing around labor unions; the role of nationalistic or racist sentiment during crucial stages of revolutionary development; the possibilities and models for white organizing in the South; and the meaning of radical art and the part it has played in human development.

The outside resource people will have approximately two hours to address the whole group. After each of their talks there will be a panel with the speaker and four or five representatives of the people who have been working on programs related to his proposal. We will contact delegates in advance so they can accept assignments and do preparatory thinking.

Delegates

The conference is not to be like the one in Atlanta where we were trying to do two incompatible things at the same time. We brought together both long time movement people and those just beginning an apolitical, moral protest against their society. SSOC, the movement, has a real responsibility for both groups of people. This meeting is for those already commited to building a political movement in the South.

Those individuals who are consciously building movements of people to change their own social environment are urged to come to this meeting. Eligibility does not imply that you are the head of a many-legged political machine about to devour all that stand in your way.

We want people who recognize the political and human need to build in the South a land where men are made neither slaves nor owners of slaves.

Things to Bring

The most important thing to bring is a thorough analysis of your own local sit-

(Continued on page 3)

uation, plus firm demands to make of SSOC for your own work, You might also need to bring sleeping bags, flashlights, axes, lawnmowers, fishing tackle, notebook and pencil. (We plan in the off hours to experiment with the CCC notion of organizing the poor.)

The staff has done much planning for this meeting. We think it could spell the beginnings of a new effectiveness in the southern movement. Personal planning about one's home community work is essential to a regional conference such as this. We've got to work setting it up, as you do to prepare for it.

If you want to come but can't, we'll send copies of a comprehensive report of the proceedings if you are concerned enough to write out your accomplishments this year and what your plans are for next year.

We have to make assignments and logistical plans, so let us know in the mail tonight if you're coming. We need your phone number and where you can be reached by mail before the beginning of the conference. The buck is passed to you, Baby.

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SUMMER PROJECTS

The following are three possibilities for summer work. The list is not by any means complete but simply represents projects the SSOC staff are familiar with and feel would be of particular interest to you.

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The MFDP is recruiting southern students to work in voter registration, adult education, etc., for the summer. Southern Negro students will get first preference; southern whites are next in priority. You need to hurry and write on this. Write to the MFDP, 507½ Farish Street, Jackson, Miss., or to SSOC.

NORTHERN COMMUNITY ORGANIZING WITH ERAP

Five ERAP projects plan summer projects which are open to students. For instance in Cleveland there will be programs around Welfare, Community Psychiatry, Journalism, Law, Theater, Children, and Photography. This includes projects in both poor white and Negro areas. Indicate what experience you have had, what program interests you, whether you can raise $200 subsistence, and whether you can visit Cleveland for a day or so before the summer, in a letter to the Cleveland Project, 2908 Jay St., Cleveland 18, (216-781-3739). The other project addresses are: Join, 4533 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago; Newark Community Union, 471 Clinton Ave., Newark, N.J.; Boston Project, c/o Larry Gordon, 10 Brookford St., Dorchester, Mass.; Hill Neighborhood Union, 605 Congress Ave., New Haven, Conn. 06519.

STUDENTS AND LABOR PROJECTS IN CAROLINAS

SSOC will coordinate over the summer a project to involve students in labor organizing in the Upper South. This program grew out of the Students and Labor conference held last month in Durham.

Plans for the project are not yet complete. The program may involve around eight students working in several union situations with a basic salary and expenses covered by the labor movement. If this is not possible a smaller number of students will work in two or possibly three locations living on basic subsistence.

One of the probable locations is the Durham area where students would work to assist the campaign of service employees at Duke. This would involve both traditional union activity and community organizing joined together. Another may be semi-rural textile and packinghouse plants which have bitterly fought unions in the past. For more information write SSOC. Please write as soon as possible.

DELTAS: MISSISSIPPI AND VIETNAM

by Howard Romaine

Some of us in SSOC feel that there is a connection between what is going on in Vietnam and American actions in Santo Domingo, and that they reveal very basic traits of our foreign policy. We feel that these are not mistakes, but are merely examples of a new American imperialism that is very threatening to the movement for social change we are trying to build here in America, as well as in direct contradiction to the values which have led us into the movement. Many of us wonder if we would not be the "Communists" who are being bombed or kept out of office by the marines if we were doing similar work in an underdeveloped country.

Because of these questions which have come to most of our minds, we have tried to read and relate what is going on in these countries to what we have experienced here in the South. Some of the people who speak loudest and hardest about defending "freedom" in Vietnam are the very same people who own mile after mile of plantation land where black people are still not allowed to vote, and are hardly even allowed to eat. When the most vigorous spokesmen for the War are people like Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi, Long of Louisiana, and Thurmond of South Carolina, we cannot help but wonder what they mean by defending "freedom" in Asia. When these people speak in their home states about defending "freedom" against "Communist subversion," we know they are talking about us and what we are trying to do. So when we see our President embrace a little man in Hawaii who talks very much like a little man that happens to be Governor of Alabama, and when we read that most of the support for the Saigon government comes from big landowners and profiteers who sound very much like the plantation owners in the Deep South and their accomplices, the company stores, then we develop very gut feelings about which side we're on.

But it is not enough to know which side we're on. So that you all can think some of these things over this summer, if you're interested, I've prepared a list of some topics concerning our foreign policy. If you can read nothing else, I hope you'll at least get hold of Vietnam by Gettleman ($.65 from SSOC), the Vietnam Reader by Raskin and Fall ($1.75 from SSOC) a subscription to and back issues from Viet Report, and subscription to I.F. Stone's Weekly. A complete copy of the recommended reading list is available free from SSOC.

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SUMMER READING

Below is a short list of some of the many valuable SSOC leaflets you should own. A complete list is available on request.

The Triple Revolution, 12 pp., 10¢. A well wrought statement on the changes in American life during this decade with some suggestions on how best to utilize them.

The New Folklore of Capitalism, Bernard Nossiter, 6 pp., 10¢. An eye-opening reprint from the Progressive, using statistics to show the concentration of wealth in America. Following is a short demolition of the myth of progressive taxation by David Bazelon.

Student Social Action, Tom Hayden, 12 pp 10¢. An excellent essay on the connection between university reform and American social change.

Whose Welfare?, Bob Ross, 8 pp. 10¢ A study of the inadequacy or deleterious effects of present welfare programs, posing the necessity for radical change

(Continued on page 10)

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

by Ed Hamlett

Pensacola Beach, Fla.-- A bunch of white folks from New Orleans, Nashville, and Ala. are here to talk about white community organizing. The informal meeting was called by people in New Orleans who gave up their apartments to black folks for a weekend meeting to talk about Black Consciousness.

I said BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, not BELOVED COMMUNITY. Movement people in the South don't talk about the latter so much anymore. They're less idealistic (some would say less naive) than they used to be. The reasons for the dampening of idealism are not difficult to discover: Some restaurants open to middle-class Negroes (lower-class white places remain off-limits); A few hundred thousand newly registered voters-- with the same old "Segs" running and winning; a few thousand Negro kids in previously all-white schools--learning about the blessings of the white man's civilization, white history, and white accomplishments; and the vast majority of the other Negro kids in all-black, still inferior, white-controlled schools-- and they learn about the white man too, in many cases from textbooks discarded by whites years ago.

THE MOVEMENT'S BELOVED COMMUNITY

But, you protest, the Beloved Community was to have been built first within the Movement, if not immediately in the larger society. So what about that "band of brothers and circle of trust"? The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick), which is what I'm talking about mainly, has always had whites on its staff. They were there initially for at least two reasons: 1)To demonstrate in the South that whites and Negroes could work togehter under any circumstances to build the "Beloved Community"; and, 2)To utilize their vitially needed skills and labor. The first two whites were from the South; soon northern Negroes and whites came in to work. In early days there was a good deal of talk about and feeling for the Beloved Community, which, everyone hoped, was being built. Victories came frequently.

ONE THOUSAND WHITE YANKS

In the fall of 1963 it was discovered in the Freedom Vote campaign in Mississippi that the presence of northern whites in fairly large numbers brought protection to the work from the federal government, that it had never given to black workers Additionally, because Snick had all but deserted its early black campus base, Negroes could not be recruited in sufficient numbers to meet the projected personnel needs for the work in voter registration, freedom schools and general community organizing. Thus, the call went out for 1,000 northern volunteers to help open up Mississippi in the summer of 1964. By the previous spring many local Negroes had begun to carry on the day-to-day work of their own freedom organizations--doing mimeographing, typing, and leg work. And then the volunteers came. They were more "efficient" in almost every way. They meant well; they tried hard; they had been invited to come; but some of the hosts soon has second thoughts.

BENEFIT OR LIABILITY?

Neverthelass, most of those involved will admit that the volunteers were instrumental in helping to secure the basic rights of blacks to organize, picket and vote. But, the "flood" of whites produced serious problems. It took almost a year for local participation in daily work to be built up again. Antagonisms between local, black staff and white volunteers produced psychological damage to some in both groups that was slow to mend, if at all. Whether the above advances could have been accomplished by blacks alone, thus avoiding the liabilities of white participation, is a question which can never be answered.

WHITE WORKERS NOW

I stated earlier that there were intially two primary reasons for white participation in Snick:1)To demonstrate that blacks and whites can work together to build the Beloved Community; and, 2) To secure needed skills. It is now clear to most people in the South that the

first is true. With regard to the second, the vital functions of typing, printing, and research can be done, and in many cases now are being done, by Negroes. It is agreed that those whites who are still performing these tasks can do the Movement a valuable service by training local people to perform them.

If these reasons for white involvement are no longer important, what about the other,past justifications? To give protection? No. To help secure the right to leaflet and to demonstrate?--No. Are there new justifications? Many blacks say that there are absolutely none; in fact, some say that for whites to remain would be extremely detrimental. And here we must look at the question of Black Consciousness, and what it is.

WHAT IS BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS?

Blacks, all blacks, must be aware that they are not inferior to whites. They must know that black people have made significant contributions to world civilization over the centuries, including here in the United States. It is their being aware that whites, in many cases, are bad judges of the value of these contributions. It is their being conscious that even the English language is, at times, inherently inadequate for describing Africans or Afro-Americans, their achievements and culture. (Check Roget's Thesaurus for synonyms for "black," then look at those for "white.") And it is more. It is not only having facts and knowledge about history, and sociological statistics, etc.; it is also believing and feeling in one's GUTS that they are true. For example, the Negroes in Wilcox County, Alabama must be disabused of the belief that Mr. Calhoun, the recent black candidate for sheriff who lost in spite of the fact that Negroes outvoted whites by a huge majority, can do as good a job as sheriff as the white man that the Negroes put in office, and maybe better. Many blacks assert that this will not happen if whites continue to help to do the organizing, the research, and all the other things.

LET "WHITEY" DO IT.

It is increasingly contended that the very presence of whites has a very serious intimidating effect on the masses of black people. Because they have been taught it all their lives, many continue to believe that "if you're black, stay back," and that "white is right." Thus many black people have developed the habit of letting the whites take the initiative. So militant blacks want to remove this impediment. "Let whitey do it" is saved for white organizing and fighting in Vietnam.

If you do not readily take to this line of reasoning, as I did not, you are offered other compelling arguments for confining your work to the white community. Let me state three more that I know.

WHAT WHITES CAN DO

1) There is much talk by whites about an interracial movement of the poor. But there is no movement of poor whites with whom the thousands of organized Negroes may ally themselves. (See article on White Organizing in this issue of NSS.) Most blacks in the Movement realize that poor Negroes need allies, and that over and above the questions of black consciousness and unity, there must be class unity. But they question whether poor whites, who do the dirty work of bombing and beating, can be organized. None of us whites are demonstrating to them that they are wrong; but we are agreed that whites must do it. (Many Negroes argue that disaffected middleclass whites have been taking the easy route and escaping to the black community.)

2) There is also the problem of racism in America which pervades all classes of whites. That is must be eliminated is obvious. This means that whites too must be made conscious of Negro history, African contributions to man's culture, and all the other things discussed above. The implications of this task for our educational system at all levels are far reaching. Whites who man school boards, who teach whites, who write books, and

(Continued on page 9)

WHITE ORGANIZING: NEW ODYSSEY

White civil rights workers throughout the South are now navigating difficult currents in their journey home. On one side of their frail craft lies the Scylla of Black Consciousness (see article in this newsletter), with the implication that whites cannot continue their present role in the Negro freedom movement; on the other side lies the stark statistical Charybdis of the Alabama Democratic primary, in which at most 3% of all whites voting chose Richmond Flowers, despite the fact that he was the only candidate who offered a platform geared to the interests of the poor.

The only existing Southern organizing project involving whites is the Southern Mountain Project of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). The SMP will attempt to build an interracial movement of the poor, using an integrated staff to organize around permanent unemployment pay, better medical care, effective anti-poverty programs and more responsive elected officials. Their East Tennessee based experimental project has been in operation since last June, chiefly familiarizing the community with them and vice versa. It is still too early to judge its potentiality.

While accepting the basic SMP program most civil rights workers are inclined to believe that, even disregarding the importance of building black consciousness, initial interracial organization is an Achilles Heel which foredooms the project to failure.

Some find the siren song of rural white organizing most enticing, and would like to begin in one of the poorer counties of Appalachia, either in Kentucky or East Tennessee. Others favor initiating a project in a Border State city, such as Louisville, Wheeling or St. Louis, with the idea that knowledge and Deep South migrants found there would make eventual organizing further South more fruitful (a sort of human Trojan Horse technique).

Those with personal experience cite obstacles beyond the racial question which make white organizing more difficult than work in black communities. Poor whites, particularly in rural areas, are extremely suspicious of outsiders. Also, despite their oppression, they tend to identify more strongly than Negroes with the existing community leadership, making it more difficult for them to perceive the broad patterns of exploitation and build a competing organization. In the Negro community the clergy has often been important in beginning movement groups; this would be unlikely in a white community. For these reasons an urban community, where rural in-migrants are themselves strangers, socially dislocated and unrelated to local power elements, seems a more likely starting point.

The actual location of a project will probably be determined by the proclivities of the organizers. At its April Conference, SSOC voted to support a white community project whose organizers seem capable and committed, without specifying location. Even Alabama and Mississippi were not excluded, since SSOC sees, as Odysseus with the Cyclops that in the land of the one-eyed the two-eyed is king. Two young men who have worked with SNCC in Alabama have expressed a desire to begin a project, but neither can commit himself for longer than 3 months and SSOC is attempting to find someone who could begin with them and continue the project for at least a year, with the (If you are interested please write immediately).

In any event, it looks like a long trip and young Southern white activists are presently hesitant to attest that any Penelopes are eagerly waiting to welcome them.

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VIETNAM DRAFT EXAM

Although this newsletter is going to press before May 14th and returns are still incomplete, it is already clear that the National Vietnam Exam program will involve significantly more Southern students than any previous peace or civil rights effort in menory! In Louisiana every single testing center for the Seledtive Service College Qualification Test (there are sixteen) will be attended by people passing out the National Vietnam Exam. This countertest on the issues of the War in Vietman was composed by scholars from the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and Students for a Democratic Society. SSOC is co-ordinating its distribution in twelve Southern States, not only at schools with a history of social action, but at many traditionally dormant colleges.

The power of this organized response to the "draft tests" is made clear by the support we are already getting. On Tuesday Rep. Adam Clayton Powell stated that the draft tests are "reminiscent of Hitler's twin system of eugenics and education--weed out the intellactually deprived or socially undesirables by conscripting them or cannon fodder."

The overwhelming success of this program raises two crucial questions: Can campus people follow up the Vietnam Exam by starting organized social action groups and continuing creative programing? Can SSOC continue to unite Southern students around significant programs which both old and new activists will respond to? The answer to both of these questions clearly depends on you.

SCC MEETS

The Southern Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam held its second conference on April 23-24 in Nashville.

The eighty participants came from twelve states, representing colleges and independent anti-war committees, or themselves. At least fifty-two committees are known to exist in the South. The conferees voted to become the southern region of the National Coordinating Commettee, formalizing a previously functional role.

A large part of the discussion centered around the problem of confronting the traditional conservatism of most Southerners, who now view the Vietnam conflict as a Holy War Against Communism, and thus are not initially open to any alternatives to present U.S. policies. It was suggested that volunteers work full time this summer to involve people throughout the South in an examination of the War.

Much debate involved the small role by Negroes in the anti-war movement in the South. Civil rights workers present felt that although there is substantial opposition to the War in the Negro community, the freedom movement is of much greater concern at present and absorbs all of their enerfies.

Finances, the eternal Governor Wallace of left of center causes, was brought up, and several committees pledged support. The SCC office is attempting to find a full time fundraiser to bring the office budget up to meager.

Dwain Wilder, present SCC secretary, emphasized that staff is a primary need of the SCC, both for the summer volunteer program and for the office in all capacities. The conference failed to come up with a solution to this problem, although several participants said they had possible recruits in mind.

Many people in attendance were concerned by the lack of program discussion, other than the "town meeting summer" and the SDS draft exam (see articles in this newsletter). This hiatus reflected a general feeling that massive programs are unrealistic in the near future since the Southern peace movement is still a miniscule, though growing, minority in a hostile or indifferent land.

who program for the mass media must be confronted with the issue of racism. And whites must forcefully make this confrontation--no small task.

Furthermore, those of us who cherish the idea of an integrated society, whether we be white or Negro, must ask oursevles if it is integration or assimilation that we are about at present. If it is the latter, and I think it is, then perhaps we must wait for real integration. The whole discussion of integration has to do with absorption, not with sharing. This must stop!

3) The Blacks who say that the war in Vietnam is a racist, white man's war assert that whites must end it. A corollary of this is that they will admit of no responsibility for participation in the Peace Movement as such.

SOME SERIOUS QUESTIONS

In the last analysis, I must admit that I have serious questions about much of what I have tried to relate in the above. When I heard about the recent all-black meeting in New Orleans, I was not half joking when I suggested that we whites must hold "sit-ins" at the affair to protest and "obviously unjust situation." The injustice is not so obvious to me now. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that many, many in Snick and in the community do not hold with all or even part of these views. Others accept them as a temporary tactic, some as a long range strategy.

There are several questions, some implicit in this paper, which I am not prepared to deal with at this time, but which must be answered soon:

1) Who is "black"?Those advocating Black Consciousness now accept the white definition. Is Ralph Bunche "black"?
2) H w can blacks be unified so that BC can be developed in such a "white" land?
3) Is there danger of an ideology of Black Superiority developing from this?
4) Where is the "Beloved Community"?

Much rough road will be traveled in the thrashing out of this whole thing in the South. The Northern Student Movement was at this point two years ago. It is now all black with many white friends. Snick and other viable parts of the southern black Movement appear to be heading in the same direction. Wailing and gnashing of teeth is senseless. What is needed is a serious attempt at understanding and openness; and much work in the white community.

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ALCORN

FOUR MORE EXPELLED

Four student leaders at Alcorn College, Lorman Mississippi, have been kicked out of school for "conduct unbecoming to a student." Their case has been taken by the Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee in Jackson, an affiliate of ACLU. The administration acted on May 4. A demonstration, planned for that evening, was called off. There have been no demonstrations since early April at Alcorn.

TWO BUILDINGS MYSTERIOUSLY DESTROYED

The student union building was wrecked from top to bottom recently. This included two demolished color T.V. sets, a wrecked book store and grill. In addition, a tool shed containing many valuable tools belonging to a construction company was burned to the ground.

Clifton McFarland, Jr., a student from Natchez who was suspended in early March for "interfering with a security officer," has been granted a hearing by the State Board of Trustees. McFarland, also represented by LCDC, will appeal his case to the courts if the Board's decision is unfavorable. Ousted in a Kangaroo Court type proceeding, McFarland was suspected by the administration of being a member of the NAACP.

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SUMMER PEACE PROJECTS

The South, except in a few isolated areas, has not participated in the raging debate over the present crisis in foreign policy that has swept the country. Because of this lack SSOC is sponsoring a Summer Foreign Policy Education project to have students working in cities of the South talking to clergymen, labor people, other students, professional people, etc. The purpose of this project will be to organize people to talk and learn about why we are involved in Viet Nam, what the arguments are for staying there, and what the arguments are for leaving. We will need to try a lot of different thing---setting up discussion seminars, door-to-door canvassing, community teach-ins, etc. We hope to have a south-wide newsletter for discussion among summer volunteers as well as an end of the summer evaluation session. Finally, we need contributions for subsistence wages, for the orientation, etc. Contributions are tax-exempt. Make checks payable to SSOC for the Summer Foreign Policy Education Project.

We need volunteers immediately. Please fill out the application form on the opposite page. We need offers of free room and/or board for the summer from concerned adults and local committees in the South.

There will be an orientation session including discussions led by competent people on the war and the issues raised by it, as well as discussions on various kinds of organizing and programming. Experienced people will be present. We hope that volunteers will prepare working papers for the orientation to serve as a basis for discussion groups.

An Alabama student informed us this week that she is going to Peru with the Methodist Board of Missions instead of the Peace Corps so that she will have more political freedom.

SUMMER READING....CONTINUED

Poverty On the Land, 60 pp, 25¢ A report of National Advisory Committee On Farm Labor. Descriptive study with a wealth of frightening statistics showing rural poverty and the growth of agro-business.

Readings on Poverty, Ken McEldowney, 8pp 10¢ with Our Invisible Poor, by Dwight MacDonald, 24 pp. An imposing array of statistics on poverty in America, with some liberal solutions by McEldowney.

Students and Labor, Al Haber, 20pp, 10¢ A discussion of the liberal-radical potential of unions with specific suggestions for student-labor interchanges.

Statement On Faculty Responsibility For The Academic Freedom Of Students, American Assoc. of University Professors. Must reading for anyone on a campus with an AAUP chapter.

Guidelines for Social Change: The Tutorial Project, National Student Association. 19pp., 25¢ A lot of good--and some bad--ideas on running a tutorial. Definitely worth reading by all interested in tutoring poor students.

Five required books for the well educated Southerner; all available at your local bookstore.

The Nature of Prejudice, Gordon W. Allport, 480 pp, $1.45, Doubleday Anchor.

The New Abolitionists, Howard Zinn, 240 pp, $1.25, Beacon Paperback.

The Mind of the South, W.J. Cash, 440pp $1.65. Vintage Paperback.

The Other America, Michael Harrington, 186 pp, $.95, Penguin Special.

Vietnam: History, Documents, and Opinion On A Major World Crisis, Marvin E. Gettleman, edit., 458 pp, Fawcett Paperback, $.95--$.75 from SSOC.

Foreign Policy Education Project

APPLICATION BLANK FOR SUMMER PROJECT

Name_____ School Address_____

Home Address_____ City, State_____

City, State_____ Year in school_____

Age_____ Major_____

(use additional sheet where necessary)

1. Please list courses you have taken in political science, economics, etc., relevant to the work you wish to do this summer.

2. Have you had past experience organizing on peace, etc. ? Yes___ No___ If yes, describe.

3. Give reasons for wanting to work on this project. Include what you would like to do. (e.g. research, speaking, organizing discussions, other.)

4. Can you raise subsistence wages for the summer? ($15 per week) Yes__ No __

5. Do you have any preference as to where in the South you would like to work? Yes__ No__ If so, list preference.

6. When will you be available this summer? From_____To_____

7. Please get one older person to write a reference letter for you.

---------- Please Mail To SSOC, P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee ----------

REQUEST FOR SUMMER VOLUNTEERS

1. We would like to have __ volunteer(s) working in our community this summer. We understand that volunteers will attend an orientation session and will be regularly in touch with a central coordinator.

2. We can furnish rooms for all of the volunteers. Yes__ No__

3. We can provide board and subsistence for __ volunteers.

4. We can provide some__ no__ transportation for volunteers.

5. Please describe the work you want the volunteer(s) to do such as speaking, organizing seminars, organizing community teach-ins, forming an anti-war group, doing leg work for the local committee, etc.(Please use additional sheet.)

Name_____

Address_____

_____

DUKE EMPLOYEES' LOCAL

For the past year, employees, students and union representatives have been working to organize a union of campus service employees at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

A number of gains have been achieved from the effort so far. The university is raising wages. It has been forced to establish a grievance procedure, and several employees who were fired because of union activity have regained their jobs. There is a new relationship between employees and supervisors which is beginning to strip away much of the Old South paternalism.

However the university refuses to recognize the employees' right to collective bargaining. This is not surprising. North Carolina has the largest percentage of unorganized workers in the nation. Only 7% of the state's work force is organized. The dominant industries, textiles, furniture, and tobacco, have fought unions bitterly. The power behind the university is a reflection of the industrial power of the state.

Students at Duke are planning to expand their part in the union effort over the summer. They will begin community organizing in three Negro areas of Durham where most Duke service employees live. The students will work with the union activists living in these areas to tie community work to the union campaign.

The union needs your support for the summer activities. If they succeed, Duke will become the first organized campus in the South, and they will have forced a major power to change.

Contributions for the Duke campaign can be sent directly to Duke Local 77, AFSCME, 604 West Chapel Hill Street, Durham, North Carolina. (A complete history of the Duke campaign is available from SSOC).

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September 14, 1966

Dear Friends:

SSOC has undergone several important changes since you last heard from us. During the past summer two meetings were held at the new SSOC camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina and decisions made there reflect the growth and development of the organization.

The June Buckeye Cove meeting was the result of a mandate from the Spring SSOC Conference to hold a summer meeting for the purpose of resolving the questions of membership and programming for the coming year. Last week the executive committee met at Buckeye Cove to finalize plans for the winter-spring program and to incorporate these plans into foundation proposals.

The decisions of these meetings are described more fully in the attached sheets. The general feeling of both meetings seemed to be that SSOC should "tighten up." In order to expedite our servicing of active and committed students, to insure that SSOC reflects the wishes and needs of its constituency, and to begin creating a genuine movement of southern students, SSOC has become a membership organization. The membership fee is $5.00 per year, including a subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT. Non-members wishing to receive THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT may subscribe for $3.00 per year. Following the October issue of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT, names of non-paying subscribers will be removed from the mailing list. We feel it is time to face the fact that if SSOC is to continue its work, it must become at least partially self-sustaining.

Programs for the fall include a conference on the university to be held in the Carolinas, a Florida conference on migrant farm labor, speaker tours in the deep and middle South, state-wide campus travelers in Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia, and a greatly expanded literature program. In addition, SSOC will help support three related community projects in Nashville, Southside Virginia, and Atlanta. SSOC staff for the fall presently numbers seven.

Read the enclosed information carefully and send in your membership and NEW SOUTH STUDENT blank in the self-addressed envelope. Let us hear from you on your plans for the fall and specific things we can do to help you, as well as your thoughts on what SSOC should be doing.

For a New South,

Steve Wise
nwg

Steve Wise
Chairman

P.S. If you have recently sent in the $3.00 subscription fee, an additional $2.00 will make you a SSOC member. PLEASE INCLUDE YOUR ZIP CODE ON ALL CORRESPONDENCE WITH US.

WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

Plans for the coming year are open. Part of this openness is a conscious effort to remain flexible enough to meet needs when they arise, and part is forced on the organization by uncertainty about things like money and staff availability.

Conferences

There are two conferences planned for the fall. One is a conference on the university and its reformation planned for the Carolinas around Thanksgiving. It is hoped that SSOC and the Southern Project of NSA will be able to co-sponsor this conference. The second is a conference on migrant farm labor to be held in late October or early November in Florida. This conference will coincide with a drive by organized labor to organize farm workers in that state. Following the conference a SSOC traveller will remain in the state to help relate students to the drive and provide general servicing. Plans are also being made for another Christmas workshop on the South to be held at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. Some thought is being given to another students and labor conference for the winter to be held in Texas, perhaps.

Travellers

SSOC will have regional travellers in Virginia, Tennessee, and Florida this fall. Other staff members will be doing some general campus travelling, and travelling to campuses in response to specific needs.

Publications

Because of its continued expansion in scope and size, the New South Student will have a full-time editor this year. The format of the paper will be basically the same, but coverage will be expanded. The work-list mailing will continue and will be sent to SSOC members. Finally the office will continue to reprint and publish articles and working papers on various topics.

Community Projects

SSOC will continue to support the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee's project in southside Virginia and the North Nashville Project. The North Nashville Project has been working in two black areas of the city, and this fall a SSOC staff member will begin work in a poor white area. Another staff member has begun a project in Atlanta working with members of the university and middle-class community.

Speakers

The SSOC office will begin a speaker program this fall. Information on speakers who are willing and/or eager to do speaking around the South will be compiled and sent to campus groups. In addition several speaker tours are planned for the spring.

Membership and Chapter Servicing

As SSOC chapters are formed and membership increases, SSOC will be searching for effective ways to service and coordinate the activities of

active students. Planned are an expanded literature distribution program, the speaker program, and available staff to assist chapters with their own programs.

Folk Tour

Another folk tour is planned for this year. The tour will cover more schools and earlier notice will be given so that chapters will be able to make more adequate arrangements. A workshop is planned for this fall to make plans for the tour.

SSOC Camp

SSOC has a five-year lease on a camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina. The camp can be used for weekend meetings and seminars in good weather, and is available for general use by SSOC chapters and members. Plans are being made for a summer-long seminar or institute to be held at the camp.

In thinking about SSOC programs for the coming year it might be helpful to review some of the things SSOC was able to do last year:

**Held a two-week workshop at Highlander Center in September, 1965. The workshop dealt with programs for the '65-'66 school year.

**Co-sponsored with the Southern Project of the National Student Association a conference for Florida students.

**Sponsored a regional conference on university reform held Thanksgiving weekend at the University of Arkansas.

**Assisted the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee in holding a state-wide student conference.

**Sponsored at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington a Christmas workshop focusing on economic and political trends in the South.

**Planned and held a student conference in Mississippi which examined projected problems in the state.

**Sponsored a conference on students and labor held in April in North Carolina.

**Gave assistance to two SSOC-related community projects in southside Virginia and Atlanta, and helped initiate a third in Nashville.

**Coordinated the SDS draft exam program in the South.

**Disseminated information on the student revolt at Alcorn A & M College in Mississippi and sponsored a related southern protest of poor education in the South.

**Sponsored a movement folk tour which visited twenty southern campuses and communities.

**Published nine issues of the New South Student.

**Recruited seven students to work on a summer drive to organize eastern migrant farm workers into a labor union.

**Sponsored a South-wide, issue-oriented conference in Atlanta in the spring.

**Made campus visits to approximately one hundred southern schools during the school year.

**Leased for five years a three hundred acre camp near Asheville, North Carolina to be used for student and movement meetings, seminars, and recreation.

We are anxious to hear your ideas on the projected programs for the coming year as well as any other suggestions you may have. The degree of success of any SSOC program is wholly dependent on your participation and critical evaluation.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Many of you have been receiving THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT for nearly two years now. During that time you have seen it grow from a four-page bulletin going out to fifty people to a 25-page newsletter reaching more than 4,000 readers monthly with expanded coverage of campus and community social action across the South, as well as opinion columns, programming suggestions, book reviews, and feature articles.

Concurrent with the growth of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT has been an increase in the cost of publishing and our largess, in the form of free subscriptions, must now necessarily come to an end. If THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT is to continue to expand and improve, its readership must begin to financially support it.

In October you will receive the first issue of THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT for this school year. Regrettably, unless we hear from you, this will also be the last issue you receive. A year's subscription to THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT is $3.00. An additional $2.00 will make you a full-fledged member of SSOC. Let us hear from you by using the enclosed order blank and self-addressed envelope.

LITERATURE

Southern Student Organizing Committee
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____ Statement of Goals and Programming
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SSOC is a parade

(and everybody loves a parade--especially those in it)

IT'S ALSO CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS
about good things like: Freedom, and decent colleges and peace.

AND IT'S THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT
that tells what's happenin' and what should, maybe. (It tells these things monthly

AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS
in the country and in town, for people--black people and white, too.

PLUS A SUMMER CAMP
in the mountains with trees, and lazy snakes, and birds, which is for students, and kids, and friends, and tired civil rights workers.

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☐ I would like to join SSOC. ($5 a year, includes newsletter)

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RURAL COMMUNITY OGANIZATION

by
John Zippert

John Zippert works for CORE in Opelousas, Louisiana. The second paper is a reprint from the March, 1966, issue of the New South Student.

Available from:
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 6403 Nashville, Tennessee

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

by John Zippert

The dilemmas faced in rural community organization attempts can best be related in a sad and simple story. A sharecropper who has been very active in the project, has eight children, works 12 acres of cotton, 10 acres of corn and 5 acres of sweet potatoes. All of his children but one are of school age. This September he sent one of his children to integrate the first grade at the local white elementary school. When I went by his farm in mid-October (almost two months after school had opened) three of his children were in the field digging potatoes...they had not as yet attended a day of the school session. Here was a man so radical in his social beliefs that he challenged one of the power structure's most prized institutions, yet he was unable to free himself and was a captive of a traditional economic system somewhat akin to slavery. It was clear that if this man did not keep his children in the field he would have had no income on which to support his family and send the others to school. (Just as a note of academic interest, when all seven of his children attend school, it costs him $75 a year to pay for the "family plan" of the Federal FREE School Lunch Program for them!)

People have been moving off the land and into urban areas ever since about the time Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed "the frontier closed." The number of rural people, especially Negroes who have moved up to the ghettos of our Northern cities from the South, must be staggering. It is clear that if a man is a small farmer and has a big family, they will be an asset until they grow old enough to want to strike out for themselves. At this point they must leave to find work. Most of them don't find it on the farms but join the ranks of poorly educated unskilled workers. This is mostly due to economic and school segregation experienced by Negroes due to the intimidation and pervasiveness of the power structure in the South.

Nowadays people are being kicked off the land by landlords who are turning to the economies of scale offered in mechanized agriculture. A cotton picker can do the work of fifteen (15) hand pickers in a single day - with only two men needed to operate it. Some of the plantation hands or 'croppers' are hired back as day laborers for fifty cents an hour (50¢) and make about $6 a day for working from can to can't (see the sun, that is). In Louisiana, many of the farmers who used to market their sweet potatoes with local shippers are finding these shippers are renting large tracts of land (displacing the small farmer) and becoming large growers as well. These grower-shippers are using four-row tractors and implements, mechanized sweet potato digging machines and hiring large amounts of labor at harvesting time for sub-standard wages (they often hire the children of the small growers). Thus, they are producing sweet potatoes at a

lower cost per crate than the small grower who farms intensively, often with a mule team or at best a one-row tractor. When the small farmer comes to sell his potatoes he gets less than it actually cost to produce them while the shipper is still in a position by strict grading to reap a handsome profit through his marketing knowhow and contacts.

Since most small farmers grow one or two"cash crops" they are caught in a squeeze because they do not have the resources, knowhow or encouragement to diversify their crops. The Cooperative Extension Service, while connected with the United States Department of Agriculture, is primarily an agency of the state affiliate with the states white land grant college. In the South, the Extension Service has been unresponsive and has lacked initiative in working for or with small Negro farmers. The Soil Conservation Service works primarily with larger farmers who have some spare land to conserve rather than with small farmers who seem to be people in need of a certain amount of conserving before they all disappear from the land. The ACP program, which is part of the services of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is supposed to subsidize 50% of the costs of certain conservation practices such as fertilization, irrigation and drainage of the land. Most poor farmers cannot put up the other half; some are never informed or fully knowledgeable about these benefits; some do not have enough land to benefit and others (sharecroppers) do not own the land and often the bossman is unintorested because it would take his funds to improve a tenant's land. Part of our organizing attempts among poor small Negro farmers must be in the area of agronomics, agribusiness, conservation and other agricultural techniques. Possibly mid-Western state university schools of agriculture are the places to hunt for volunteers. If it seems far fetched to see a civil rights worker running a "freedom school" on agricultural techniques it may be the only way out. This is not to say that poor farmers should not demand their rights to equal and fair service with large and white farmers. Many letters and petitions have been sent but the USDA hierarchy moves slowly. One reason for this is that the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture are chaired by southerners Ellender (D. La.) and Cooley (D. SC) and dominated by conservative legislators.

Many policies and programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture structuraly exclude the sharecropper. He is, in most instances, excluded from borrowing under most of the regular FHA loan programs. Only the new Economic Opportunity Loan under Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act provides some relief. Under this program a farmer or resident of a rural town may borrow up to $2,500 for anything that will increase his family income. Several ladies have acquired sewing machines under this provision on the supposition that they would sew for their neighbors to make some money toward the liberal repayment terms of the loan. Several mechanics and blacksmiths shops have been modernized with these funds. But even when the government goes out of its way to help people with a loan program there are provisions clearly discrimin-

atory to the small Negro farmer. Because of Hurricane Betsy there is in Louisiana a program to give farmers an FHA Emergency Loan at 3% interest. Part of the principal amount borrowed will be excused if a farmer can show crop losses due to the storm. Up to $1,800 will be excused in this way. However, no matter how much you borrow you must pay back the first $500 of the loan although you can get the next thousand excused. Thus the small operator whose borrowing is done in the hundreds and not the thousands receives no pro-rated principal excuse provision. The poorest man gets the least help-the usual story.

The credit problems of the poor farmer would make material in in itself. Most poor people borrow with a local grocer or the bossman at 8 to 10% interest. But they start borrowing on April 1 and pay back in October, so they only have the money for half a year, which doubles the interest rate. Most farmers do not get the entire principal amount on the first day of the interest period but collect it as they need it. All of this added together means that the small farmer often pays a twenty percent (20%) interest rate for his money. Organizing farmers for education on credit practices and demanding a special low interest, possibly a rate only to cover processing costs by FHA, should be instituted to help low income farmers.

One of the best programs around which to organize rural people is the allotment program as administered by the local Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) Committee and Office. Since a man's allotment and parity check often determine his income this program reaches all the farmers on the basis of economic interest and direct importance. The ASC structure superficially appears to be very democratic in that all people who have an interest in the allotment program: landowners, tenants, sharecroppers and their wives, are all supposed to vote for the committees that administer this program on a local level. In the South, until the civil rights organizations began to tackle ASCS elections, no ballots were sent to sharecroppers. In Louisiana and Mississippi there was wholesale and as yet uninvestigated fraud in the ASCS elections. The elections do give farmers, especially Negro farmers, a chance for political participation linked with basic economic issues. The elections are not like ordinary projects but have a certain limited goal (election of a Negro county committeeman) toward which people can work and measure their accomplishment. By running candidates in each ward of the parish where I am working last summer we were able to create an informal parish-wide farmers organization with natural leaders (the men who had run as ASCS candidates and those who worked hardest to elect them). The election gave the people in some wards a chance to participate in a nominating convention where more people wanted to run than there were places. Since there was adversity on the part of the ASCS Office Manager in his reluctance to send ballots to sharecroppers, we drew closer together by having to take direct action in terms of a "crowd-in and complain -in" at his office as well as some letterwriting to Washington. We won a victory in terms of his grudging concession to send ballots to all eligible voters. In the end he cheated us by sending ballots to all white ladies because they owned a little property but not sending any ballots to Negro ladies

because he said he did not know which Negro farmers were married.

Out of contacts between farmers from different parts of the parish came a discussion of other common problems. One of these was the low price farmer's were getting for sweet potatoes. Various alternatives to this problem were discussed including a co-op or a union to withhold crops from the market until a basic and fair return price was paid. These farmers are now planning to borrow a quarter of a million dollars from the FHA under the loans to cooperatives section, Title III, Section 303 of the Economic Opportunity Act to open a sweet potato marketing co-op. If the co-op does well in the fresh market, its members hope to negotiate a loan for a processing plant to can their own sweet potatoes in the coming years. These OEO loans to cooperatives can be helpful in organizing farmers to acquire machinery comparable to that owned by bigger operators. Six to ten small cotton farmers having a combined acreage of 100 acres of cotton can buy a $15,000 cotton picker from the FHA under its OEO loaning power. They do not need any capital; all they have to do is form themselves together as a co-op. One group who bought a cotton picker cooperatively last year in my area was able to pay their note despite Hurricane Betsy and send their children to school on the first day. A group of ten men can form a feeder pig co-op. The co-op can buy some land(less than an acre will do) and put a building and buy the pigs for breeding. All of this will be financed by the FHA. Each man will have a certain day when he must take care of the operation so no one man is burdened by the load. All share in the business's profits and a small amount is set aside in retains to pay back the FHA co-op loan. This type of co-op would give sharecroppers and day laborers something to fall back on, or a supplement to their income that the bossman could not share in or control.

There is great need to pull together all the organizations of poor Negro farmers to exert pressure on Washington for more liberal loan programs, subsidy payments for crop diversification, higher price supports, greater educational efforts among small farmers, more job training and retraining programs for poorly educated youth and displaced farmers, income supplements to farmers to maintain themselves on the land with limited resources and even more limited incomes. Surely in Louisiana some pressure could be exerted by the vote to rid us of Allen J. Ellender as Senator. One of the best programs to organize for is one which hires and trains poor farmers to work to help and train others in their own ranks. In this way the government could provide an income supplement to every fourth or fifth farmer for him to help the other three or four to do better.

FARMERS ORGANIZE

by John Zippert

The New South must have a just economic structure as well as just political structures. The structures cannot be separated--it is the political strength that whites have wielded which has made possible the preservation of the system of economic suppression. The other side of the coin is that economic inequality has worked to preserve the system; the economic power of the rich and the white have enabled them to control the political apparatus. In order to bring about basic changes in the system, one must not only organize on a political basis by gaining and using the vote, but also attack the system at its economic base.

Whites Control Economy

All over our land, the economy is controlled by whites. White men own the stores, do the hiring and firing, set the prices, and control the sources of capital necessary for an individual to set up a business. It is a closed economic system into which Negroes are brought on the terms set by whites. In order to change this, people have set up various insurgent economic organizations. In the Mississippi Delta, sharecroppers have organized the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. A Poor Peoples Corporation and a brick making factory have been set up. In St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, Negro farmers are joining together to form several co-operatives.

Co-ops Formed

The Opelousas Progressive Co-op, the largest of the co-ops they are forming, has 200 members who have pledged to set up and support a food store, financed by $10 pledges by each member. In this way, they can raise capital independently of the power structure, and can possibly get money from the poverty program. The planning is being done by the people who belong to the co-op. Each member has one vote; each man participates in the decisions about what will happen in the co-op and what his money will work for. The profits will go back to the shareholders on the basis of how much they use the store, in order to encourage doing business with the co-op, as well as to realize the profits themselves, rather than giving them to the white man, as in the past. The co-op will make jobs for Negroes as managers, cashiers, and clerks, and buy produce from Negroes.

Dealing more basically with the economic basis of the society are two other organizations for St. Landry Parish small farmers, perhaps to be merged soon, a sweet potato marketing co-op and a farm supply co-op. The farm supply co-op will buy seed, fertilizer, and poison in large quantities and then pass the savings on in the form of lower prices to the individual member. Again, the capital will be raised by the members and borrowed from the government. These same small farmers are organizing a sweet potato marketing co-op, in which they have agreed to sell their sweet potatoes to the co-op. In this way, they will have a large enough quantity to store, ship, and sell the potatoes themselves, rather than being forced to accept the terms of the local buyer. As well as giving people more money for their potatoes, the co-op will also create new jobs.

The Future of the South

It may be that the future lies in the cities--that rural organizing will be outdated by urbanization and the increased efficiency of mechanized large scale agriculture. Nevertheless, some people have made a commitment to the rural South, to stay with it and change it, rather than flee to the dubious haven of the Northern ghetto. These people, forming co-ops in which for the first time they may join together on a basis of trust and competence, forging out an economic organization independent of white dominance, controlling their own resources, and making their own jobs, are creating an island of possibility for the emergence of a New South.

THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT

VOL. III APRIL, 1966 NO. 4

The New South Student is published each month from October through May by the Southern Student Organizing Committee in Nashville, Tennessee. Labor is donated.

David Nolan is editor of this issue. Bill Myers did the cover portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. Our thanks to the Nashville crew that helped put the newsletter out.

If you wish to receive The New South Student, contributions of not less than $1.00 for southern students, and $3.00 for northern students and adults are requested. All contributions are tax exempt.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A PARABLE OF NO VIOLENCE, SOME VIOLENCE, AND GREAT VIOLENCE by Clarence Jordan p. 2
NONVIOLENCE: WHY IT WON'T WORK, by Brian Peterson p. 3
PEACE POLITICS: A DISSENT, by David S. Messner p. 4
THE AGITATOR, by Gayle Ray p. 7
L.S.U. REPORT p. 7
HEY OLD PEOPLE: A Poem p. 8
VIETNAM: AN ABSENCE OF RECTITUDE, by Joe McNulty p. 9
THE CHINESE REALITY, by Charlotte Bunch p. 10
HUMANISM AND THE MOVEMENT, by Steve Wise p. 13
ART AND THE MOVEMENT, by Jon Steinberg p. 14
GRUMBLIN'S AND RUMBLIN'S FROM ALCORN A & M COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI by Uncle Ed p. 17
NEGRO COLLEGES: WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE? by Richard Robbins p. 18
WHAT IS WRONG WITH NEGRO COLLEGES, by J. Raymond Hodkinson p. 22
OUR CONTRIBUTORS p. 25
WHAT'S HAPPENIN' p. 26
LABOR CONFERENCE p. 29

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Office: 1703 Portland Avenue
Telephone: (615) 291-3537

Mailing Address Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

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A PARABLE

OF NO VIOLENCE, SOME VIOLENCE AND GREAT VIOLENCE, by Clarence Jordan

It came to pass in those days that injustice multiplied throughout the land. The poor were oppressed and pushed around exceedingly. They smiled through their tears by day, but hid their faces under their pillows by night. And they cried out for deliverance, but the strong and haughty men who ruled over them told them to keep quiet. They did so, and the strong men said to one another, "See, they are content."

But a Leader arose among the poor. He told them to lift up their voices and let their cries be heard in the streets of the cities. When they did as he said, their oppressors moved among them and cracked their heads with clubs and filled their eyes and lungs with painful gas. But the Leader said, "Be not afraid; we shall overcome them with non-violence." So he taught them to pray in the streets and in the market places for their tormentors. He urged them not to strike back when they were beaten and carried off to jail.

Then a Man of Some Violence stood up among the strong and said, "Our poor are no longer content as they were before strangers entered among them. Lest they make themselves equal with us, and perhaps even rule over us, let us diligently suppress their cries in our streets and their groans before the eyes of the nation." This seemed good to the strong, and they did so. They made blood to flow and they caused bones to break.

But the poor cried out all the more, and some of them wanted to shed the blood of their oppressors. Then the Leader said, "No, we must do no violence, for this will hurt our cause." And the people shouted back, "Then what shall we do?"

Now there was in that country a Man of Great Violence, who ruled over all the people, both great and small. And the Leader of the poor said to them, "Let us call upon this Man of Great Violence, for he is a man who also deals justly and loves mercy. Surely he will hear our prayer for freedom and justice." This pleased the poor, and they made their voices heard before the Man of Great Violence.

But he was a very busy man indeed. He had cities to bomb in distant lands, and villages to burn, and people to make nauseated with gas, so he turned not aside. Yet the Leader, the Man of No Violence, would give him no rest, for the Man of Some Violence was still cracking the heads of the poor as they walked in the streets crying for deliverance. Moreover, the People of Great Violence also spoke to their ruler, saying, "You must give justice to the People of No Violence." And the ruler gave heed to their voice, for it was they who supplied him with men and money for deadly weapons and fearful bombs with which to kill many people in faraway lands. So he called before him the Man of Some Violence and ordered him to let the People of No Violence walk in the streets and cry aloud for justice and freedom. This made the Man of Some Violence, and the strong men with him exceedingly angry toward both the Man of No Violence and the Man of Great Violence. And his anger waxed even hotter when some of the people who supplied the Man of Great Violence with men and money took their places beside the Man of No Violence and said, "We too are non-violent and love justice. You must no longer afflict the poor."

And it came to pass that the Man of Great Violence placed his strong men, armed with deadly weapons, along the roads and streets in order that the Leader and the poor and the non-violent might walk unmolested as they sang, "We Shall Overcome." And when the men with deadly weapons held back the Man of Some Violence and his followers, the Leader of the People of No Violence shouted, "We <u>have</u> overcome." And still another said to his oppressors, "Now <u>we</u> will make the

laws and you will pick the cotton." And hate and anger and pride flowed freely.

Now when the Man of Great Violence had established justice in his own land, he breathed easier, for he could give greater diligence to the slaughter of peoples across the sea. And his people were relieved too, and they were even more eager to give him the men and money and machines he needed to crack many heads and kill multitudes so that he might establish justice and freedom throughout the whole world.

And some of the People of Great Violence who had stood beside the Man of No Violence, returned to their homes. They praised their ruler and the Leader of the poor, but they damned the Man of Some Violence. And they said solemnly from their pulpits: "God loves all people." And their hearers were glad, and went joyfully back to their task of providing the Man of Great Violence with sufficient weapons to ensure justice and freedom to all people (who might survive) for all time (if there is any).

NONVIOLENCE

WHY IT WON'T WORK, by Brian Peterson

Anyone seriously interested in meaningful social change should ponder the fact that radical shifts in power in society in the past have come only after power has been forcibly wrested from the hands of those already holding it and placed in new hands. This is most clearly apparent in social revolutions where power has shifted from a backward social class based on outmoded economic and social institutions, to a progressive social class, based on new and more efficient methods of production, distribution and social control. Here comes to mind the shift from more or less feudal to more or less bourgeois social forms in the English Civil War in the 17th Century, the French Revolution in the 18th century, the American Civil War in the 19th Century, the Chinese Revolution of Sun Yat Sen in 1911-1912, and the February Revolution in Russia in 1917. The shift from capitalism to socialism, when revolutionary, has required force or the threat of force in the following countries: Russia, Outer Mongolia, China, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Democratic Germany, not to mention Democratic Vietnam, Democratic Korea, and Cuba. All other countries which are sometimes called socialist are not yet fully out from under capitalist control. Indeed, many of the above mentioned countries may require further internal revolutions and the use of force to keep them from drifting further toward a semi capitalistic, managerial-controlled society. This force must be more ruthlessly applied than it has been in the past, but it must also be more clearly separate from attempts at counter revolution.

Anyone who suggests that pacificism is an absolute for the movement is a bourgeois reformist who is not seriously concerned with revolutionary social change. Even as a tactical matter, it is often necessary to use force. Such force is used to defend neighborhoods against nightriders, to stop police brutality on the spot, and to protect peaceful demonstrations from harassment. If we ask the police to protect us, we are sanctioning the use of violence for political purposes. If we are men, we will protect ourselves. Watts is a good example of the ambiguity here. Martin Luther King supported police violence to "restore law and order", but from a pure pacifist position this is no more legitimate than to support the rioters. So the question becomes: which violence do you support? Police violence and army violence or black mob riot violence?

What is the pacifist alternative in Viet Nam? Should the Vietnamese let the French or the Americans run their country? Should they try Gandhi's techniques? Gandhi's techniques worked ONLY because

he did not seek a basic shift in social power: imperialism and native capitalism were so close that they could shift positions at the helm without disturbing either British financial interests or the basic social hierarchy. The socialist revolution which is coming in India will require blood, and lots of it, to water the tree of liberty.

Let's get rid of our illusions of nonviolence and get down to the serious business of changing the South.

"SAYING NO TO CONSCRIPTION"

The case against cooperating with the draft. Contains personal stories of several people who have taken their stand against the Selective Service System.

Available for 10¢ from: Peacemaker, 10208 Sylvan Avenue, Cincinatti, Ohio.

PEACE POLITICS

A DISSENT, by David S. Messner

All of us are becoming more acutely aware that we are arriving--much too rapidly for the state of our preparation--at a critical junction in the history of this nation, perhaps in the history of Western culture. Our policy-makers protect themselves from reality with an official shield of private delusion and the rhetoric of self-interest. Their policies have generated a costly, ugly, and dangerous war. More than most of our almost habitual wars, this war is tyrannical and oppressive. It is a sickening and horrifying instance of the official betrayal of the American Revolution. We appear to have sold our birthright of moral idealism for a regard for the cynical manipulations of "realpolitik." The revulsion burning within each of us finds its expression in the question of what is to be done.

Suggested Action

One suggestion has been to run peace candidates in congressional elections. This is suggested as the most direct and efficient response to a rapidly deteriorating situation. Peace candidacies can eliminate Democratic incumbents in certain crucial districts, and thus the president may be made to feel the power of an electorate aroused and alarmed by his war. Such a strategy may well result in the election of candidates considerably more belligerent and considerably less idealistic than the incumbent. But still, it is hoped, the President will be made aware that his conduct of the war is sufficiently culpable to confer the balance of power upon a new opposition. Further, should a peace candidate be elected, he can then proceed to dilute the war hysteria by his presence and activity.

Secondly, it is argued that a peace candidacy will be the most effective way of dissuading the people from their warlike proclivities. The people orient their awareness of issues and their political activity to electoral politics. Thus, it is argued, such a situation as a peace candidacy will find people more receptive to the idea of peace and more willing to volunteer their services "for peace," than they would be in other situations in which peace was advocated.

Thirdly, it is argued that electoral politics offers the best vantage-point from the standpoint of publicity. Lectures and pamphleteering, for instance, demand that people think. And that, in itself, is unthinkable. But in a political campaign, people are not themselves. They will accept leaflets, TV advertisements, speeches, etc. with at least a bland politeness and, who knows, some of it may rub off, i.e., they may begin to think.

These points, while not exhaustive, are I think, representative. With each of them, I disagree.

In the first place, I think it is just obvious that the victory of a pro-war conservative over a pro-war liberal is a liability, not an asset. No garrison state with such destructive armaments as ours can afford to entrust its destiny for two years (or two days!) to people so lacking in vision, understanding, and moral compassion as pro-war conservatives. In the 1860's demagogues seizing power could not blow up the world. In the 1960's they can.

Further, conservatives in general are very paternalistic about the "military-industrial complex". Profit is their primary criterion for distinguishing good from bad policy, and they have found this paternalism to be lucrative beyond expectation. They tend, therefore, to look rather more benevolently upon war than the pro-war liberals.

Another difference. Liberals, in general, espouse a certain amount of compassionate idealism in the domestic programs they work for. They generally have less motivation than conservatives to protect the military-industrial complex. Thus, and by so much, they are more amenable to the suggestion that they are compromising their idealistic domestic programs to support an enterprise alien in spirit to their hopes and convictions.

On the other hand, not only does war not interfere with the domestic programs of the conservatives; it furthers them--the growth of the corporate state, and the maintenance of the maldistribution of wealth.

Success?

The success of a policy of merely defeating incumbent candidates, in some cases, will deprive the President of support for his more decent impulses; conversely, it will also stimulate his less decent impulses. All of this, in my judgement, constitutes a serious liability which we can ill afford in a time such as the present.

Secondly, I think it is true that people do orient their political awareness to electoral politics. But this is bane, not blessing. So long as this is the case, any progress is at the mercy of the whims, neuroses, and cynical manipulations of the electoral process.

Presumably, the present war is a product of this process, broadly conceived. The elements of psychosis and cynical manipulation are obvious enough to all but the most deluded at any rate. So presently, war is more important than aid to the poverty-stricken and aid to education. This has been a bitter and disillusioning, but well-learned lesson for those of us who worked for the Great Persuader in 1964.

The Lesson

So far as I am concerned, the lesson is simply this: unless the people bring moral commitments to the electoral process, they will almost always become dupes at the mercy of egotists who may be non-malevolent, but who are simply cynical. It amounts to an exploitation by design or by fate--take your pick--of the people's confidence.

In order to avert this, the people must be possessed of both moral and pragmatic criteria with which they can judge the actual and proposed performances in the political arena. For obvious reasons, the political arena is better adapted to explicate the pragmatic than the moral value of given policies. And yet, opposing and seemingly equally formidable cases may be made out on purely pragmatic grounds, so far as the people are concerned.

What I wish to suggest is that this familiar means-end notion of pragmatism is, in this instance, incomplete and, to a considerable degree, self-defeating in the long run. It is the notion which we like to cite such groups as the Minutemen and the Klan for using. Therefore, we who wish to convert men, as it were, from analyzing policy in terms of "deterrent values" to what I like to term "compassion values" must give serious consideration to how we propose to effect this change.

One thing I am certain of, and that is this: the change will not occur automatically, or as a by-product of registering enough people to vote, and running candidates who have some idealism. The

reason, I think, is simply this: some of the cynicism of our leaders, jovial as it may be, rubs off on the people. They take with a grain of salt anything they observe in the political arena. Unfortunately, that includes a display of moral idealism.

From this, one might justly conclude that, so far from being the ideal form of action for furthering the cause of peace, political candidacies operate under severe limitations which are to some extent unique to the political arena. From this, in turn, it appears obvious that means other than engagement in electoral politics will have to be found and implemented just in order to assure the success of that engagement in the political process. And that additional factor, I want to suggest, is the instilling of moral considerations as a part of pragmatic criteria in the minds of the people.

Finally, I wish to suggest that, in my opinion, the notion of "power" is a basically irrational notion upon which to base a hope for progress. The acquisition of power may--I say may--be achieved with no sacrifice of egalitarian idealism. That seems to be only rarely the case. But even more rare is the maintenance, without such a sacrifice, of the power acquired. In this sense, it appears obvious that the notion of power tends in the long run to be self-defeating, for those possessed of some moral idealism. In this connection, such tragic figures as Woodrow Wilson and the late Adlai Stevenson might be mentioned.

Why Does Power Corrupt?

Why must this be? The central factor seems to me to be this: the people do not clearly prefer a response of love and non-violence to a way of hate and violence. When they descend to the level of hate and violence, they become a natural target or opportunity for the self-seeking paranoia or, perhaps the delusions of grandeur of the cynical political operator. When people are willing to hate and resort to violence, any political hack can utilize their senseless hostility and further corrupt it to senseless bestiality for the accomplishment of enormous evil. Consider Adolf Hitler and the German people--their ovens. Consider Lyndon Johnson and the American people--their napalm cremations. Clearly, such institutionalized bestiality would be impossible without the consent of the people to resort to violence in the first place.

It is obvious, isn't it, that if people learn not to hate and to justify violence, political hacks will have lost their opportunity. We will no longer be plagued with wars which seek to harden our delusions of grandeur and our xenophobia.

Disrupts Egalitarianism

Another disagreeable fact about the possession of power is this: it tends to be disruptive to the realization of egalitarian ideals. He who possesses the power is in some sense a master, while the rest are his subjects. When the power is abused, as it almost always is at some time or other, resentment is generated which can rapidly become hate. Consider our relations with Latin America, and, of late, Saigon. Again, only when he who holds power will relinquish it before he resorts to violence to retain his power will this degeneration to hatred and violence be averted; similarly, it will be averted only when those who do not possess power determine never to resort to violence and hostility to acquire it.

All of this suggests that the acquisition of power dare never be an end in itself. When it becomes that, when it becomes so important that people will employ violence to acquire it, then, for one who is possessed of moral idealism, it becomes self-defeating. It becomes susceptible to cynical manipulation and is often characterized by a virulent anti-egalitarianism.

Therefore, if policies having "compassion values" are to be preferred to policies having "deterrent values"--e.g. if "food-for-peace" programs are to be preferred to "arms-for-war" programs--the people must learn how to conduct themselves and how to choose policies which will make the latter, grim alternatives

unnecessary and superfluous.

In closing, I do not propose that we cease our current activity. What I do propose is that we do some hard analysis with regard to better aligning goals and policies, and with regard to better aligning goals and policies, and with regard to the reaction of the one upon the other. We ought to become more clear about why we're doing what we're doing and especially about what will be required for the successful implementation of our long-range goals. I, for one, do not think it is at all obvious that our present activity, if continued, will automatically bring about the realization of these goals.

the agitator

living in wonder circles,
    torn by far-flung thoughts,
pushed long beyond strength,
    knowing of strange meanings,
he moves,
    in a shadow world of people,
seeking ever the infinite,
    stirring others to think,
grading dimensions of work,
    feels out,
looks beyond,
    is cursed, misunderstood,
and why?

---gayle ray

LSU REPORT

Paul Jansen is from Hartford, Conn. For the last two years he has been attending Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. The liberal student group on campus is called the Student Liberal Federation. Paul recently retired as president of that group. He established residence in Louisiana and was listed by the treasurer's office as an in-state student for purposes of determining his tuition--a not uncommon thing for college students to do. He helped to organize the teach-in on Vietnam which was held at L.S.U. on February 8, 1966. Al Nelson, a Spartacist, was one of the participants in that teach-in. During the course of the evening someone asked if Nelson was a communist. He replied that he was (or still is). The press lambasted the University. A legislator took up the matter as a personal crusade. He called the president of the University and demanded that Nelson be picked up. He asked that the University come out against having left-wingers on campus. The president wisely refused.

The Hartford, Conn. newspapers carried accounts of the Louisiana incident. Paul's father, a Danish immigrant, has been harrassed in the past for his socialist views. Because of his son's activity he has been fired from his job. Relatives in a nearby town have been harrassed.

Paul and two Negro friends, all of whom lived in the dorms, were harrassed to the point that they had to move out. They secured an apartment in the Negro community. Paul was reclassified as an out-of-state student. His tuition was upped immediately.

Sometime later the decision was made to hold another Vietnam rally. A representative of the Student Peace Union was asked to speak on campus. This time though the opponents of free speech were ready. The SPU speaker was not allowed to talk. Paul Jansen read his address, while the man from SPU sat with him on the platform.

Fortunately, there is some good news to report. After having been evicted from the apartment in the Negro community, Paul and his two roomates, both Negro, found an apartment in the white community. At last report they are living quietly in their integrated housing.

The other good thing is that the SPU campus representative was allowed to speak in Baton Rouge--at the Fellowship Baptist Church, a formerly all-white church which was associated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

CALL TO ACTION

May 14, 1966 promises to be a very important day for college students around the country. It is the first date that the Selective Service College Qualification Test will be given. Scores on this test will be used by the local draft boards to determine which full-time students will lose their deferments from the draft.

On that day there will be a lot of anxious people walking into the 1700 examination centers. People who know their educational background is inadequate will have to face the likelihood that they will have to leave their homes, their girls and their careers in order to serve in the Armed Forces. They will have to face the possibility that they may soon find themselves dropping bombs on Vietnamese villages or creeping around the jungles trying to decide whether a peasant should be shot. Because the exam is presenting a threat to college men and to the women close to them, it is bound to raise questions in people's minds.

The danger is that this questioning will lead only to nervous anxiety. The hope is that those who take the College Qualification Test will begin to question their situation in a serious way; that they will be able to see the social inequities and problems behind it and that they will find a way they can work to save future generations from their dilemma.

Students for a Democratic Society is sponsoring a nation-wide effort to stimulate students to respond constructively to the government's "Beat-The-Draft" exam. In their "Call for an Examination of Conscience" - which has been reproduced as a leaflet - SDS asks some penetrating questions:

> "What about all the guys our age who don't even get this chance? Those whose parents didn't have enough money to send them to college? Those whose backgrounds didn't even teach them they should want to go? Do we smell a little old-fashioned class privilege here?"
>
> "On the basis of our answers to questions about poems and physics and geometry, we will or will not be 'eligible' for the draft, will or will not be inducted, will or will not be sent to Vietnam, maybe to kill, maybe to die. SO WHAT DOES GEOMETRY HAVE TO DO WITH THE VIETNAM WAR? If the government intends to train us to be killers if we fail its test, why doesn't it ask us instead what we think this war is all about?...Why doesn't the government look for people who WANT to be soldiers in this war? And if nobody WANTS to fight it, and if they can't persuade us, then why don't they quit trying to force us to fight? After all, the thing about American democracy is supposed to be that the government belongs to the people. Or maybe things have changed? Maybe now its the other way around? MAYBE THE REAL BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA?"

On May 14th, SDS is going to pass out its own test to those taking the College Qualification Test. This test has been prepared by distinguished scholars and asks only fair and objective questions about the War in Vietnam. The hope is that students will "grade" these tests themselves and decide whether they "know enough about the Vietnamese to take some day the personal responsibility for their death."

It is now virtually certain that these tests will be distributed at all the testing centers in the North. SSOC is co-operating with SDS and other groups in an effort to cover as many Southern testing centers as possible. Won't you join in this exciting and significant program? PLEASE WRITE THE SSOC OFFICE NOW AND LET US KNOW AT WHICH CENTERS YOUR GROUP CAN DISTRIBUTE THE SDS EXAM?

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
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HEY OLD PEOPLE

"While brave men die," you deride
Those nasty young Americans who have been trying
To keep those brave men from dying.

You are surprised that we don't realize
How lucky we are to be "Free"
And you don't understand why we can't see
That this is the way everyone should be.

But, ruling generation, have no fear,
We know that some have it worse than we have it here;
But the issue should instead be, with us you see,
That this isn't the way its supposed to be.

In Sunday school you taught us, "thou shalt not kill";
In grade and high school, we were taught constantly
That we live in the "land of the brave and the home of the FREE",
And of course the President follows the people's will,
And WAR is declared in Congress by passing a bill,
And then, of course, it's alright to KILL.

So, our's is not a frustration from comparison
With systems more favorable than our's
It's from telling us we're in an open grassland
And them putting us behind bloody iron bars.

What do you want us to do?
"Accept your responsibility," you say--O.K.
I'm willing to go out and vote today;
But that right isn't part of our position,
We're only tools of death in a blind expedition.

The first "mature" task you ask us to perform
Is to change a human into an unrecognizable form;
You want us to go with your troops the whole world wide
And take a vigorous part in your Holy, benevolent Genocide.

Our first reply is naturally "Why?"
But when we determine the historical, political reason,
Our answer is "No!", and you call it Treason.
Still we ask, "For what reason must those people die?"
And "For what just cause should we, your B-52's fly?"

But YOU OLD PEOPLE who originally made (acquiesced to) the decision
Can do nothing but RED-bait, and accuse in sneering derision,
Quoting, "Blessed be the Peacemakers for they shall inherit the Prison."

T. N. G.
April 7, 1966

VIET NAM

AN ABSENCE OF RECTITUDE By Joe McNulty

During the 1964 campaign for the Presidency, President Lyndon Baines Johnson went to great lengths to picture his opponent, Sen. Barry Goldwater, as a "shoot from the hip" radical whose actions would involve the United States in a dangerous, protracted conflict in South-East Asia.

Conversely, he presented himself as a rational, restrained leader dedicated to peace and a policy of limited military involvement.

An August 29, 1964, President Johnson stated, "I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and drop them on certain areas that would enlarge the war and escalate the war, and result in our committing a good many American boys to fight a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to protect their own land."

On election day, by the greatest landslide in our national history, Americans defeated the man who advocated increased American involvement in Southeast Asia.

Conflict Intensifies

In November, 1964, approximately 25,000 American "advisors" were in South Vietnam. Today, over 212,000 American troops are in combat there, and their death rate is averaging around 100 men each week.

What has caused this drastic alteration of the intensity of the conflict and extent of the American involvement in Southeast Asia?

The standard administration reply is that massive Communist infiltration from North Vietnam has forced us to respond to our " commitment" to South Vietnam through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

This explanation sounds rather hollow in face of the facts.

The Department of Defense reports that 60,000 North Vietnamese have infiltrated into the South since 1960, while 330,000 Viet Cong have been recruited and trained from the native South Vietnamese in the same time period.

It is also interesting to note that by the terms of the 1954 Geneva Accords, the South Vietnamese have no legal right to make or become party to any military alliance.

All of this evidence is added to the fact that, because of their failure to allow an election in 1956 as stipulated by the Geneva Accords, the present government in Saigon is illegal.

Freedom and Honor?

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has said that we are supporting freedom and democracy for the South Vietnamese. At the same time we maintain by force of arms, the regime of Nguyen Cao Ky who has said, "People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one--Adolph Hitler."

Talk of honor is meaningless in this situation. There is no honor in massive intervention by the United States at the request of a corrupt, inefficient and illegal government headed by a professed admirer of Hitler.

There is no honor in the deaths of American soldiers supporting a military dictatorship which, according to the government of France, is opposed by 90% of the population. Even the Department of Defense states that only 50% of the population supports the Saigon government.

Platitudes

Talk of "Freedom", "solemn obligation", or "honor", will not solve these basic incongruities of American policy.

Neither will these "platitudes of the Potomac", rectify the deceit in that grand house on Pennsylvania Avenue.

THE CHINESE REALITY

By Charlotte Bunch

As members of the University world involved in "searching for truth", we frequently speak of the realities which shape our world. Yet, over the past 20 years, most of us have ignored,or held tight to outdated stereotypes about the oldest living civilization in the world-a civilization with approximately one-fourth of the earth's people: China.

McCarthyism drove many of our best Asian experts out of the country--leaving a decade of silence when debate, question-raising, and accurate information about China should have prevailed. Those who have gone to China report that our isolation policy has not so much isolated China from the world as it has isolated the people of China and of the U.S. from each other, producing a lamentable and dangerous situation.

As in most great civilizations, we in America are ethno-centric. Studies in almost all disciplines are approached with the idea that American society is both the norm and the ideal by which others can be judged.

Few world history, literature, and art books mention China. In political studies of international relations or communism Asian authors are not read. Sociology and psychology courses ignore the way of life of millions of Oriental peoples. All lose some of their relevance by not preparing us to live in a world with the Chinese.

More immediately, our apprehension of China is a major factor in the present Vietnamese conflict. The U.S. attitude toward Peking is based on the assumption that she has the power to stop effectively, if not control, the movement of the National Liberation Front. Yet, many scholars, including the three just returned from China and North Vietnam (Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, and Thomas Hayden), have challenged this notion, claiming that we make demands on China that are beyond her control.

Far from being academic, this is one of the U.S. assumptions about Vietnam and Asia that, if mistaken or only partly understood, could thrust us into war with China--a war which most experts declare neither the U.S. nor China wants.

It has been said that usually if nations are "close to war, the reality principle is lost." It is that reality which we as students and citizens seek to regain as a replacement for unreal stereotypes, if the collision course with China is to be hated or diverted.

As a Chinese history student just returned from two lengthy conferences on China, I want to suggest some areas for exploration by the student community that have been brought to my attention recently.

First, as U.S. citizens, we are in the position to challenge our own stereotypes of China while recognizing that the Chinese have equally distorted views of us. One need only compare some of our literature on China with the Chinese "Hate America" campaign to realize how truths have been distorted on both sides. Stereotypes are often much easier to deal with than the complexities of reality; therefore, far from bringing clarity, breaking down stereotypes thrusts us into an ambiguity where absolutes are inappropriate.

This two-way gap can only be bridged if one side is willing to take the first steps. It has been suggested that our position of strength affords us the opportunity to take the initiative. Here I will suggest something of how China may view the world and us, along with some "unthinkable thoughts" that were subjects of great debate in these conferences.

For some 4000 years, China viewed her-

self as the "Middle Kingdom," the center and height of civilization. With this legacy, imagine the shock when, in the 19th and 20th centuries, this superiority collapsed through internal decay and at the hands of the Western powers. The Western powers exploited China, forcing unequal treaties on her, and bringing new ideas and techniques that changed China's course as well. In addition to external troubles throughout the first half of the 20th century, China was racked by civil wars.

Communist Contributions

Into this situation the Chinese Communist government brought stability and unity for the first time since before the West entered China. It reasserted Chinese pride and position as a great nation, and it enforced a rigid and efficient administration that has made great strides in modernizing China, including the prevention of recurring famines during the hard years of 1960-62. Thus, the Chinese compare their situation today with their past, not with Western societies. China today may fall short of our ideals of living and our concept of liberty; however, the living standard of most Chinese has risen and the present regime, if not loved, is supported by most of the people.

The Chinese acceptance of authoritarianism is rooted in the Chinese concept of the role of the individual and his interaction with society. Unlike Western individualism, Chinese society centers on group endeavor, stressing the need for the subordination of the individual to the interests of the group. In the past the Chinese saw as his major concern not his own salvation and achievements but the welfare and demands of his family group.

In the desperate drive to modernize China, the Chinese are seeking to transfer this loyalty to the state. Similarly the state should provide social security for the people reducing their dependence on family security.

The internal aims and problems of China have demanded some type of central control, but today the degree of control exercised by the Communist Party from the top down is questioned. Several economists and educators noted that many important decisions are made at lower levels, and an expert on Chinese leadership suggested that the complexities of bureaucracy may be leading to the control of the State over the Party, the reverse of the Communist model.

These explorations into decentralization tendencies in China also suggested that the Party may be more pragmatic and flexible than has often been thought. Perhaps the greatest pragmatism of the Chinese Communists is their adaptation of Marxism to a non-Western peasant land. One conference participant suggested that the Chinese may have used Communism for their national needs more than international Communism has used China.

Whatever the balance of Communism and nationalism, the Communist Revolution was genuinely Chinese, growing out of Chinese circumstances, and can not be considered a Russian product. Some people suggested that the Sino-Soviet tension predates 1949 and that the 1950's reflect mainly a marriage of convenience between these two Communist powers. Just how important Russian aid has been to China is still debated. Thus, when the Chinese assert that, just as America had to break away from Europe, Asia can not be dominated by foreigners, and "foreigners" includes the U.S.S.R.

Chinese Conception

To the Chinese, this is a world of the "haves" and "have-nots" in which the U.S.S.R. seems to be joining the U.S.A. as a "have" nation dedicated to maintaining the status quo so unsatisfactory to the poor of the world. From this perspective China is proud of her victory in ousting Western influences from her soil and in her great material advancement since then. She is proud to be self-reliant, claiming that dependence on Western powers only leads to subservience to them. She then sees herself as a revolutionary model to inspire the underdeveloped "have-not" nations of the world.

Thus Chinese hostility toward the U.S.

rests on her view of us as the status quo oppressors, as well as her historical hatred of the Western humiliation of China which has been largely directed to the U.S. This hostility is further increased by the Chinese sense of being encircled by hostile powers, especially the U.S. military, and her continual fear of a U.S. attack on her borders.

I began with two premises: that China is here to stay, and that we must establish contact with its stereotypes and hostilities.

Contrary to popular myth, however, helpful source materials on and from China do go beyond the Reader's Digest mentality. Numerous books, papers, articles, both academic works and reports from persons who have visited China recently as well as translations of Chinese newspapers and books can be found in University libraries.

Conferences suggested many ways by which the U.S. could begin the task of breaking through the barrier. They include: (1) Striving to end U.S. identification with the status quo by supporting more adequate programs of social and economic change in countries where this change is being demanded. (2) Recognizing and encouraging China to take her place with its responsibilities and privileges in the world community. (3) Promoting various forms of exchanges, communications, and trade with China. (4) Ending our "trading with the enemy act" provisions now governing trade with China. (5) Allowing our allies more freedom in their relationships to China. (6) Ceasing unnecessary provocative acts and statements toward China that increase her fear of U.S. invasion. (7) Supporting the moves made by the government for greater communication, e.g., physicians travel permits.

Some people maintain that these measures will be of little interest to China unless we are ready to discuss the position of Taiwan and the possibility of Taiwanese free elections to determine her status, and to reconsider the role of the U.S. in Asia, particularly in Vietnam.

Most of the ideas here are still controversial; this is by no means a definitive work. Our task is neither to excuse nor to pass judgement on the Chinese Communists. Instead, it is to try to understand how the world looks from their eyes, and put that into our perspective.

("The Chinese Reality" was originally printed in the real world, an insurgent newspaper at Duke University.)

ATTENTION !

All who receive this bulletin are urged to report at once to the editors any sign of a highly contagious pestilence known as the Slater Catering Service. It is now known to be taking over the food services of the southern colleges and universities, as well as hospitals and other institutions. Slater comes in and pensions, seniority, and job security go out. Slater comes in and decent food service goes out. It is believed that Slater, which has its national headquarters in Pennsylvania, is not even unionized in the North. Be on the lookout for the tentacles of this monopolistic octopus, and report the state of your campus food service to SSOC. Is it unionized? Can it be? Is your food good? Do the students want to demonstrate against it? Let's coordinate our activities and unite students and labor right on the campus through unionizing food service workers and demonstrating against poor food and high prices.

HUMANISM

AND THE MOVEMENT By Steve Wise

It is time, I think, for the Movement to begin to exert a deeper challenge to the stodginess and stultification of the Great Society consensus. The consensus represents the desires of the American middle class: everything and everyone must conform to the consensus. The American middle class cannot tolerate nonconformity. Thus all must merge, by means of Great Society programs, into middle class life. For example, today we have a poverty program aimed not only at producing people useful for the purposes of the economic establishment, but also aimed at instilling middle class values into the poor so that they will never perceive any radical alternative to the status quo. Thus the Appalachian mountaineers must give up their "quaint" ways and conform to the dictates of industrial "progress." Or, poor Negroes must acquire the values of the Protestant moral and work ethics, so that they, like the stereotypic black bourgeoisie, will become pliable Toms. All of this points out, I think, the crying need for a replenishment and renewal of American culture. The acute need is for an emphasis on humanism.

It eems to me that there is a dichotomy, somewhat hidden perhaps, in the present comments and writings of Movement people. Very generally, SDS people's comments seem to fall into the old American materialistic-technological strain, while SNCC people's comments seem to tend towards a more humanistic bent. Let me illustrate that by a very general contrast of the recent articles in The New Republic by SDS and SNCC people. With the SDS articles the emphasis is upon agencies of oppression; with the SNCC articles the emphasis is upon the victims of oppression. The SDS articles are primarily concerned with structural devices, economic interests, power, production, bureaucracy, the welfare state, managed society, profits and capitalism, militarism, and policies, etc. The SNCC articles are primarily concerned with the poor, the "unqualified" people, the "excluded" people, feelings, hopes, fears, freedom, personal integrity, and the destruction of the human personality, etc. I do not want to push this contrast too far, but I do think that the contrast has been present for some time in the Movement. It is not that SDS and SNCC are talking about different things, for they are not; but rather, that they choose to emphasize those things in different ways. It is that emphasis of SNCC upon mankind, freedom, personality, etc., that I find more humanistic than the emphasis of SDS upon structural devices, economic interests, technological advances, etc. As noted above, the desperate need of American culture is for a renewal and replenishment of its humanism. The incipient humanism of SNCC may well prove to be the needed stimulus for such renewal, unless the new cult of black power developing in SNCC is transformed into a mere replica of white power.

Suggestions

A possible means of enriching American humanism is, I think, through gaining knowledge of and experience with what John Gillin calls "the Modern Latin American" culture, or mestizo or ladino culture, i.e. the predominantly national culture which is the historic product of the blending of Indian, colonial Spanish and modern Western civilizations in most Latin American countries. The contrast of this culture with American culture should prove quite instructive in delineating various alternatives to the peculiar American form of Western culture. For example, ideologically Modern Latin American culture is humanistic rather than puritanical; intellectually, it is characterized by logic and dialectics rather than by empiricism and pragmatics; mysticism and fantasy rather than science exert a strong influence. The fact that the Reformation, the mercantile movement, the Industrial and mechanical revolutions, the rise of modern science

and technology, and laissez-faire capitalism never obtained a firm foothold in Spain undoubtedly is one of the reasons that Modern Latin American culture differs so greatly from American. (Let me make it clear that I am not arguing for the substitution of one for the other, but rather for the humanistic influence that might possibly come from the one.)

It seems to me that one excellent means of attaining knowledge of and experience with Modern Latin American culture would be in exchanging Movement people, particularly students, with Latin American students engaged in social reform, political revolution, etc. Hopefully, such contact and exposure will add much cultural knowledge to the Movement, and perhaps enable the Movement to develop a more qualitative humanism to challenge American mediocrity. In addition, there will be many other advantages that should accrue from such an exchange program. If C. Wright Mills is correct--and I think he is--in his assertion that the historic agency for social change has passed from the working class to the young intelligentsia and the students, then certainly there would be advantages in establishing an identification and communication among Western Hemispheric student movements. For one thing, it could possibly influence American foreign policy in better directions. (I understand that SNCC is considering something similar with regard to Africa.) Recently, Jack Hood Vaughn, new director of the Peace Corps, proposed a "reverse Peace Corps plan" under which citizens of other countries would come to the United States to work and teach. If the plan ever comes to fruition, it probably will be oriented in much the same way as the VISTA program or the poverty program, i.e. it will serve to buttress the status quo, and any challenges to the status quo will be checked by the governmental bureaucracy. I think the Movement can steal some of the thunder from Hood's plan by instituting its own exchange program, which, hopefully, would give qualitative impetus to the Movement's efforts to smash the status quo.

ART AND THE MOVEMENT

by JON STEINBERG

A radical movement of the communist variety is generally committed to an artistic policy of "socialist realism" which, broadly speaking, means a literal interpretation of events designed to uplift its audience and further the vision of communism.

This was not always the case. Lunacharsky, the first Bolshevik Minister of the Arts, made valiant efforts to preserve artistic freedom and monuments of tsarist art. Unfortunately he was less than successful and resigned. Throughout much of the twenties, however, artistic creation flourished. One need only recall Mayakovsky, Babel, Eisenstein and the Russian Futurists.

As we are all aware, this period ended with the execution, imprisonment or suicide of many of its foremost exponents and the silencing of the rest.

While it is difficult to attribute to political or economic factors the flowering of individual genius, the fact remains that of all the millions of people born in the world, creative geniuses tend to cluster in nations which have a well developed heritage and are experiencing a great social, economic and, in some cases, political upheavel; in a word, a revolution. Renaissance Italy, L'Age D'Or in France, and Elizabethan England come readily to mind along with the Russian Revolution.

With the exception of segments of the Negro population, America does not appear to be in a state of upheaval at the moment. Assuming that we are eager to develop artistic genius (I hope so), we are then faced with the problem of how best to approximate a real social upheaval while awaiting (though not passively) the Great Change.

Any competent, creative writer, with the possible exception of nature poets, relates to his environment in his work on a level broader than, though including, direct personal relationships. That is, he must take social realities (as he sees them) into account, even if not the political and economic influences which help to shape them. If the radical writer is one who examines these social factors or their determinants in depth, subtly using his knowledge to add fullness to his characters and plot, then radical writing becomes synonymous with good writing. If radical writing means allowing social or economic or political considerations to overshadow the portrayal of the personal human element involved it is at best an essay and at worst similar to most Soviet writing of the thirties and forties. These standards apply whether the subject matter is radical in a political sense or not, although we are still faced with deciding if the writer's perspective of social realities conform to our concept of what the radical thinks they are.

Ideal Qualities

Despite this difficulty, we are happily faced with the conclusion that qualities which we seek to foster: the fullest development of man's personality, sensitivity and responsiveness to others, are essential to the good writer. Unfortunately, it is a bit premature to raise the revolutionary slogan "Every man a Thomas Mann", since genius also requires creativity and style. Creativity is a very elusive faculty, but one thing that we do know is that it involves the ability to break old sets and establish new, yet apt, combinations. It would therefore seem quite possible that upheavel in the social environment increases the liklihood that this will occur in a manner conducive to a flowering of the arts.

Given the present, relatively static, American societal structure, the most relevant question is whether we can internalize this process. That is, instead of altering the present American societal structure, altering the individual's perspective of it so radically that he is forced to create new patterns of his own. It is apparent from past experience that if this is done to individuals in isolation we will have succeeded in creating a number of socially alienated neurotics. While neurosis may be a factor conducive to artistic creation, we should hesitate to consider it an objective. If we do not, then we have an obligation to the American radical to offer him some form of supportive community.

Communities

Artists particularly appear to need such a community, though it need not be a radical one: witness the reactionary group of Pound and Eliot in England between the wars. It need not constitute a majority view within the national or regional intellectual group, but it does seem to need enough support to make it appear to be a worthy point of view to a writer, who is usually particularly sensitive to the opinions of others. For any artist his audience is extremely important. Art is a form of communication and although the prospective audience may be limited, consciously or unconsciously, it is always a primary consideration in the artist's work. Therefore the radical community has an obligation not only to directly encourage writers, but to develop an audience for them.

Other than the nebulous concept of sensitizing an individual to others, the two most effective ways of developing an appreciation for literature appear to be reading and writing, which themselves can deepen sensitivity. The availability of earlier works of the same culture is important to the prospective writer also, since the artist's thinking is refined by his reading of the works of others which are culturally relevant, even if he ultimately rejects most of their premises. As the nations of the world draw closer together in terms of common experience, a national tradition will of course become less important.

Encourage Reading

Since it is established that it is good for everybody to read, it seems clear that we should encourage this radical concept, far ahead of its time though it may be. Part of encouraging reading could reasonably include providing read-

ing material for others. This would have the additional benefit of pleasing writers, who generally like to see their work published. Thus we can promote a symbiotic relationship between the writer and other members of a potential radical community, deepening and strengthening the community by increasing and developing its common experience.

The problem remains of how to decide what literature to print given a limited amount of resources. There are two questions which must be answered in order to determine the solution. One is, have we developed our thinking on our radicalism sufficiently to determine conclusively what is or is not writing which conforms to it? (This is meant to be a rhetorical question and I will treat it as such). Given the fact that we have not, have we defined it sufficiently to preclude the possibility of ever making such a determination? (I wish more people would consider this question rhetorical).

In discussing this question let us keep in mind the reductio ad absurdum of the negative, namely, Soviet policy toward the arts under Stalin and its more recent, milder derivatives.

Individual Integrity

While it is difficult to be specific about intellectual ideals, we are seeking a society where each person has maximum freedom of individual expression in a constructive manner. This is predicated upon a belief in the integrity of the individual and the basic social instincts of man when freed of the distorting influences of our present predatory, competitive society. It is an optimistic view of man's potentialities, given the proper social, economic and political structure.

If we are attempting to build a society based upon these premises, then we must attempt not only to change the present society, but to develop the capabilities of those whom we hope will build it.

Revolutions, in the sense of destruction of the old order, are simple in comparison to the real revolution of creating a new society. We should be under no illusions that this is either an easy or a short task. It is a task whose success depends very heavily upon the people who will create the new structures; the more closely they approximate the type of people which we hope the good society will be composed of, the more likely it is that they will act to bring that society to fruition.

Therefore the advancement of the movement is best served by encouraging the development of individual expression coupled with a responsiveness to the needs of others.

Social Context

If, as was suggested above, the competent artist writes in a social context, we must work to create an intellectual (as opposed to a physical) community, based on these values. This is best achieved by encouraging the artist to write what he feels, and distribute it if its literary merit justifies its publication for others to appreciate.

ON THE BOMBING AND SMEARING OF THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

Sons and daughters of DuBois!
That smokey red hole
    that was your nest
Is but a moment
    of your solidarity
    with the oppressed
    of this earth.
Surely the brass
    of benevolence without love,
Surely the breaking glass
    of hate without grace
Will pale before symphonies
    as the backs and broken bodies
    of this world cry, "No more!
    We will fight wars
    of political expediency
No more!"
And as surely your father
    said of himself,
Peace will be your applause.

---A. Dwain Wilder

GRUMBLINGS 'N RUMBLINGS

FROM ALCORN A & M COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI, by Uncle Ed

The forty highway patrol cars of a few weeks before were gone from Alcorn when we entered the administration building to look up Tom's fullback friend from Alabama. Student Personnel sent us to the football stadium. We walked past the lovely chapel, which this oldest (1871) of the nation's Negro land-grant schools advertises as having been built with the labor of slaves in 1830. Until 1870, the year Negroes demanded to be admitted to Ole Miss, Alcorn was for white males.

1964--1,000 Gone

Looking over the football field, it was difficult to imagine what it looked like on that spring morning in 1964--1,000 students out on the field surrounded by several score highway patrol men with fixed bayonets and tear gas. We struggled to "hear" what the head of the state police sounded like when he said, "Well, by staying out here and carryin' on all night long, you kids (or was it niggers?) have showed that y'all just don't want to go to school--so we're goin' to take y'all home." Then the big Trailway buses rolled onto the track. At bayonet point 1000 students were herded into the buses and taken home.

Carryin' On

It's true that they were "carryin' on;" carryin' on the decade-old tradition of protest; Carryin' on about their grievances--senior students teaching classes; professors taking advantage of co-eds; Tom Mix movies as a "cultural" activity. Many of the students, after begging the administration, were readmitted that spring or summer; one only made it as far as the bottom of the Mi'sippi River. How and why he ended there is unknown.

In March, 1966 protests began again. The highway patrol, bolstered by the National Guard, was back. Tear gas shot into one of the dorms during a demonstration made it unliveable for three days. Students who ran out to escape the gas were arrested and suspended. Thus far, at least forty-five have been thrown out.

Black vs. Black vs. White?

President John Dewey Boyd scurries from his office to his 136-year-old home (also built with slave labor) three doors away. Does he remember what Alcorn was when he was getting his B.S. there years ago? Is he living in that past? He refuses to see the students about their demands, even though they come to him in groups of 1000 and 1500, or when they return with their committee of seven.

That Uncle Tom Boyd has been bought by the all-white board of trustees, and also that he is afraid of both the board and the students appears clear. But is this a struggle between black students and white trustees? It seems certain to me that it is more. The protesters have additional demands. One is that the board be desegregated; another is that the racist political hacks be replaced with educators. But more important are their demands that they have a say in writing the rules, and in selecting the committees that govern them. They identify with other students and with their friends whose consciousness has been awakened in the movement. When they say, "Send our mail to the Snick office if we get kicked out," the point is made.

"Who Decides?"

Increasingly, the question "Who decides?" is being raised by people in the student, peace, and black liberation movements through their actions. When enough people come to the conclusion that this is the central question facing us, and when they answer it "I do for me and I will," then perhaps a change will come. Considered in this light, Alcorn is not a freak or an aberration deserving of our paternalistic pity. Rather, it is a place where students are leaders in the fight to build democracy in this country. It is for us at Chapel Hill, at Fisk, and at Alice Lloyd Junior College to follow that lead. Can we decide to do that?

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NEGRO COLLEGES

WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE? By Richard Robbins

Now, late in the game, white Americans are "rediscovering" the Negro college. In this there is supreme irony. For the white community, determined to preserve racial segregation, made the separate system of higher education for Negroes necessary and inevitable. If white people now find that the majority of the Negro colleges fall short when measured against standards of educational preparation or academic freedom they should consider the extent to which whites contributed to the situation, largely through indifference and neglect. Even today most white people can name scarcely a handful of the leading Negro colleges in a system of more than 120. And I have met many college-educated whites who persist in holding to a long-passed, choir-and-spiritual conception of Fisk and Hampton. Of the state-supported schools they know nothing.

History

Through the late nineteenth century and on into the twentieth the Negro colleges, normal schools, institutes, struggled to survive and to educate in the face of innumerable obstacles. While Northern white philanthropy supplied important financial and educational assistance, even this support was all too frequently enmeshed in a system of white paternalism and Negro dependency. At first, Negroes could not even preside over and direct their own institutions. Later, Negro college presidents had to acquiesce in the humiliating and dependent role forced upon them, although there were several notable exceptions. They asked for what they could get from the white power structure--private sources or state legislatures. They kept silent about the double standard of justice which meant ample funds for white institutions and a trickle for the "colored school" across town. They accepted, at least in public, the "law" of "separate but equal" knowing it meant for Negroes separate and unequal from grade school to college. And when they turned from outer to inner world, from community to campus, they often ran their schools with an iron hand, keeping teachers and students alike strictly "in line." Booker T. Washington, famed graduate of Hampton and founder of Tuskegee, whatever his many contributions to advancing Negro education, had also contributed to a fatal weakness in curriculum in assenting to the devastating white stereotype that Negroes were, at bottom, really better with their hands than their heads. Hence the excess of courses in tailoring, carpentry, upholstery which, as W.E.B. DuBois pointed out as early as 1900, were perfectly honorable crafts but said nothing to the aspirations of those Negroes who happened to want to be historians or mathematicians and were perfectly capable of being so. All these patterns were found in my own institution, Hampton Institute. The white founders were highly motivated and deeply committed. At the same time, and for far too long a time, they kept the presidencies for themselves, kept the Negroes subordinate and dependent, and kept alive racial segregation in housing, dining, interpersonal relations --just as on the outside.

Results

We of the 1960's, black and white, can scarcely judge these men, black and white, of another era. Given the climate of the time could they have done otherwise, or better? What we do know, reading novels such as Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man or Saunders Redding's Stranger and Alone, is something of the fearful psychological price that Negro presidents, teachers, and students had to pay in order to obtain a precious, even if inadequate, education. What we do know is that, despite the oppressiveness of the segregated society outside the campus, and despite the handicapped character of the education offered within, many Negroes won through nonetheless to careers in the professions, the sciences, the arts. Yet even here the pattern of discrimination and segregation took its

revenge. Knowing the barriers which lay ahead, students tended to overconcentrate in preparation for teaching, preaching and the civil service where the protected jobs were. Often this meant not only a stifling of deeper aspirations but a later reinforcement of an isolation already keenly felt in the Negro undergraduate subculture. Returning to teach exclusively in the Negro college or in "Booker T. High", Negroes were deprived of that opportunity to test their ability and experience, as individual men and women, in the full mainstream of American society. The extroadinary thing was not the number of Negro college presidents and teachers who became, like many white men with less reason, wily political manipulators and academic time servers, but the numbers who managed quand meme, to instill in students the excitement of learning something and the expectation of being somebody.

Recent Developments

Today, in Negro Higher Education many things have changed and some things are the same. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 and subsequent crises and events broke the back of segregation as an accepted way of life. Negroes have been going to integrated colleges in greater numbers in the North and in token, but steadily increasing, numbers in the South. The students themselves played a signal part, through the sit-ins, in demolishing one of the most humiliating aspects of going to a Negro college in the South: that one left the campus for relaxation only to find the movie house and lunch counter were tightly segregated. What the North Carolina A.&T. students began in 1960, sitting-in in Greensboro, has now been virtually completed, thanks to students all over the South. The public accomodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 set the seal on what they accomplished.

Southern state legislatures have, belatedly, put extensive funds into the physical plant of the state Negro colleges. Many are transformed in this respect, although the legislatures have yet to show the same concern for the vital, nonmaterial resources (such as teaching personnel and cultural events) which give purpose to the spanking new buildings. Most of the private colleges in the system, both religious and nondenominational, have also launched comprehensive fund drives and building programs. And the stronger private schools--Morehouse, Hampton, Fisk, Tuskegee, Talladega, and others--are making an impressive effort to correct present deficiencies which stem from the segregated past. They have exchange programs with large universities in the North; they sponsor, with federal and foundation help, programs to upgrade the work of entering freshmen or high school graduates; they are seeking more white students to provide something of the integrated experience; they are aiming at bringing salaries and teaching loads into line with general practice in order to attract better faculty. The weaker schools, public and private, lack the resources to follow in the wake of the leaders, and they remain more imbedded in the kind of autocratic-bureaucratic system I have described above as characteristic of an earlier day. Nonetheless, they are trying to move in the same direction, however fitfully.

Student Activity

Most important of all, the students who care--not those, who like their white counterparts in white schools are simply drifting through four years or keeping out of the draft--are increasingly concerned about the very real shortcomings in their education. As their involvement in the external world of the civil rights movement is now more searching and sophisticated (jobs, and votes, and "white power structure", and Black leadership in place of breaking the color bar in the local drugstore), so their involvement in their own internal world of campus community is now less timid and passive (why such early curfews, so high-handed an administration, such gaps in the calibre of the faculty, such overprotectiveness toward girls who are in fact women?). If some of the student resentment is sheer restlessness and diffuse "bitching", common to all campuses black and white, there is nonetheless a deeper and authentic current running here among a growing number of Negro college students. They know and understand the reasons why, going all the way back

to segregated kindergarten and what it means to grow up black in Mississippi or Alabama, their school is no Harvard, University of California, Oberlin, their achievement level is below par in science, mathematics, clear expression in English. But they have every reason today to ask why their school is not even up to the comparable white Mississippi State or Alabama State and why their high schools did not give them the same preparation for college as the white high schools in Jackson or Birmingham. And they want their presidents to put the same questions to state departments of education and private boards of trustees.

Still, with all the change and ferment, there remains disquiet about the present condition and future status of the Negro college system. It is true that generalizing about Negro higher education today is difficult. The complex stretches from Maryland to Mississippi, includes a Fisk and an Alcorn A.&M. (where, incidentally, the students of this state supported institution in Lorman, Miss., are up in arms against their own administration) at opposite poles of quality. Traveling to many Negro college campuses in recent months I found a pluralistic diversity and unevenness comparable to the white system-- a range of Negro colleges and not "the Negro college." The worst college in the South happens to be a bastion of white supremacy and segregationist thinking. And the best happens to be integrated.

Major Problems

Nevertheless, putting aside these qualifications and conceding that a small number of Negro colleges can stand up competitively with any schools of comparable size and level, no one can doubt that the average Negro college is below-average and that not all the grievous faults are due to the heritage of survival-in-the-midst-of-segregation. Since Negro college students are less than 5% of all college students but Negro colleges take an estimated 40-50% of the Negro population in college, we are not dealing with a minor phase of a major problem. The recent McGrath Report (The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition) does not advocate closing or combining the weaker schools, as suggested by a number of critics, both Negro and white. It does, however, argue that only a truly prodigious effort will bring these schools into the educational mainstream. Prof. Bernard Harleston, of Tufts University, himself a graduate of Howard, is both more biting in his criticism and more hard-hitting in his proposals than the McGrath group. He is troubled by the parochialism implicit in the location of nearly all of the Negro institutions in 17 southeastern states and by the relative scarcity of really competent scholars and teachers in the system. Writing on "The Negro in Higher Education" (Atlantic Monthly, Nov., 1965) he says harshly, "the educational opportunities which many of these institutions offer are so limited in range and depth that what they call higher education is at best a cruel hoax." In his view only a few of the schools "have yet reached or can hope to reach full educational maturity," measured in terms of "an able and intellectually curious faculty and student body, adequate library resources, laboratory and classroom facilities, and an intellectual climate committed to academic freedom and intellectual integrity." Accordingly, he concludes that "the concept of the Negro institution is an anachronism" and that "Negro institutions, like Negro education, must be integrated into the larger context of education." He recommends that the smaller and weaker schools should be closed, radically transformed, or turned into integrated junior colleges or pre-college centers. Meanwhile, the Fisks, Howards, Morgan States, can be depended upon to become multiracial, cosmopolitan, predominantly Negro institutions able to hold their own in the general competition. The others will have played out their historic role.

Much of this critique is well taken and on the mark. But I believe it to be premature. In the first place, until integration proceeds much more rapidly in Southern previously white institutions, the Negro colleges of mediocre calibre will have to stay open to accommodate those Negroes who wish to go on to

college but do not qualify for, or cannot afford distant travel to, the better Negro institutions. At last count there were 7 Negro undergraduates at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, S. C. When there are 700 then it will be time to close the all-Negro Allen University in the same city, a school which is indeed pathetically inadequate and whose diploma is worth little to the Negro who obtains it. Yet to argue along these lines is only to point up a deeper problem. There are too few Negro students in the Dukes and South Carolinas of this country not only because of remaining racial restrictions in higher education but also because the Southern grade school and high school system is not preparing a large enough group of Negro students for the general college and university system. And that in turn has nothing to do with race; biological difference has no bearing on why one student passes French and the next does not. Rather, we must face the fact that in the South, especially at the high school level, no truly functional integration has yet taken place. When white and Negro high school teachers are assigned to schools across the board in large numbers; when Booker T. Washington High and Robert E. Lee High are more or less the same in the composition of their student populations and in the distribution of their students, from drop-outs to college-bound; when high school athletics in the South are played between schools of the same size and strength irrespective of race (athletics are no small matter to adolescents); when the dual racial structure of state and local educational units is terminated and a Negro is chosen to be superintendant of a "white" system because he happens to be the best man available--when all these and many other changes take place, only then will individual Negro youngsters, before college, be in a position to choose, as whites already choose, "the college that seems right for me." By the same token, on the basis of a radically changed high school experience, a given white student will conceivably be in a position to choose what was once stigmatized by his parents as "the colored school" and is still predominantly Negro in composition. He will do so not to expiate the white sins of the past nor to run up the flag of white liberalism in the present. He will do so, if he does, because high school will have prepared him to look beyond race for "the college that seems right for me." In the meantime, awaiting this far off day, the Negro students who are now in the weaker Negro colleges must protest against being short-changed educationally in their own institutions as they have protested against segregation in the community outside. The crisis at Alcorn A.&M. is the child of the sit-ins launched from North Carolina A.&T.

STUDENT ACTION

Mississippi

Tougaloo Southern Christian College, a Negro school in Mississippi has been through a traumatic week of student strikes, meetings and protests. The action followed the dismissal of a student by a disciplinary committee which had no students on it. The administration refused to rescind the dismissal but did agree to demands to revamp the committee to contain 1/3 voting student representation, and voting representatives on every other faculty committee. About 1/3 of the student body of 600 was involved.

South Carolina

On March 15, 1966, a group of students held a rally at the State House in Columbia, South Carolina. They were there in support of a compulsory school attendance law. They carried signs and a replica of a coffin to represent the 50,000 children who drop out of South Carolina schools.

When questioned about the rally, Governor Robert McNair lightly asserted that there were other methods which the students could use to express their views.

WHAT IS WRONG

WITH NEGRO COLLEGES by J. Raymond Hodkinson

It is true that Negro colleges were founded and made their way in the face of difficulties imposed from outside : hostility or indifference from the surrounding community, lack of money, the dictates of church and state, inadequate faculty, intellectual isolation, a student intake unprepared for study, and limited prospects of employment for their graduates. It is also true that many Negro colleges achieved national recognition and rendered real service to their students in the teeth of hardship and seemed even to thrive on the challenge; and still do. If it wants to, a college can be good in the face of hostility and deceive hostile authority under its very nose.

Today, however, these adverse circumstances have been considerably mitigated and many Negro colleges can call upon extensive finance, goodwill and academic assistance from state and federal agencies, industry, large universities, and an important section of the white community.

I can testify to this from my own experience. As I am well known internationally in my research field, many white colleagues were surprised at my decision to leave the well appointed University of Rochester, New York, to take over the run-down Physics Department in the obscurity of Virginia State College. They feared for my future academic reputation. Nevertheless, once I was here, I have been continually encouraged by interest and practical assistance from physicists all over the U.S.A. and from people in the city outside our gates whom I count it a privilege to have met.

Why These Restrictions?

Why, then, in so many Negro colleges are the academic standards still unbelievably low, the intellectual atmosphere suffocating, the social regualtions for students more restrictive than in a convent school? Why does the faculty have little or no voice in decisions or policy making? Why are the students treated like children in class and out and why do they put up with it? Why are student governments ineffective, student newspapers censored or suppressed? Why the rigid formality of faculty to students (and to each other), the stiffness in manner and in dress? Why the lugubrious, compulsory religion, or the injection of religion into required activities? Why may not two or three be "gathered together in His name" except the college minister be present to regulate the exchanges with the Almighty (presumably in both directions?) Why the grinding overload with superfluous courses: Philosophy in which the whole class chants I Corinthians 13 and the student is tested on what is the 3rd book after Ezekiel or the 4th before Timothy; Personal and Social Adjustment, Community Health (students in my country would be helpless with mirth at being told how to do their hair, when and what to wash, when to smile and always to be polite!); American Constitution, after 10 years in the most patriotic high schools in the Western world; Compulsory R.O.T.C. with no provision for conscientious objectors? Why no student strike at wage rates as low as 55 cents an hour for student work? Why the virtual ban on any really active civil rights activity? Why had the white students down from New England been registering Negro voters in our city for two weeks before our students even heard of it? Why the inactivity of so many social science departments? Why the moralizing, militaristic and patriotic fulminations in college assembly and the fear that students might get their own ideas on Vietnam or love? Why the censorship on what books the library may have--nothing controversial please? Why no games on Sundays, the only day the students really have time for needed fresh air and exercise? Why are they forced in some colleges to retire to their dormitories at 5:00 p.m. for the Sunday "quiet hour"?

Why the appointment as Head of a Foreign Language Department of someone who can read one foreign language and speak none? It is hard to believe, on such a campus, that one is living in this country and in this century.

A Diabolical Plot?

Why? There is one hypothesis that fits the facts too perfectly: that some of the Negro colleges have been carefully thought out to make sure that the Negro cannot possibly get an education making him competitive, yet deceive him that he is getting an education, and deceive concerned whites as well, by an elaborate show of fine buildings, a College catalogue bulging with courses and departments, and a multiplicity of schemes, officials and committees. I doubt if this were ever wholly true, even if it were once intended; I am sure it is not true now.

Exploitation

Then why? Here are the answers given by an eminent Negro sociologist and an eminent Negro historian.

"Unlike the missionary teachers, the present teachers have little interest in 'making men', but are concerned primarily with teaching as a source of income which will enable them to maintain middle-class standards and participate in Negro 'society'. It appears that the majority of them have no knowledge of books nor any real love of literature. They go through a dull routine of teaching literature or other college subjects to listless students....Conversation and books had no place in their recreation which consisted in playing cards, drinking, movies and'parties'....their interest was in automobiles, furniture, and household appliances."--E. Franklin Frazier in Black Bourgeoisie (pp. 74-5).

"The NAACP realized that by providing Negro schools and colleges with better buildings, better equipment, and better salaries for teachers and by changing the title "college" to that of "university", the South was in effect strengthening "Jim Crow" by establishing "gilded citadels of segregation" manned by Negro administrators and teachers who would have vested interest in maintaining the status quo in racial education."--Benjamin Quarles in The Negro in the Making of America (p. 237).

Even in the few years since Frazier and Quarles wrote, there have been improvements, but not enough. Let me emphasize that there are first class Negro schools, faculty, and administrations.

The Negro college teacher is a slave to the system that produced him: he deserves sympathy. Actually, he has little to fear from the import of academically better colleagues: those elementary and remedial courses he teaches will be needed for a long time yet and even more as a greater proportion of under-privileged students come in. He stands to gain by an improved status for his college.

The Negro Power Structure

The main obstacle to progress in many Negro colleges is the Negro bourgeoisie (as distinct from Negroes who form part of the numerous American bourgeoisie). Its rallying point, in the South at any rate, is the Negro Church, especially the Baptist Church, whose ministers and elders are fighting desperately to retain their grip on their people; and they are closely allied with the senior staffs of Negro grade schools and colleges. Many Negro colleges have several ordained Baptist ministers each on their faculties, including Presidents and Department heads, and the full-time salaried college ministers. Although their power is now being questioned, they contend the more strongly because this is their critical, even if not their last stand. In the Negro colleges they are striving to keep their grip on the rising Negro generation by washing their brains, closing their minds, dragging their feet over integration, keeping the students isolated mentally and physically from the outside world. They do not care overmuch if their graduates are only educated to the level needed in the substandard world of the second-class citizen: for it is only in this world that they can continue to be the top dogs and they want it to continue. Do they not realize the harm they are doing

to so many young Negroes? The days of power of this bourgeoisie are surely numbered, but they may drag the Negro colleges down with them.

Why Don't Negro Students Do Something?

The most depressing fact in many Negro colleges is the utter indifference of the students to their conditions, to the welfare and progress of their race, to the world of knowledge and of art, to the satisfactions of self-development. Many have neither pride nor even self-respect. I can understand this easily, however, now that I have learned of the history and experience of the Negro, and of the terrible emotional handicaps and mental blocks to learning inflicted on young Negroes both by the circumstances of their upbringing and by the Negro collective experience. These are not minor, and many are beyond remedy. Stanley Elkins, in his book Slavery, a Problem in American Intellectual and Institutional Life, has shown the parallel results on the inmates of German concentration camps and on American Negroes during slavery and after. I am deeply upset by the difficulties and unhappiness I see in my own students but have not the training to help them. I am a research physicist by profession. I believe that they could be helped and that the salvaging of the Negro youth should be a prime national target. It needs merely people who will give of themselves, not of their money. The very worst environment for Negro students is exactly the one in which they are now imprisoned by members of their own race.

A Student Petition

One welcome but short-lived flash of light in the dark night of Negro student apathy came this time last year with a Petition, signed by half the students of Virginia State College after an impressive march on the college auditorium. "We are Virginia State College...we...strongly protest but only against what we find to be intolerable...we seek...a better college through a better student body... if we are to improve, then so must the administrative body that governs us" ran the preamble.

The Petition protested in detail eight major areas of grievance: the archaic social regulations, the underpayment (50 cents an hour in most cases) of student workers who had also no court of appeal, the excessive power of the Deans, the large body of college rules and policies not available to the student in writing, inefficiency and discourtesy in the agencies and offices of the administration, the provision of religious facilities for Protestant Christians only, and "those instructors who feel free to lecture on any and everything but the subject...who are habitually tardy..."

The administration, after fairly prompt deliberation, made a minor relaxation in the curfew hours for women; raised the minimum hourly wage-range from 50 cents to 55 cents and agreed to appoint a labor board with student participation; agreed to augment the small student representation on the Student Adjustment Committee; agreed to improve communication but pointed out that students did not however use all the existing channels or make proper use of their own student government; virtually suppressed the free expression of student opinion in their newspaper; refused the plea for religious freedom outright. The administration also agreed to continue to deliberate the problems and report back to the student body in one year. This academic year one hears nothing more from students or administration. The student action in serving the petition did secure a few minor concessions, but their failure to follow it up has thrown away a valuable initiative. This has been a dull year compared with last; we are the college of the :invisible student."

Free Students and Teachers

I came to my college hoping to find that the Negro youth of today was flexing his intellectual muscles and determined to show that the promise of the glories of the Negro past and the fine men the race has already produced was now going to be fulfilled; that they were going to show the world what they were made of, just as are the youth of any other newly-liberated race or nation today. Although I believe strongly in human rights, I felt my contribution was best made by

teaching physics to Negro students and doing all I could to further the development of the whole man or woman; others could struggle in the streets but not teach physics. I now find that before I can make educational progress, the environment has to be changed first and the grip of the Negro bourgeoisie power structure in the Negro college has to be broken.

Why not just let such colleges collapse? If they were white, certainly! But in the next 20 years they will still be the only door to education for the majority of Negroes, to whom equality of admission to white colleges is meaningless when fees and entrance requirements are beyond their reach.

The Southern Students Must Act

What can students outside Negro colleges do to help? Make the maximum contact with the students at such colleges, visit, invite, let them know that there is a wider, freer world outside. Try to interest your faculty in helping, because the recruitment of enlightened faculty to Negro colleges is vital. Try to exert pressure on the political or religious authorities who appoint those all powerful Negro college presidents. Enroll in Negro colleges yourself. In all this believe in what you do, expect ingratitude and obstacles, and do it still for your faith in the potential of man, if you can believe in that; or if not, as your honorable share in a dishonorable inherited white-man's debt that is now presented to this white generation for payment.

Postscript

Although the reader may not need telling I am required to say that the views expressed in this article are entirely my own, and do not reflect those of my college administration.

CONTRIBUTORS

REV. CLARENCE JORDAN was the founder of Koinonia farms, an integrated community in Americus, Georgia.

BRIAN PETERSON teaches history at A.&T. College in Greensboro, North Carolina.

JOE McNULTY is a student at High Point College, and managing editor of the Hi-Po, where his article was originally printed.

GAYLE RAY is a former social worker from Richmond, Virginia.

TOM GARDNER is president of the Virginia Council on Human Relations at the University of Virginia.

CHARLOTTE BUNCH is a history student at Duke University and active in the Methodist Student Movement.

DWAIN WILDER works for the Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

STEVE WISE is a graduate student in history at the University of Virginia.

DAVID MESSNER is a graduate student in philosophy at the University of Virginia.

J. RAYMOND HODKINSON, a native of Great Britain, is chairman of the Department of Physics at Virginia State College in Petersburg, Va.

RICHARD ROBBINS is Visiting Professor of Social Sciences at Hampton Institute, and he is preparing a study on Negro colleges in the South.

JON STEINBERG works for SNCC in Mississippi.

WILLIAM MONNIE works for the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee in Lunenburg County, Va.

MICHAEL EBNER is a graduate student in History at the University of Virginia.

WHAT'S HAPPENIN'

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

The fabled Harlem Globetrotters are reknowned in the annals of Negro athletics. They have thrilled audiences on five continents, and have been the subject of a motion picture, "Go Man Go." Even before civil rights legislation guaranteed public accomodations, the Trotters frequently toured the South, often playing before segregated crowds.

On March 17 the Globetrotters played in Charlottesville, Va. under the sponsorship of the Student Aid Foundation of the University of Virginia. This was most ironic in light of the Foundation's background. It is a quasi-official entity of U.Va., created for the purpose of soliciting for funds to subsidize inter-collegiate athletics. No Negro schoolboy has ever been awarded an athletic scholarship!

Almost a month prior to the Trotter's visit a student sent a letter to the team's owner, informing him that his Negro athletes would probably not be welcome if they applied to the University of Virginia for athletic scholarships. No response. Then the national office of the NAACP dispatched a wire to the Globetrotter management charging "overt discrimination" at the University. No response from the Trotters. The school, however, denied the charges.

As the day of the game drew near, Students for Social Action, an activist organization, petitioned the administration for permission to demonstrate the night of the performance. Permission was granted! Then, the University President, Edgar Finley Shannon, issued a statement at the request of a student government committee which was investigating the charges of discrimination. Shannon said that the University was committed to equal opportunity in higher education and reminded the athletic department of their obligation to this pledge. He went on to inform them that he would be watching their future efforts to recruit Negro students.

Students for Social Action passed out copies of the Shannon statement the night of the Globetrotter game. By mere luck, one of the athletes was recognized outside the arena. Told of the NAACP telegram to the team's management, he was honestly incredulous, claiming none of his fellow team-mates had been told about it. He, and several other players, were irate that they had not been informed about the situation earlier.

In considering this incident one can see some gains. First, a normally impassive student government, that usually debates the traffic patterns on the campus, took issue on this longstanding problem of racial discrimination. Secondly, the University President committed himself, thereby giving tacit acknowledgement that a basic inequity does exist. But these are small gains, and will seem rather futile unless they lead to more formidable results soon. Some damn the students who have concerned themselves with this subject but without their interest nothing would have been accomplished.

As for the Student Aid Foundation, someone saw them going into the drug store to purchase some salve for their burnt fingers.

Michael H. Ebner

PETERSBURG, VA.

On Saturday, March 26th a group of students, teachers, and civil rights workers held a demonstration at the Federal Youth Reformatory near Petersburg, Va. Three conscientious objectors are imprisoned there for refusing to cooperate with the Selective Service System. They are: Tom Rodd, a 19 year old Quaker from Pittsburgh; Gregory Beardall, a member of the Catholic Worker Movement from New York; and Jefferson Keith, a Quaker from Rockville, Md.

A caravan of cars containing 43 people left Virginia State College in Petersburg and converged on the Federal Refor-

matory at 1:00 p.m. The warden of the prison met the group in front of a barricade blocking the entrance to the area. He told the leaders of the group that they would be held legally responsible if the demonstration caused the prisoners to riot. He permitted them to have a demonstration about 500 yards away, on a little knoll overlooking the prison grounds. The prisoners were in the yard taking a recreational break and watched the demonstration.

David Nolan of the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee read a statement calling for an end to the war and an end to the draft. Tom Gardner of the University of Virginia read a statement from Tom Rodd, one of the imprisoned C.O.'s.

The demonstration ended with singing and prayer. There were no incidents or arrests although the F.B.I. had threatened us with arrest several days before if we demonstrated on federal property.

There are conscientious objectors imprisoned at two other southern institutions: Seagoville, Texas, and Fort Hood, Texas.

William Monnie

MOBILE, ALABAMA

There was a freedom walk in Mobile, Ala. demanding an end to segregated schools, inadequate facilities and lack of jobs for Negroes. The marchers also called for an implementation of federal programs in the area on an integrated basis, and the teaching of Negro history in the schools.

Their statement attacked the Mobile Housing Board for "crimes against crippled old ladies, disabled old men, welfare patients and poverty stricken people." They criticized the Mobile Personnel Boards for "crimes against the 'little man' and the unemployed."

The organizer of the freedom walk, Jerry Pogue, was subsequently fired from his teaching job, and he writes: "My family is suffering and employment is impossible to find. Please allow me to know of possible employment in your area." His address is Box 71, Magazine Pt., Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

SSOC's Southern Folk Festival visited Birmingham, Alabama on April 12. The meeting, sponsored by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, turned out to be a political rally for Col. Al Lingo, Alabama's public safety director. One of the speakers was Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma. The Folk Tour was just given time on the schedule to provide entertainment. Freedom Singer Bernice Reagon objected to their participating.

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

There was a "Speak-Out" against the war in Vietnam on March 25 in Gainesville, Florida. Julian Brown, a graduate of the University of Florida was one of the speakers.

He said: "I come here as a Marine Corps reservist, with nearly four years of enlistment. I come as one who has undergone recruit training at Parris Island and infantry training at Camp Lejeune. And, I come as one who has recently informed the commandant of the Marine Corps that I cannot and will not participate any longer in military service.

"I come with the conviction that the greatest threat to democratic and human values is <u>not</u> military conquest from without or military weakness from within. I come with the conviction that the greatest single threat to democratic and human values is the military itself. The only "educational" system in which our nation has invested for a somewhat equitable distribution of knowledge is military training. And what does military training teach? It teaches that the individual must cease to assume moral responsibility for his actions. Through a continual cycle of passing the buck of moral responsibility to someone in higher authority, the individual avoids confrontation with the reality that he is a hired killer. The individual's identity is usurped as he is taught to look and act like everyone else. He becomes part of an anonymous mob which collectively can commit atrocities that the individual alone would not commit. In short, the individual is taught to desensitize his conscience and to dehumanize his fellow man and himself."

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Free speech movements are "bustin' out all over". At the University of Texas at Austin, the League for Responsible Sexual Freedom was actually recognized as a campus group by the student assembly. However, this display of liberality came to an abrupt end when the League began to distribute literature.

On March 14, students set up a booth to distribute a leaflet drawn up by the League, and were promptly ordered to desist by the Dean. The leaflet advocated (1) an end to anti-miscegenation laws, (2) ar end to prosecution of adultry and fornication, and (3) a lowering of the legal age of consent.

In indignant response that afternoon, "Texas Students For Free Speech" was formed in protest of the administration policy of censorship. 4,000 leaflets were published, and on March 15, 200 to 250 students marched in protest, through the administration building, leafleting as they went. That afternoon a meeting of administration officials, student body officers, and representatives of the League was thrown off campus.

This coincidentally followed a speech given by Texas state Senator Grady Hazelwood to a state convention of policemen in which he stated he would fight to see that the University received no funds until they banned the League.

At present a small ad hoc group of students is preparing a paper on the basic wrongs of censorship, to be submitted to the Board of Regents. Students hope to effect change from within the body, and that the policy will be abolished.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

On Saturday April 16, an intoxicated gentleman stumbled into the SSOC office and asked for some of our literature. After he got a healthy supply of back issues of The New South Student, he introduced himself as head of the Ku Klux Klan. "Hi baby," he said to executive secretary Sue Thrasher, "We're fightin' you and you're fightin' us." He left after inquiring whether the SSOC office had a basement.

A telephone call to his place of business revealed that he was not in because "there are big political doings in Nashville today."

Late that afternoon a phone call was received at the office. The caller told SSOC staffer Ronda Scilley: "You son-of-a-bitch. Are you ready to die over there?"

The next afternoon a call was received at the house. "Hey, are y'all running a whore house over there?" We replied no, and the caller said "Y'all are a bunch of half-breed sons-of-bitches."

TEXAS

Chapters of Students for a Democratic Society are being formed at Texas Christian University, Baylor, St. Mary's in Antonio, New Orleans, Stillwater, Okla., Little Rock, Ark., and Tuscaloosa, Ala. Jeff Shero, SDS campus traveler writes from Texas Western in El Paso: "The place is agitated up. For two days we have had a literature table, huge crowds. Several fellows got punched around yesterday, the literature torn up, the table thrown down. (Ah, the glories of a free society where one can air his beliefs.)"

MISSISSIPPI

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is trying to recruit 200 volunteers to work on their programs this summer. All who are interested should contact: MFDP 802 G Street S.E., Washington, D.C.

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

The Southern Courier, a civil rights newspaper published in Alabama is looking for more staff people. They need business people, cartoonists, photographers, and reporters, in that order. Contact Robert Smith, The Southern Courier, 622 Frank Leu Bldg, 79 Commerce St. Montgomery, Alabama, 36104.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

College students from the Nashville area have begun work on a project in the North Nashville Area. They have rented a house and are planning to survey the community's needs in such areas as medicare, recreation, and tutorials. Students will work fulltime this summer.

LABOR CONFERENCE

There is an increasing amount of interest among southern students in labor organizing. At Duke University students have played a key role in organizing a local of campus service employees who are working for recognition from the university. At five or six other colleges students have attempted to work with employees in organizing efforts or have attempted to work within the college framework to better wages and working conditions of campus employees. In other instances students have helped in organizing drives away from campus.

On April 22, 23, and 24, SSOC sponsored a conference on "Students and Labor" at North Carolina College in Durham, North Carolina. About thirty students from eight colleges and universities met with labor representatives and others familiar with the labor movement. There were presentations by labor people with panel reactions which served as background to general discussion of the labor movement in the South.

The most striking thing about the conference was the degree to which students who are in many ways critical of labor and labor representatives were able to discuss in an open way the problems of labor organizing.

In discussing ways for students to relate to labor those at the conference felt that one of the most important areas would be what might be called labor internships to allow students to work with southern organizers over the summer months. SSOC is exploring this area and it is likely that there will be internships for students this summer working primarily in North Carolina. These may be in a variety of situations ranging from university employees in an urban setting to organizing workers in packing houses and textile plants in semi-rural areas. Persons who are interested in this and in the student-labor area generally should write to Gene Guerrero at the SSOC office.

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SSOC
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Nashville, Tennessee
37212

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Atlanta, Ga.

FINDING AND MAKING LEADERS

by

Nicholas von Hoffman

Originally prepared for
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reprinted by
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee

Finding and Making Leaders

by Nicholas von Hoffman

Leaders are found by organizing, and leaders are developed through organization.

The statement is so self-evident and so simple-minded that it is usually uttered only to be assented to and forgotten.

Instead of acting on the assumptions implicit in the observation, we begin the great hunt for the "natural leader", "the indigenous leader"; he is the great organizational nugget, whom we could find by panning for him if we only knew what the hell he looked like, and how he differed from the silt washed into our tin.

It's worth noting that practically everybody is looking for him. The civil rights movement, big business, big social work, church organizations. Everybody finds it handy to blame their problems on expressions like the "dearth of leadership", the "problem we're having finding leaders", etc.

He does not exist. If he were there--that wonderous all-purpose leader that every organizer dreams about in his moments of exasperation with and anger at his would-be constituency, you would not be necessary. The all-purpose indigenous leader with the sharp tactical mind of Lenin, the forensic abilities of Demosthenes or F.D.R., and the general loveableness of your mother would have long since asserted himself.

The quest for the natural leader--the quest as it is actually carried on is like the quest for the natural man. There is no natural man; there is no natural leader. The ideas are important because they remind us in any group of men some can come to live by certain ethics and some can become leaders--given the occasion.

I am hammering at this point because I have seen so many ardent young people run into communities, zoom around frantically for eight or ten months, and then say they can't find any indigenous leadership. Now when it is put to them in so many words that this is what they are doing, they deny it. Nevertheless, it is obvious that they are acting on notions of leadership that are wholly unrealistic.

Let's try and see why. Bear in mind, I am now speaking of the lower class Negro ghetto. In the main the same observations would hold for any community, but in white areas there are certain differences in application.

The first objective in the ghetto is building an organization that wields power. That is in marked contrast to the flash-flood demonstration kind of thing that northern big-shots quickly get blase about. An organization that wields power as opposed to the kind that throws an intermittent stick-bomb, must be big, must be broad, must be quasi-institutionalized.

The kinds of leadership it must have to operate successfully are the kinds that cannot exist in the community because no one or almost no one in the community has had the chance to gain any experience with big organizations. Most of the community's people will not even have been in the army. The few that have will have served in such a low echelon that they will not have had the opportunity to acquire a sense or a feel for the big organization, how it is put together, how it stays together, and what you have to do to run it.

A few people in the community may work for a large corporation or the government but here again they are cut off from gaining experience with the big organization. For another few the church may begin to supply the experience, but most people aren't church members or are very passively so, and most churches aren't very big, and most big churches are not very organizationally run.

The long and short of it is we are speaking of people whose organizations are mostly small, and, consequently, whose leaders are schooled in techniques which work for small groups, but seldom for large ones. If they had the large enduring organizations they would have the leaders to run them, and you would be superfluous.

However, it is also true that every community has a few naturals, that is a few people who by accident of life experience, an exceptional intelligency and some other qualities can begin to move to the forefront almost as soon as the first organizational beginnings are under way. But who are they? How do you find them, and how do you make sure that they actually do begin to assume the major roles they are capable of? It would be so much easier if we could spot these people in advance--unfortunately that is impossible. At the beginning of organization, you are the leader--natural or otherwise--because at least theoretically you know more about what you are doing--building an organization--than anyone else around. If any of these three conditions doesn't hold, by-the-by, get out and give the job over to somebody else.

Recognize the fact that the organizer who comes into the community for the first time is internally in a precarious position. He is afraid--or at least he should be if he has got any brains which he doesn't want beaten out.

He is afraid because he doesn't know the people, and we are all vaguely afraid of people we don't know. If he is white and he is going to work in a Negro community he is doubly afraid. If he is a middle class Negro, he is afraid too, for similar but not quite identical reasons.

He is afraid because he is the bearer of a new idea. Mankind does not cotton to new ideas in general, but especially not to the new ideas that organizers bring. This is so because they may mean trouble and because the organizer's mere presence in the community is a tacit insult. The organizer, merely by his presence, is saying in effect to the people, "You are so dumb that you need me to think your way out of this mess you are in." Don't kid yourself about this. I shouldn't have to remind you here--who have actually organized--of this reaction. (Nor I might add, does blaming the white man or the status quo or anything else absolve the organizer of the sin.)

The organizer is also afraid because a failure is a crashing blow to his ego or his self-respect. Even a bad organizer puts a tremendous part of himself on the line when he goes into a community. In his own eyes, he is being tried as a person, as a huge test of his own worth. To fail is to be adjudged a capon, a sexless, impotent thing by one's self, or so I always found it.

These fears work on most organizers to make them very susceptible to thinking that people they meet in the community who are sympathetic are the people to listen to and work with. I can't count the number of times I have wandered into communities to find the people who were supposed to be building a mass organization mucking around with pious, middle class clergymen or teenagers.

Or, of course, there is theorganizer who sees the weakness in himself, and over-compensates by finding a bunch of social outcasts, usually winos, addicts, or semi-criminal types, the kind that talk a good fight but lack the self-discipline to make hard-core organizational material. This kind of organizer may also be playing to a gallery of middle class friends (often white) who will be mightily impressed by his acquaintance in the demi-monde. It's nice to have one's outside friends think you are "in", but the question is, in what?

For the organizer who gets beyond acting as a reaction to himself--in my experience, few do--plucking out "natural leaders" by dint of casual observation and conversation is very chancy. I recall having picked a number of these on-first-sight-gems, and I also recall spending months kicking myself for having done so.

The guy who is indeed thenatural small group leader may turn out to be the guy who gets hopelessly and permanently confused by committees or simply by having to keep in mind that now instead of dealing with ten old faithfuls in the block club he's got to worry about what 400 people think. The guy you met at the barber shop who seemed so articulate and understanding, may turn out at second meeting to be a dogmatist of the first order or a flannel-couthed idiot. The guy with the big line about how "its about time the black man showed those "m-f's" can turn out to be one great big chicken, or what can be worse yet, a lazy bum who only comes to meetings to make long theatrical monologues.

Those of you who may recognize your own experiences in some of these words will say, "Don't tell us what won't work, tell us what will."

To you I repeat, leaders are found by organizing and leaders are developed through organizations. So let's discuss organizing and organizations.

But before we get to that, I want to set down two of the observations I have made where leadership has developed. They are: the leaders in the third month of an organization's life are seldom the leaders in the third year; a few leaders, ourselves included, are really all-purpose; and the best organizations create a "collective leadership".

Why should so few of the leaders in an organization's infancy be around as it grows to maturity?

The first leadership is usually the closest leadership at hand. It is selected usually in the enthusiasm of the first campaign, because it is available. You don't have a choice and you have to go with what you've got.

It may be a rent strike, a school demonstration, or what have you. Reverend So-and-So says he'll be the spokesman, and you want him because he's a clergyman and you figure he'll cut more ice because he's respectable. Maybe it's Mrs. Jones, because she's the only one of the tenants who shows signs of being able to speak out in front of a judge. Or, perhaps, it's So-and-So else because he has a reputation (with you anyhow) as a regular freedom fighter.

Note that all these people were picked on the basis of what they could do in a one shot affair. And the beginning of every viable organization smacks of being a one shot affair, for the simple reason that theorists who fiddle around waiting and delaying until they've got a full blown across-the-board organizational program se are never ready to commence swinging into action.

But you will notice, too, that the reasons for your picking the first leaders (and you know it's you who pick them) say nothing about how they will wear over a period of time. That respectable clergyman can turn out to be a timid jerk; the lady who was so good at sounding off in front of the judge may be good for nothing else, and that big freedom fighter can look like a vain egomaniac living off the reputation of the deed done many years ago.

The lesson I draw from this is that at the beginning keep the organization very loose, spread the responsibilities and the conspicuous places around. This permits you and the new membership which you are supposed to be recruiting to judge the talent, and it keeps things sufficiently porous so that new talent isn't blocked off. Nothing is more absurd than an organization that's six months old, without a dime in the treasury and a membership that can fit in a Volkswagen, having a cemented-in, piggy leadership. Vested interests are only tolerable when they are protecting something of value, not fancy organizational charts, letterheads and research programs.

Don't laugh. This kind of thing is a clear and present danger. Vain men frequently prefer to be members of obscure executive committees where they can spend years expounding doctrine. It is safer and easier than the realities of making and using power.

Men with the most to lose or men with the most to give in talent, money and experience are often not the first to join an organization. They will never join if they see there is no room for them in the top leadership.

Why should some of the most talented people hang back? One reason, of course, is that they want to check you and the incipient organization out. If they are worth having, they won't be the kind who must be on a guaranteed winner, but also, by the same token, they don't want any part of a born loser.

A big northern city is not like the south. In one sense the people are all in the same boat thanks to skin pigmentation, but not quite. People can and do make a variety of deals with life. In the North there are a lot of Negroes who may have cause to think that they have more to lose than to gain by signing on with you. They will be those who fear loss of jobs, prestige, business or such--and many will fall into that category. But there will also be those who think they can make a better deal by joining with somebody or something else, and those who just may not think what you're driving at is worth it OR that you can deliver goods.

The varieties of reactions have to be tackled in a variety of ways, but all the people who fall into these groupings--your potential second generation of leaders--must not be driven away gratuitously. They must not be allowed to dismiss the organization out of hand at the very beginning.

Yet in fact many organizations are killed off by their organizers even before they get close to a second leadership generation. It is pure charity of course, to speak of such preliminary groupings as organizations at all. Most of these endeavors never grow to look like much more than an aborted six-month foetus. They have been murdered by their own parents, the organizers who were supposed to give them life.

In the case of young organizers, their youth is enough to do it. People may admire youth, they may praise, they may believe that youth is showing the way in

which age should follow, but they are very, very reluctant to trust youth with anything of immediate value. Youth is not an insuperable handicap, I rush to add. I have known top-notch organizers in their twenties.

The good ones know, however, that they must pick up more in the way of membership than the people with the least to lose, the people who are willing to put themselves under guidance to unreliable appearing strangers. Beware of the groups led by a couple of college students, composed of a membership of teenagers, ministers without serious institutional responsibilities and a few desperate mothers, driven to trying anything to get their kids into a decent school. Anyone who has been around knows the type of enterprise I am talking about. Yet such is the look of the organizational endeavor which has failed to bud a second generation of leadership; it is also the characteristic profile of the collegiate organizer's botched job. It is as recognizable as the insulated, dessicated organizational product put out by the professional social worker.

At the risk of sounding like mother, may I say that impressions do count. I'll mention clothes. It is one thing to wear overalls in Mississippi where many of the people actually do wear them--it is another to wear them as an occasional stunt in a big northern city, but to indulge in peculiarities of dress and speech simply makes you look like faddists. I apologize for saying this to those of you who know better, but those will also know it has to be said. Faddism makes you look like a horse's ass. White middle class girls from Des Moines, to be extreme about it, did not grow up referring to males as "cats" and when they do it on the south side of Chicago they sound either patronizing or idiotic--take your pick.

Nothing is so reassuring as a person who acts like himself. If you don't know who you are, stay out of organizing until you do and are willing to accept yourself as yourself. When you do, you will find that other people will.

Next, may I urge you to drop as much of your excess ideological baggage as you can outside the place where you are organizing. You are building a power group, a mass organization to serve a particular constituency, one that has certain paramount demands to be met. The demands are remote from "peace" or from any number of other, perhaps laudable, but irrelevant interests.

In other words, don't act like cultists. If you are a vegetarian, keep it to yourself, hide it, because there are a certain number of butchers in the community and you want them in the organization too.

This work demands self-discipline in every way. It means you either get your rest or hide the fact that you haven't because people who arrive at sixes and sevens and announce they haven't slept for 26 consecutive hours give the impression of being unstable. It also means that you recognize that you have no private life, or put differently, you do not offend against the public morals of the community. Why? Not because the morals are necessarily correct, but because organizers who do not seem to be observing them alienate potential members for no good reason.

Some people may read what I have just said and think, "Ah Ha! White man's conventional middle class values--ethnocentrism, etc., etc." To which I reply, these are the public values held by substantial portions of the people you hope to organize.

Whether they practice them is as beside the point as whether middle class whites do. The cultist will say that there can be no surrender and that freedom of the individual is involved. Perhaps it is, but he who wastes time debating such abstractions, or, worse, insists on making it clear by his behavior that he believes otherwise is enjoying a luxury that is organizationally ruinous.

As organizers, apostolic vegetarians can only organize and inspire confidence among other vegetarians.

The best organizers have single track minds. They care only for building the organization. When they alienate a potential member, they do so out of organizational need, not out of the egotism of irrelevant personal values. The best organizers stifle their tastes, their opinions, their private obsessions.

Now at least we have taken a few preliminary precautions to prevent killing off the leadership before it even arrives and we can turn back to the question of finding and developing it.

From what I have seen, most of the organizational life in the ghetto is the small group, usually no bigger than the number of people that make up an extended circle of acquaintance. This usually figures out to twenty-five or less and rarely more than fifty. Numbers that get larger than that have to be held together by different, written, systems of bookkeeping and communication.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this: (1) Building a mass organization in the ghetto is the tedious job of stringing beads on a necklace, and (2) self-evidently, most of the available indigenous leadership will only be practiced in the arts of the small organization.

I have in mind the block club, the local janitors' association, the multitudinous sororities, the choirs, the teenage groupings, the local political and business associations, the perennial members of the local pool tournament. I am sure you can name many more. Everyone of these groupings has some kind of leadership. So the quest for leadership is abruptly over. There is, for practical purposes, no other leadership to be found, because there exist no vehicles for leadership to drive.

What this boils down to, then, is your discontent with what the leadership can do--namely, lead the groupings you find in the community. Your dissatisfaction with the leadership has real enough basis in fact. It is a narrow leadership mostly interested in what concerns the small group; it has little save only the most conventional understanding of the great issues which brought you into the community in the first place.

Great issues absorb the interest either of small highly specialized groups, as for instance many a chapter of SANE or CORE or the NAACP, or of a great organization. The small group can make mischief and propagandize in a diffuse way, but power, power is the property of the big organization. All this you know, for it again is what brings you to the community.

At every turn, the leadership is unsuited for your purposes. And so it will remain, changing only as the big organization emerges. The same holds true for the leadership you "find", that is, people who enter the organization without a following, but create one in and by means of the organization. The character of leadership, to put it in other words, is determined by the character of the organization

that trains it and which it leads. The making of an organization and the making of leadership are inseparable.

The proposition is not presented to you as a new great truth. It is no more than another application of the ancient observation that a man finds both his limits and his growth in his own personal experience. I have the temerity to advance this old bromide yet one more time, because it is often ignored. The fact that you are still thinking of leadership as an isolated category, one meriting its own workshop, shows how far people are from treating the leadership question as integral to the making of an organization.

This said, we can now spend some time talking about organizing as it fits into leadership.

The organizer's first job is to organize, not right wrongs, not avenge injustice, not to win the battle for freedom. That is the task of people who will accomplish it through the organization if it ever gets built. When things are looked at through the glass of organizational calculation, they assume new shapes.

A couple of examples may help to explain my meaning:

1. When the cops pick up a whore, shake her down and beat up her pimp, they have done wrong. Both the whore and pimp have rights, which have been grossly violated, but a thinking organizer may wonder how good an idea it is to commit his new group to their defense. What will the public at large say? More important, what will the different segments of the community say?

   The caballeros on the street hustling will love you, but what about the solid family types? Should the solid family types be taught the relativity of all human values, and will they consent to learn? Six months from now, will the caballeros think enough of the organization to support it by coming to one meeting, by contributing one dollar?

2. Rent strikes. They are very popular now, but as with leadership, they are seen as something that is good to do merely if you can do them. However, as anybody who has ever run one can tell you, they gobble up an organizer's time--which should be a valued asset--and may produce very few organizational dividends.

How might an organizer look at a rent strike proposition? (I am spinning this example out to illustrate the mentality which we might call organizational calculation.)

Of course he looks at the building. He does this for two reasons--the first is defensive; he wants to make sure the tenants aren't lying to him. Who doesn't think his landlord is a louse? Nothing is worse than getting into a fight in which the enemy can publicly prove your facts are wrong--note I said publicly prove.

The second reason he looks is to see how the building will photograph and will strike the eye of the often not very sympathetic press. I recall once having an argument with a photographer from the Saturday Evening Post as to whether a dead rodent in a slum building was a rat or a mouse. In short, the rats should look like rats.

If it still appears that a strike is feasible, he must ask what it will do for the organization. I will list a few possible things it might do, again by way of illustrating the organizational mentality.

1. If the political climate is right and you know local government is with you, it may provide a quickie victory--something every organization needs on occasion.

2. It can be a device to show people via face to face confrontation that a big, important white man like a slum landlord can be humiliated and beaten.

3. It may be a way to force a municipal government to begin rigorous enforcement of minimal housing standards.

4. It may be useful in building up general organizational cohesion. I recall one rent strike during which the landlord retaliated by such tactics as failing to buy coal for the building. The organization responded in its turn by taking a portion of the sequestered rents to buy coal. The coal truck was decorated with appropriate signs; the gentleman from the teamsters union who customarily drove the truck was replaced by several local leaders in the cab, while other people from the organization surrounded it as it paraded around the neighborhood before finally coming to its destination. Humor, color, the relish of a small triumph and greater organizational solidity came out of this little episode.

5. The strike may also be a useful method for organizing the people in the immediate locals around the building in question. Unless you have all of officialdom on your side, a rent strike is liable to be a protracted contest of nasty little surprises which each side springs on the other. The landlord's surprises are usually legal ones, bailiffs, court orders, etc. If the whole area is mobilized and organized into a big warning system, the landlord can't pull off much.

   But if the fight is really you and a few tenants versus the landlord in the midst of an indifferent populace, you are likely to invest hundreds of hours of time keeping the tenants morale up, with little to show for it but some publicity.

There are other reasons, good organizational reasons, for having rent strikes, but the point to bear in mind is having some reason other than the pure injustice of it all. It is, of course, very hard for an organizer to know when he has a valid reason for doing something, and when he is conning himself.

By nature most organizers are optimists--they have to be or they wouldn't be doing what they do. Optimists tend to be credulous. They get so fascinated by the putative advantages of a proposed line of action they never seriously examine either its drawbacks, or--and this is just as important--how they might be better spending their time.

I found in my own experience that my ego was incessantly trying to sabotage my judgment. For instance, I would argue in favor of striking a slum on the basis of organizational advantage without ever realizing that actually I was in a rage over the conditions the people in the building were living in. A good organizer cannot afford to vent his anger, anymore than he can use his position to push miscellaneously irrelevant pet social beliefs.

The ego works in other ways to deform the organizer's powers of judgment. Promising young organizers are prone to come up with clever ideas--and in their pride of invention, or in the egotism of mischief-making, to attempt to carry them out in circumstances that are neither propitious no even apropos.

The calculating organizer is forever suspicious of himself, forever mistrusting his analysis of the situation, and his plan of action. He is always asking himself questions like, "What am I doing? Why am I doing it? What if I succeed in doing what I am trying to do, will we really have gained anything worth gaining?" However, the organizer with a calculating mentality shall assuredly fail if he is trying to do the undoable.

What is an attainable organization in the working class ghetto? It is an organization of perhaps two percent of the people. Those who talk about organizing "all the people" or "the masses" or "the great majority of the people" are talking unrealizable balderdash.

In the first place, it cannot be done. The only way all the people or most of the people can be organized is by drafting them into the army. On the rare occasions when large percentages of a population are directly "participating" in the affairs of the community, they are probably having a riot. But this form of mass participation--I use the word that is fashionable--hardly gains much. Moreover, if you stop and reflect a second, you will see that any non-governmental organization comprising huge portions of the population would be so completely unwieldy that it could never achieve anything.

The purpose of organizations is, I remind you, at least in this discussion, power. As a practical matter, the organizing of two percent of the population is more than sufficient for the purpose of power. This you know from the history of modern revolutions--or if you look around, from the composition of the most effective present-day political machines. Indeed, even two percent of a population actively in an organization is an immensely formidable number. With two percent of a district's population closely organized, the organization should have an unbreakable control over things.

When the problem is viewed this way, it becomes more manageable intellectually and actually. To begin with, it now becomes possible to see where are the plausible places to start organizing and to sort out what elements in the community demand organizational attention and which are purely optional, to be courted provided the occasion arises and you have the time.

An organization needs three things: (1) A network of people spread out and in position to reach and mobilize the inert majority; (2) Continuity, and (3) Money.

The majority of small groups in the ghetto districts I am familiar with turn out to be potentially strongest in one of these three qualities. Thus a block club adds a good deal to the mobilization network, has some money potential, but is usually quite low in supplying continuity. The same can be said of the sorority or the poolroom gang, while a business group scores higher on the money and may bolster an organization's continuity.

Obviously, what is needed is the right mix of groupings to make up the sinews of organization. Sometimes this is accomplished by finding what the textbooks call the most common denominator. But the catch is, the most common denominator evokes the least general interest. Everybody is against juvenile delinquency, but who cares

enough about it to do anything? An issue which lines a whole community up on one side is most often so innocuous as to be organizationally useless.

There is an exception to this, and that is the outrage, the atrocity, the bad slum fire, rat-bites-child, bombing the Sunday school. However, such crises are of limited organizational value. The shock and anger they cause are soon dissipated. Furthermore, they are of much greater value to an existing organization than they are to building an organization.

Where an organization exists, the emotion the momentary crisis causes to be released can be harnessed to well-thought out political maneuvers and demonstrations; it can also be exploited for money raising and recruiting in sections of the district where you are organizationally weak. But where there is no organization, there is no way to capitalize on the opportunity. There may be a few indignation meetings, or even a riot, and then all collapses back into its previous shape.

The foregoing should suggest that the right balance of network, continuity and money is engendered by an organizational program containing a balance or mix of goals or would-be pay-offs (which organizationally is all that a goal is) for the various groupings you need to recruit. For homeowners the program may be defense against venal building inspectors, for the unemployed it may be pressure on some well-known local firm that discriminates, for the church group or local civil rights sentiment, it may be some sort of an assault on the local educational system. Hence, it has been said that organizing of this nature is, at least in part, building up a community-wide set of interlocking log-rolling agreements: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours, but if we don't combine, nobody's back'll get scratched."

Purists may find such a procedure intolerable. For example, you don't put pressure on the white small store owner past a certain point--even if he can hire an extra Negro clerk. The reason is you need his money which you will get if he fears you, but not if he hates you. You will also get his money, I hasten to add, if the organization's program includes objectives that are worth something to him. Purists will find many, many of the things the individuals and groups which you are courting want, to be picayune. Yet these "picayune" wants are the stuff of which organizations are built. They are the things that must of necessity most occupy people and which move people to action as great abstractions seldom do. Moreover, it is by meeting through organizational conquest the picayune demands that the great issues are made immediate and divested of their abstract distance. The mother learns about segregated education by fighting for school books for her child, the home-owner struggling with urban renewal learns about the society's huge engine of residential segregation by battling to save his property--the people learn these lessons and the most important lesson about how the world that bears down on them actually functions. However, the organizer is there to draw the lesson, to make the experience valuable, to lead on into the next and larger round in this match which will only be won by those adaptable enough to use victorious methods.

The organizer who merely sees the people's day-to-day problems as the proof that oppression demeans men, and not as the chance to be exploited, lacks the patience, the ingenuity and the opportunism that makes success. The I-can't-be-bothered-with-that attitude is self-important, and the organizer who is mostly concerned with "big issues" will never meet success outside the debate room.

Again, I am speaking of the ability to see with calculation and act with calculation. It is not easy, particularly once you have sensitized yourself to the impor-

tance of little favors, little worries, little preoccupations, to know which are the organizationally useful ones and which are heart-rending but profitless. I remember a newly founded organization that was offered several thousand dollars worth of Christmas baskets by a group of terrified local businessmen hoping to placate the popular wrath. First we battled with the local sufferers-for-humanity about putting whiskey in the baskets. They wanted to money spent on extras for the children. After that we argued over who should get the baskets. They wanted to give them to the needy! The organizers wanted to give them to the strategic, the flat janitors and other key people whom it is good to have obligated to the organization.

If I may, I would like to advert to the stringing of beads on the necklace one more time. The beads, it turns out, are not all of one shape and color. They are a variety, and as you pick them out and string them, the necklace will have a correspondingly different pattern.

The bead analogy holds with leadership also. Too many money beads--that is organizations brought in primarily for the dough they can contribute--and you will find yourself with a lot of money, but a soggy, conservative leadership. Too little money, too many youth groups, and you will get an organization that's always broke, that's short on continuity, and always undertaking more than its organizational base can carry out.

A big organization demands a variety of leadership talents. Money raising leadership, oratorical leadership, tactical leadership, leadership for routine, leadership that can measure community sentiment, that knows when to move and when to stay put. The different kinds of groups that come into your organization train up their natural leaders with greater skills in one area than in another. You need them all, and for that reason, I spoke earlier about collective leadership. It is just unrealistic to expect a big organization to produce more than a few all-purpose leaders who can perform most of the various leadership tasks exceptionally well.

When you do find the all-purpose leader, you would do well to beware of him. More often than not his domination leads to organizational despotism. And it is nice to think that social change can be more than the replacement of undesirable despots with more commodious ones. I confess, though, this may not be the lesson which history teaches.

I have an addendum. It concerns the use of white organizers, and I bring it up because it is obvious to you and to me that the growth of black nationalist sentiment has put a lot of them on the hot seat.

Like it or not, white men have their uses. Organizationally, an astute pretty white boy with an ivy league manner can run circles around anybody else in certain kinds of highly proper middle class situations. White organizers can be useful in dampening the often destructive battle for prominence that has wrecked many a promising Negro endeavor. Remember, your white organizer has no political future in the ghetto, therefore he can be used as neutral absorbent material for out-of-control ambitions which are emitting dangerous rays. The white organizer sometimes can be a reassurance when making deals with outside white groups--and I hope there is no one here in such a retarded political babyhood as to think such deals are not necessary.

On the other hand, it grates in this time of rising independence to see the old dependence on whites--to see the old razzamatazz of whites leading Negroes. But for

the good organizer, this should be no problem because the good organizer should never--or virtually never--make a public speech, never get his name in the paper, never enjoy any formal authority in the organization. The big deal organizer who becomes a figure in his own right was never serious about developing leadership. He is the man who always meant to be the leader himself; when this type asks how do we find an indigenous leadership, you can translate his words to mean, "How do I get myself a personal following?"

The good organizer is the self-effacing mentor who judges his work a success when he can leave the organization without even being missed. He is rare, rarer than first-rate leadership, but he exists and he comes in a variety of colors and he can work in almost any situation.

THE FAILURE OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THE BLACK BELT

by J. V. Henry

The automatic response of some people in the civil rights movement to the poverty of Negros in the Black Belt is to say, "We need to get some federal programs in here." A more considered response would be to analyze the programs that operate in the South now, and to find out why they don't reach these people. First of all, most "Federal" programs are not really operated by the federal government. The federal government gives the money to the state, and then the state operates a program in line with the federal conditions. Usually, the states have to contribute their own funds to support part of the program.

What does this mean to the South? Southern legislatures are not known for their generosity in the field of social welfare (with the possible exception of Louisiana in some programs). The Southern states do not have a great deal of funds to expend in support of the programs. So, programs like welfare don't really help the people who need it. A mother with one child on AFDC welfare in Mississippi typically gets about $8.88 each week to provide for the family needs, <u>if</u> she has no other source of income.

Another reason that federal programs have failed to reach Negros in the Black Belt is that Negros have no effective say-so in the administration of the programs. There is overt discrimination in many programs. This is forbidden by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, but the federal agencies have taken a very passive stand on putting the law into effect. Also the people don't know how to complain about this discrimination in a way that will be effective.

The 1964 Summer Project put many volunteers in Mississippi with the sole purpose of doing something about the federal program problems there. This had in most cases, absolutely no effect. If complaints were made to Washington, they were referred to the Jackson office for investigation. Most of them disappeared into the circular file there. This procedure has been somewhat improved but the difficulty of ever getting some effective enforcement of TitleVI persists.

Some programs don't reach most Negros in the Black Belt because most Negros in the Black Belt are poor. These programs are not really designed to help the poor. For example, in some Mississippi Delta counties, the white schools get twelve times as much money in federal school lunch funds as the Negro school. This is not overt discrimination. This is simply because the funds go to the schools where the students can afford to participate in the programs and the students at the Negro school are mostly poor, the whites get a larger subsidy for their school lunch program.

Another program which provides an example of the failure is the Hill-Burton hospital construction program. Hospitals are good, the response goes, and if we help build hospitals, they will help people. So the federal funds went in, over $2 billion nationally. In the South they went in to Jim Crow hospitals. They built facilities with all-white staffs or all Negro-staffs. The NAACP has filed complaints about 235 of these hospitals, but the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has refused to take serious action about one.

Even more relevant to the problems of poverty, the funds went into hospitals which were built for the prosperous America of today. In most of the counties, the people are not concerned about the racial segregation that puts Negros on one floor and whites on the other floor, or lets white doctors on the staff of the hospitals, while Negro doctors are admitted only as associates. The people are concerned about the economic segregation that lets middle-class people in the hospital, while Negros who are poor are turned away from the admissions office to seek their care wherever they can find it. A hugh number of Negro children are born each year, delivered by midwives in the mother's home. This is certainly one of the largest factors in the huge infant mortality rate for Negros in the South. It is higher than that of any "developed" country. The only other ethnic group having such a high mortality rate is the Indians, and theirs is high for similar reasons.

It is obvious that a family with an income of less than $1500 annually cannot afford the vast luxury of medical care in a hospital where bills run $30 or more daily. Thus, economic segregation leads to physical separation. Even if Title VI were perfectly enforced, there would be a ghetto of those unable to afford the "right" to be hospitalized in the "white" hospital.

Another example of how economic segregation leads to white supremacy in Federal programs is in the Department of Agriculture. There is a great deal of money available for farmers to borrow to purchase or improve their farms. Even if the county committee (which has a virtual veto power over the loan is granted or not) was color blind to every applicant, the regulations favor those farmers who are already running profitable operations. The subistence farmer, and this includes most Negro farmers in the South, is unable to obtain the loan to bring him up to his level, because he isn't there already.

The fact that Title VI gives the Secretaries discretion to grant or withhold the federal funds if there is racial discrimination leads to further problems. The power is perverted for partisan political purposes. The National Democratic Party has by no means given up its hopes of regaining the Deep South. This power can be used to pull the states back into line. The most obvious use of this weakness was revealed when the Office of Education held up federal aid to education funds for the Chicago schools, because of the Willis ghettoization of the school system. Mayor Daley made a phone call to the President. Half an hour later, the funds were on their way, and Consensus reigned again.

If the state or local recipient wants to get federal funds, they must sign a contract called an "Assurance of Compliance" with the federal nondiscrimination regulations. Most recipients signed these, and the federal departments will proudly exhibit them if any question comes up. But there is not any follow-up investigation in most cases. It's as if the most flagrant boozers in town were allowed to join the WCTU if only they would sign the pledge. Backsliders are ignored.

The departments complain that they don't have the personnel to investigate abuses of the funds which they grant. There is also the problem of a single state agency administering fifteen of twenty federal programs. If they are investigated by one department, and are in compliance with that department's program, there is often no check of the remaining programs.

The only cut-off funds activity which is currently underway for an existing program is the Alabama welfare program. Administrative review has been going on for seven months. Further review in the courts could take up to a year . This is in the face of the Alabama Department of Welfare to sign an Assurance.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been insisting that all local poverty committees be racially integrated. It also requires something called "maximum feasible participation of the poor" , the subject of much controversy in the North as well as in the South. These requirements do not solve the problem of white power structure domination, but they give Negros and the poor some hope. As a means of implementing the non-discrimination clause of Title VI, the federal agencies could insert such requirements into all programs.

If we're serious about democracy and equality, why shouldn't Gardener Joe have a voice on the Board of Directors of the hospital? If the school board is elected, but Negros are not allowed to vote, then how can federal funds go to support this denial of the franchise? If we are serious about helping the poor, then why don't we amend the school lunch program to give poor schools the same benefits as the rich schools? Why not demand that county committees include Negros and representatives of the subsistence farmer?

These questions won't be answered at the conference. They won't be answered at any conference. The demands should be made, though. The real place to make the changes is in the Black Belt itself. The reigns of power must be obtained by the people, by the vote and by concentrated organizing to build a meaningful power bloc which can demand help of the intense and meaningful kind which is needed.

THE SURVEY

AND

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

by

Nick Egleson

Originally published by:
Students for a Democratic Society
Economic Research and Action Project

Reprinted by:
Southern Student Organizing Committee
Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee

The Survey and Community Organization

Nick Egleson

This paper is based on surveys taken one summer in Cambridge, Maryland, and one fall in Chester, Pennsylvania. The information from Cambridge was not tabulated until just before the project disbanded in late August, and the information from Chester has not yet been compiled. Yet both surveys contributed immeasurably to the community organization programs of which they were a part. That is the theme of this paper. The indirect more than the direct results of a survey can make it an important link in the process of organizing a community.

A survey can perform four functions. It can supply accurate statistical information. It can provide a way of making contacts within a community. It can furnish informal knowledge of an area of a variety which cannot be tabulated, but which is organizationally useful. It can educate the canvassers.

(1) The direct statistical results speak for themselves, except for two words of caution. In all but the rarest cases it is possible to estimate on the basis of informal conversations what the results of surveying will be. This is particularly true of basic needs and of attitudes. A survey is not necessary to decide whether or not housing is substandard or the community is upset about the scarcity of jobs. From the point of view of community organization and action on a problem, it is far more important to find and to implement methods of improving housing conditions than to establish with certainty the number of overcrowded rooms, broken sinks, and non-functioning toilets. The length of time needed to collect and tabulate information necessitates the second word of caution. Unless the project is of long duration, or the number of people surveyed very small, the results of the survey will not be ready in time to be of any use.

Perhaps two examples to illustrate these points will be helpful. (a) Before we had canvassed three hundred of the twenty seven thousand Negroes in Chester, we had found an issue for a first attempt at organization. Working closely with three residents of the community, it was not difficult to determine that the poor conditions at one of the elementary schools could form a focal point with wide and immediate appeal. We canvassed the surrounding area and the results verified our guess. The Franklin School became the first issue of demonstrations in Chester. (b) After a week in Cambridge, we theorized from casual conversations and observations that any man who passed twenty would leave the jobless town as soon as he could raise the money and find a way. Three months later when we tabulated the results of a 50% sample survey, this hunch was clearly substantiated. The population broken down by ages followed roughly the normal curve until age 20, and then dipped to a low at 28 before rising slowly back to the normal line.

(2) The canvassers who went from door to door in Cambridge and Chester did not just ask their questions and leave. Whenever they could, they stayed to talk at length and some of the contacts they made came to play an active part in the organization. In an unfamiliar or completely unorganized area, these people would be the starting contacts. The conversation may be about the bombings in Birmingham, the way to fix a sink, or the platform of a local committeeman, and the intended ten minute interview may stretch to an hour, the time is never poorly spent.

(3) If these informal conversations in the course of the survey provide a way to find information which could not be asked for by a routine questionnaire, and which would not be useful for tabulation. In Chester through this method, we learned that an eighteen square block area was threatened with razing to make way

of the local political organization or machine is not printed anywhere. Only the community's residents know the unofficial leaders of the community.

(4) The survey serves its fourth function by educating those who conduct it. People are forced to learn. Two days in the field going door-to-door can tell the conditions better and more honestly than many well-chosen words. And people are forced to think. Each canvasser has gathered only a small share of the information, and the shares must be pooled and analyzed. Each person has had slightly different experiences; these must be compared.

Yet one does not need specialized knowledge to set up a survey, nor previous experience to run it. In this respect, it is an ideal initial project for a new group or campus organization.

Statistics, contacts, indirect information, and experience are the four functions of the survey. I have divided the remainder of this paper into five sections, each one dealing with specific methods or problems in running a survey. These are: (a) Which questions to ask, (b) How to choose a sample, (c) How to ask questions, (d) Notation and card layout, (e) Tabulation of results.

Which Questions to Ask

A facsimile reproduction of the cards used in Cambridge and Chester is attached at the end of this paper, and will serve as a list of the questions asked. These lists will, of course, have to be varied to fit different situations. As an indication of why we chose certain questions, here follows a rationalization of the questions asked on the Cambridge forms.

Address: To assure an even and thorough distribution of samples, and so that we could locate again the interested people.

Name: To locate interested people. Very few people were reluctant to give their name, in spite of the fact that we asked some questions which middle class people might consider controversial or personal. In all our survey work, we found this openness typical of the lower class community, and attribute it in part to the fact that there is little status motivation within it.

Relation to head of household: We had assumed that the woman often served as the acting head of the household, and sometimes the titular one, even when a man was still part of the family. We wanted to prove or disprove this assumption. It was also useful in determining how many heads of households held full-time work, as opposed to other adults.

Birthplace: We asked this to get an idea of mobility patterns. For Cambridge, Maryland, the possible answers were: Cambridge, elsewhere in Dorchester County, elsewhere in Maryland, and out-of-state.

Registration: We were conducting voter registration drives in the city, and tried to tabulate this information early and use the list of the unregistered people to facilitate the drive.

Schooling: In particular we were interested in finding how many people were working below their educational level, and how many children were completing school.

Opinion of CNAC: (Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee) was the organization for which we worked. We found many people reluctant to rate one demand in the movement's program above another. All seemed important to them.

Boycott: CNAC had called a boycott of the downtown stores in Cambridge, and we were trying to gauge the extent of participation.

Housing, Employment and Income: Here again few people hesitated to give the information; they did not consider it confidential. We had considerable trouble, however, getting accurate information on income, because few people at this low income level kept any records at all.

We did not try any systematic approach to the informal conversations, and tried only to make each one as informative as possible. Many people in the communities in which we worked had never had an opportunity to generalize their feelings about the conditions in which they lived. If asked if anything were wrong with the schools they would shrug and say no, but they might register strong complaints if asked specifically about the playgrounds at the schools, or the distance their children had to walk to them. Few of these people have had a chance to compare their condition to conditions elsewhere, and often they fail to make judgements for want of a comparative standard. No one will know to complain of 40 children per classroom if they have not had contact with other conditions. These remarks lead to two conclusions: the canvasser will get the most interested response in talking about specific problems of the community (instead of general conditions or possible solutions), and he must be careful to pursue each issue to the full (even when this is not the most rigorous sociological approach).

How to Ask Questions

Although the preceding remarks apply as well to the methods of asking as to the questions themselves, it would not be too helpful to set down a list of rules on how to ask questions. Instead, the practice of talking about and comparing techniques after several days of field work will do much to develop sound approaches to canvassing.

How to Choose a Sample

Cambridge had a Negro population of 4000. Although we aimed at first for a 100% sample, we retrenched towards the end of the summer and canvassed fifty percent of every street. In Chester, we attempted to hit one family in four. If you are striving for a high degree of statistical accuracy, several factors must be taken into account. Without a master street list giving every apartment as well as every house (this can sometimes be obtained from the post office, sometimes from the Chamber of Commerce or the local board of realitors) it is difficult to determine whether or not you have hit the target percentage accurately. The time of day when most surveying is done is also likely to affect the sample. A survey taken mainly during daylight hours tends to miss those people who have to work, and therefore lowers the percentage of single adult families. It also means that most of the

information on salaries and income is second hand, since the person earning is away at work. The season makes a difference, particularly where seasonal employment is high. We found that the data on employed-unemployed from the Cambridge survey was almost useless because of this factor. We did not date the cards in the Cambridge survey which was an error.

Geographical distribution is perhaps a still bigger factor in the accuracy of a sample. A 20% sample from the northern end of the Chester ghetto would differ considerably from one at the southern end. We tried at first in Cambridge to get the requisite sample (50%) from every street, but even this proved somewhat unsatisfactory.

Notation and Card Layout

Even with the uncrowded layout of the Cambridge form (see appendix) we found that different copies used different shorthands for noting answers. Discussions about the notations, and perhaps a trial tabulation of the first few hundred cards should take care of this problem. Canvassers should put their initials on each card they do.

Aside from the increase in the amount of information requested, the major difference between the Cambridge and the Chester forms is the practice in the later Chester version, of putting a whole family on a card instead of just one person. Since we collected relatively little information about children sixteen and under the one card per person unnecessarily increased the number of forms, and, in addition, meant that the tabulation had to be done in three separate stages. We have not attempted it yet, but we hope that the Chester cards will eliminate the first step in tabulation.

The Cambridge forms were printed on a mimeograph machine, using standard five by seven cards. Because of need for greater clarity in the tighter Chester forms, we printed them on offset. Using the same stock, the cost for an initial run of 5000 was $35.

Tabulation of Results

The first step in tabulation was to give each card a code number of seven digits. The first two denoted the street--Pine Street was 34. The next three told the apartment number--say 009. And the last two told the number of members in the family--03. Thus the code number for all the cards belonging to the family of three at 9 Pine Street was 34-009-03. All the cards were then arranged in order, and checked against street lists to make sure we had the required sample from each street, and a fairly even distribution within the street.

The second step involved transferring the information from the individual cards to master lists, of the form illustrated in diagram 3, appendix. Each sheet of the master list contained the information from nearly thirty cards, in the coded form explained in part 4 of the appendix. Since all the information now appeared in parallel columns, correlations and cross-correlations involving two variables were relatively easily compiled. It is this step which we hope will be eliminated by the more compact Chester forms.

Step three, the tabulation, took two-man teams. One person called off a statistic (an age) or a cross correlation (the number of heads of families in income category

four) and another took down the figures and kept count. When it was needed, we added the totals from each sheet, and did the sums for the averages on a cash register which we borrowed for the occasion.

It took eight of us working part time for ten days to do 31 tabulations from 2049 cards. This work did not have the same qualities as direct community field work, but taught us much about statistics and about the town. To have the same work done by computer would have cost approximately $175. As some indication of the results which can come out of such a survey, I have given a list of the various types of correlations in the fifth section of the appendix.

The formal information from the survey, together with the informal information from canvassing and other work in the community, was compiled in a 74 page report titled The Negro Ward of Cambridge Maryland: A Study in Social Change. An abridged version of the report will be available from the national office of SDS (119 Fifth Avenue, NYC) in the near future. Copies on loan and more information can be obtained by writing the Swarthmore Political Action Club, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

The survey is a beginning technique for organization. Within the community, it can provide information, both direct and indirect, and a first line of communication with people. For the canvassers, it can provide a first understanding of the actual conditions of a community, opportunity for thinking about and acting upon these conditions.

Appendix I

DIAGRAM I: The Forms Used in Cambridge, Summer 1963

Street_____ No._____ Block_____ Name_____

Age_____ Sex_____ Relation to head of household_____ Birthplace___

Length of Residence in: City_____ County_____ State_____

Registered: City_____ Affiliation_____ Voting since_____

County_____ Reason not registered_____

Last year of schooling_____ School now attending_____

Other training_____ Means of transportation to school_____

Religious affiliation_____ Active_____ Inactive_____

Opinion of CNAC demands	Very Important	Important	Unimportant
1. Employment			
2. Housing			
3. Public Accomodations			
4. Education			
5. Police			

Boycott participation:_____ Since when:_____

Where does shopping_____

Transportation for shopping:_____

Attend mass meetings_____ Marches_____ Sit-Ins_____

Comments on CNAC, techniques_____

Rooms_____ Bath_____ Owned_____ Landlord's Name_____

Rent_____ Upkeep_____

Place of employment_____ Type of Work_____

Rate of pay_____ Other Training_____

Attempts to get other jobs_____ Weeks worked last year_____

Individual income last year_____ Family Income_____

Benefits: Welfare_____ Social Security_____

Veterans_____ Other_____

(These are smaller than originals, and only approximate copies. The originals were printed on 5 x 7 cards.)

Appendix II

DIAGRAM II: The Chester Forms

Code_____ Date_____ Canvasser_____ Page____ of____ Card Number____

1.	Relation to Head			21.	Benefits @ mo, amt, kind.
2.	Sex			22.	Which union a member of
3.	Age			23.	Address
4.	Date moved to Chester			24.	No. rooms
5.	From where			25.	Rent
6.	How registered			26.	Mortgage
7.	How voted last election			27.	Condition
8.	When last voted			28.	Bath(s)
9.	Last grade completed			29.	Hot Water
10.	Course			30.	Electricity
11.	Why leave school			31.	Heat
12.	Post high school training			32.	Phone
13.	Job			33.	T.V.
14.	Position			34.	Car
15.	Wages			35.	Construction
16.	Hours @ week at present			36.	Bad Foundation
17.	Weeks worked last year			37.	Pests
18.	Needing a job			38.	Local news source
19.	Amount earned before taxes			39.	National news source
20.	Other income last year				

List below children in school or too young for school:

Age	Sex	Rel. to head	Where born	Last grade completed	Summer job

40. Ages of children in household interested in being tutored_____
41. Whom would you like to see win the 1964 National Election?_____
42. Who in the household has moved out of town?_____ When?_____ Where?____
43. Is there anyone disabled or chronically ill in the household?_____
44. Is there temporary illness, colds, hospitalization? Explain_____
45. What would you like to see done with regard to the school system_____
46. To employment?_____
47. To housing_____
48. To medicine_____
49. To police force_____

Schools
Unions
Police
Housing
Employment
Medicine
NAACP

Comments:

Appendix III

Diagram III: The Middle Stage Tabulation Forms

1. Code No.	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9	10		11	12	13	14	etc.
28-009-03	H	M	3	3	6	Y	R	C	0	0	9	¼	4	N	Y	
28-009-03	A	F	2	8	6	N	-	0	-	-	-	-				
28-009-03	C	9	U	9	2	-	-	-	-							
28-011-01	-	-	-	-	-											
28-012-06	-	-	-													

Each horizontal row represents one card-person.
Each vertical column represents one class of statistics - age, or income group, for example.

Diagram IV: The Categories and Notation for Tabulation

The vertical columns (see diagram III) were labeled from left to right:

1. Code number. See explanation on page 8.
2. Relation to head: either head, other adult (18 yrs. +) or child.
3. Sex.
4. Age - actual figures
5. Age group.

1. 0 - 5	6. 26 - 35
2. 6 - 12	7. 36 - 45
3. 13 - 17	8. 46 - 55
4. 18 - 21	9. 56 - 65
5. 22 - 25	10. 66 +

6. Registered - Yes, No.
7. Party affiliation - Rep, Dem, Ind.
8. Where born - Cambridge, elsewhere in Dorchester County, elsewhere in Maryland, out of state.
9. Boycott participation, by shopping district: downtown, the Colonial Store, (to be used only in emergencies), local shops in the Negro community, and out of town.
10. Education level - last grade completed.
11. Rating demands. We kept track of any of the demands which the interview gave special emphasis.
12. Number of rooms
13. Telephone
14. Bath - full bath, only toilet inside, outside.
15. Hot water
16. Electricity
17. Rent (amount. Ø signified ownership)
18. Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled.
19. Number of weeks worked last year.
20. Personal income
21. Family income.

A list of the statistics which we compiled from the Cambridge data:

1. Total population
2. Number of households
3. Population by age
4. Moving patterns

Appendix IV

5. Registration and voting statistics
6. Affiliation by age
7. Affiliation by education
8. Average education of age groups
9. No. of persons at each education level.
10. Density of population
11. Overcrowding
12. Density charts
13. Utilities - electricity, telephone, hot water, bath
14. Ownership
15. Weeks of employment per year, average education at each level.
16. Weeks of employment per year, by head and non-head
17. Weeks of employment per year, percent of population at each level.
18. Unemployment at time of interview
19. Skills
20. Income, by individual, household, total community
21. Length of employment, by sex
22. Percentage of each age level working at each employment level
23. Percentage of each employment group at each age level
24. No. of persons at each education level, by level of employment
25. No. of persons at each income level, total, and by levels of employment
26. Attitude toward CNAC demands
27. Boycott participation
28. Mass meeting participation

THE SOUTH

AS AN

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY

by
Robb Burlage

Originally published by:
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reprinted by:
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 6403 Nashville, Tennessee

THE SOUTH AS AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY

by Robb Burlage

The last three decades in Dixie have moved the plantation economy clearly into the 20th century industrial world. The South, though a step-child, is a full-fledged member of the national economy. Fifty years later than the North, its urban areas have tipped the balance over the rural, though in values, traditions, and politics the battle has not been completely won. Perhaps fifty years later than the North, the crest of the industrial revolution has hit the South. The "New South" which Henry Grady heralded in the 1880's appears to be at hand.

To miss the dynamic aspects of the rise in average per capita income, manufacturing, employment, urban population, regional bank assets, and agricultural productivity (an "agricultural revolution" has swept the South as well as a manufacturing one, emphasizing capital-intensive large units and fewer and fewer individual farmers producing more and more total product) would be a serious mistake.

On the other hand, to refer glowingly to the "New South" as a thing completed or merely a matter of more incremental growth is to avoid serious problems that make the South, as it was in the '30's, the nation's number one economic problem.

According to the usual criterion of per capita income, the South has made heartening progress in the last three decades--from 50% to about 75% of the national average. However, this is only "three fourths American" and this figure in itself can be misleading. The urban Negro, the rural resident--white and Negro, and the people of "depressed areas" such as the Southern Appalachian region are generally below this figure. Many urban whites, on the other hand, are close to the national average.

The Negro is still the automatic lower class of the South despite some strides in improvement of educational and employment opportunities. The estimated average per capita income of the Negro in the South is less than $1000; for all other Southerners it is about $1500. The "place" of the Negro today, though more mobile socially and geographically than before, is most uncertain in the Southern economy. The Negro was the "technology of Southern agriculture for almost three centuries." The slave Negro-machine gave the South the edge in production and wealth over the rest of the nation for almost two centuries. It was the catching-up which the North has made with the non-human machines that gave Northern industrialism its victory over the agrarian South, which despite its cotton gin was the <u>machinery</u> of production to one which uses him as a skilled <u>operator</u> of the machinery of production has been the hardest task of Southern development.

The Negro, given a new image of life by the military, national communication media, and a slightly greater buying power, has felt the squeeze of being on the margin of the Southern economy and has led the stream of outmigration during the last two decades. More than one and one-half million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. This trend is cheered by some Southerners who see a lessening of "racial tension" as the South's percentage of Negroes goes down to below half of the nation, but it is also a net loss as produc-

tive potential and as a market for the regional product. American merchandisers have just begun to realize that the "Negro market" is larger than the total Canadian economy. The Negro is beginning to self-realize his economic power as reflected in the Montgomery bus strike, the sit-ins, the Philadelphia "selective buying" campaign, etc. Meanwhile, the irrationality of segregation and the whole white supremacist tradition limit and scar progress in the South.

An urban-industrial complex like Birmingham, for instance, hulking part of the economic "New South" has become a scene of violence, has closed its city parks to avoid an integration order, has cut off its welfare relief (95% Negro) in retaliation against a Negro buying boycott, has fallen into irrational city politics at the hands of racists, and remains enslaved in the impasse between racist tradition and economic progress. Some Southerners still hold to the idea that both white supremacy and industrialism can be attained. The front-running candidate in the Alabama gubernatorial primary has pledged to go to jail to avoid integration and to get an industrial plant in every county. It is not necessarily so that industrialism is impossible with racism; Hitler proved that.

Despite an increase in population in the Deep South during the last decade, in all states except Florida more people left than came in. Besides, the large Negro outmigration, a great number of skilled and educated young persons of both races left the region after scarce regional resources had been spent on their training.

Another trend has been the shift in population from the economically overcrowded farms to the city. In the six states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, for instance, 80% of the counties had more people leave than came in between 1950 and 1955. There has been a "population explosion" in the metropolitan areas, but the cities have not coped with their new population very effectively. The "urban tenant" is more helpless and more in need of higher levels of income than the "rural tenant". Welfare, medical, and re-employment programs have been sparce. Housing and community development programs have lagged critically. Three Southern states--Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina--don't even allow urban renewal. In other cases the programs turn into "Negro removal" projects without adequate provisions for resettlement. Large metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly segregated as whites scamper to the political and fiscal irresponsibility of the suburbs and the Negro and low income whites are left to the shrinking, blighted "central city" with no place else to go. It is interesting to note that in Atlanta Negroes comprise one-third of the population, but are able to occupy only one-sixth of the residential land. More than half a million blighted houses are reported in the 1959 Census of the six-state Atlanta Federal Reserve district.

Southern agriculture is still the largest problem area. More than three-fourths of the farms in the South are less than 23 acres (only 5% more than 100 acres). One half of the nation's farm families live in the South, yet only one third of the nation's farm product is from that region. Net income per family in the South is less than two-thirds of that of farm families outside. Forty-seven of the fifty-one economic areas in the United States with median farm family income less than $1000 are in the South. The South has

only 13% of the commercial farms in the nation, but 70% of the commercial farms with less than 2500 income. Definite progress has been made in developing larger, more viable farm units; livestock and a variety of cash crops have supplanted King Cotton; fertilizers, hybrid seeds, scientific conservation measures, and mechanization have all contributed larger income potential. But thousands of marginal farmers, tenants and freeholds, are stranded in rural areas without any prospect of betterment. Even more unfortunate are the uprooted migrant workers who are helping in the South. Better education is needed (less than one-third of farm children make it to college in the South), more credit for large productive farm units should be made available, and well-planned programs of outmigration should be carried out. Of course, America's policies toward world use of agricultural abundance must change as well.

The "industrial mix" of the South is still rather "soft", featuring the natural resource-use industries of textiles, lumber, and food processing. Chemicals, heavy manufacturing, electronics, and other high-technology plants are relatively shy of the South, often because of a lack of skilled workers. Industrial wages have been rising but are still considerably below natural scales. Unionization has been beaten down since the late 19th century in the South by use of race intimidation and outright violence and social pressure, as well as local and state "right-to-work"-type laws. Thus democratic participation of workers in the economic decision-making lags as well. The nearest thing to economic decision-making in the economic sphere is in the rural cooperatives for feed and equipment, storage, electricity, ginning and processing, stockyards and slaughterhouses, etc. Some "community development" programs have brought together many different citizens for local economic planning and promotion, but this has been dominated by Chamber of Commerce approaches.

During the Depression of the Thirties the South learned a number of lessons. (1) First, that the South is not a separate regional compartment but is part and parcel of the national and international economy. The South was the hardest hit of any region by the national depression; (2) Second, that federal assistance is needed if the South is to reach its potential. President Roosevelt, in calling the nation's attention to the South's plight, responded with leadership and federal programs that included TVA, WPA, CCC, agriculture adjustment programs, and assistance for regional study and planning. With this impetus from the federal government, the most comprehensive program of research and planning in the South took place in the thirties. Professor Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina and many others formed the "regional school" of economists, sociologists, planners, anthropologists, geographers, etc., who, in the Southern Regions and other publications surveyed the resources of Dixie and planned for their best use. With the encouragement of the National Resources Planning Board, state planning boards were established to deal rationally with problems of underdevelopment throughout the South.

During World War II, much of this vision of the Thirties was lost. The South came to depend upon military expenditure for its "public works." Muscle Shoals shifted from fertilizer to explosives. TVA power laid the basis for Oak Ridge's nuclear weapons research. Lockhead, Raytheon, Dupont nuclear fuels plant, Pine Bluff Arsenal, Cape Canaveral, Redstone Arsenal and Missile

Center--these are the "public works" the South now depends upon. This has tainted the Southerner's view of the Cold War and has narrowed his perspective on government participation in the economy.

The "planning movement" of the Thirties has become the "promotion movement" of the post-war years. Draftsmen and social scientists have been replaced by hucksters and industrial contact men. "Economic development" has come to mean: "Persuade a Yankee plant, any kind, to locate in your town." Rational planning and "developmental concern with health, education, housing, and welfare have taken a back seat to the full-speed-ahead hunt for external investment. Florida spends more than two and one-half million dollars a year on "industrial and tourist promotion." Communities have gambled their public credit on give-away bond issues and have guaranteed low wages to pull plants and processing firms in their area. This has made for grab-bag growth and uneven, "soft" development. There is a desperate need to pull these pieces together and to concentrate on coordinating public approaches to "development" with emphasis on the underdevelopment of human resources (training, health, housing and urban renewal, expanded welfare programs) as well as the need for external investment.

Sadly, many Southern Congressmen have been locked in a coalition with conservative Northern Republicans and have been less concerned with, in fact <u>opposed</u> to, legislation to help the South.

The heart of opposition to federal aid to education, expanded medical programs, improved housing and urban renewal, area redevelopment and public works programs are Dixiecrat Congressmen. This stems partially from the double-standard of States' Rights (remain independent on race, but get as much federal aid as possible) becoming a single negative standard and irrational fears of federal programs being used to destroy segregation. It is also the result of Southern dependence on Northern investment and the desire to build a "conservative" climate to attract it. The basis of the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition goes all the way back to the "Compromise of 1876" with the calling off of Reconstruction for the guarantee of Hayes' election, and continued Northern industrial dominance of the South. FDR broke through this coalition to some extent, but the post-war scene and the rise of the cold war have seen a hardening of it.

The pioneering work of the TVA has trickled down to maintaining the public power establishment. The "creeping conservatism" of TVA is less the fault of the Authority itself and more the fault of the vision (or lack of it) of Congress and the Executive. Bold, new economic development authority is needed across the tributaries of the Tennessee, throughout the Southern Appalachian area, through the Alabama River basin and elsewhere. The Area Redevelopment Administration program has been thus far essentially only a piece-meal loan and grant program to meet immediate "plant-attraction" needs with a few re-training experiments thrown in. The Public Works Bill now up for approval in Congress would speed up spending for public facilities, but there still is a need for long-run public authority to develop the natural and human resources of the South. The same zeal that brought the Peace Corps (does the President have another brother-in-law?) should be dedicated to a "Domestic Peace Corps" which emphasizes the need to fight poverty in the depressed "pockets" (involving, however, as many as 40% of the American

people) where it exists in the so-called Affluent Society.

It must be recognized that "progress"--growth of gross product and increase in average per capita income--does not automatically bring justice. As Mike Harrington has suggested in his new book, The Other America, poverty is a "culture" that must be attacked from many directions at once to break its vicious circle. And despite the rise of urban industrialism across Dixie, racism still haunts the region. The Negro is still the most underdeveloped resource in America. His plight is greatest in the South. Attempts to preserve segregation corrode politics and obfuscate all other issues, prevent effective worker organization, lead to irrational plant organization (South Carolina has a law that prohibits whites and Negroes from working in the same textile plant), curb efforts to attract industry (Little Rock got no industrial nibbles for three years after Faubus closed the schools, though things had been booming before that), add to the "welfare" burden and make the administration of welfare programs discriminatory and prevent positive programs from being launched (an Area Redevelopment tractor-training program in the Mississippi Delta area was blocked by local politicians because there were fears that the interracial project would change the existing status of Negro farm laborers.)

Agriculture is not being totally replaced by manufacturing in the South but is changing its form to become more productive. "Industrial agriculture" on larger farms with less persons employed is the future trend (farm employment in the six-state Atlanta area declined 22% to 11% of the total employment from 1950 to 1960). This means that provision must be made for the margin farm worker doomed by technology to find a more productive way of life and make a satisfactory transition to non-agricultural employment. This should not be left to the cruel process of forcing farmers to starvation levels or staging reverse freedom rides to ship persons out of the South. Hopefully, the South can find a use for all its human resources and concentrate on shifting persons from farm employment in the South to productive employment off the farm employment in the South to productive employment off the farm in the South.

At one time the South was an "internationalist" producer of primary products, especially cotton, for foreign manufacturers. Opposition by the South to stiff national tariffs for protection of Northern "infant industries" was one of the official interregional issues at the time of the civil war. However, the South has now become the most "protectionist" region in the country about its "infant industries." The 1959 Southern Governors Conference called for more protection of Southern manufactures from foreign competition. This is clearly a block to the greatest possible flow of economic goods and is only a short-run view to protect marginal firms, textiles in particular. Just as the Southern contribution to cold war tensions because of its zeal for military public works must be seen in broader perspective--so must the rise of protectionism in the South.

As we view the Southern "mixed economy" in 1962 it is clear that vast changes are taking place in the structure of production, the distribution of population, and, more slowly in the social structure. It is important that "New South" fever not take away our critical judgment of the status quo of discrimination and poverty and undemocratic processes that still pervades the

South. Southern leaders should not allow the region to make economic growth only a veneer and a "trickle-down" factor that ignores the traditional problems. There is a need for broad secular changes if the "New South" is to be a well-balanced and just society where all its citizens have the opportunity to grow and live in freedom. There is a crying need for broader expenditure for education, training, and research, for more basic community facilities such as sewerage, water plants, roads, for more diversified capital investment in manufacturing with emphasis on "growth" industries such as electronics and more intensive investment in agriculture with emphasis on "industrial agriculture," for direct assistance to the poverty-stricken, for elimination of the walls of race and region that leave literally millions of Southerners of both races still living as second-class citizens.

The southern potential is great. Its topography, soil, climate, water, forests, and mineral resources are abundant. Electrical, nuclear, and solar energy can be produced with relative ease in the southern environment. The South's greatest untapped resource is its people. It could accomodate four or five times the amount of industrial employment it has now. Its biggest problem is not "unemployment" but "underemployment". Healthy transition from the economy built around the plantation and the one-man farm to an economy of large-scale industrial manufacturing and large-scale mechanized agriculture must be made with full opportunity for all its people. The South has almost one-fifth of the nation's land and one-fifth of the nation's people. The land must be used more wisely, more intensively. The people must be trained and educated to face the challenges of an industrial economy.

Many of the problems of southern "economic development" are national problems writ large. The same muddled conceptions of the "mixed economy" that leave the nation subject to irrational laissez-faire attacks on Big Government and Poujadist anti-tax movements, defense as public works, welfare as vested interest rather than lever to opportunity--all haunt the South in double order. Add to this the problem of discrimination written into public law and hardened custom and our image of "another South" is clearly at odds with many contemporary facts.

What we are after is economic progress with justice--opportunity for all southern citizens. The region cannot be visualized apart from its national and world context, but it can be a beginning for attacking problems that plague the globe. A "rurban" South living with ease between uncrowded decentralized, integrated, "green belt" communities and centers of intensive, high-technology, democratically-controlled agricultural and manufacturing industry where all persons participate in economic and political decision-making bound together by broad metropolitan units of government; this is one glance at what the South could become. All persons must be "skilled" and educated and mobile--able to participate in the ongoing economy with full opportunity to grow within it. Urban sprawl without political unity and rural transition without political democratization must be translated into broad "metro" units that plan for needed public facilities, that supply a "floor" under poverty, that assume equal opportunity according to ability and training, that plan for beauty and access to the bounty of southern natural surroundings as well as economic facility, and that strive to make educational centers open and alive to prepare citizens for full, self-conscious, critical participation in society. Racism must be hammered out of the system. The

politics must be open to all. Community development should involve all constituents. Service and the cooperative principle should guide economic decision-making--with as much participation as possible by all persons. This is the projection, the goal, the dream.

Where are we to amke our beginnings?

(1) Knowledge must become relevant in the South. The social sciences and the technical-industrial sciences must unite in eliminating the irrationalities of the southern system that make economic progress ambiguous and superficial.

(2) Racism and segregation must be eliminated in all places, all sectors, before the "New South" has even a chance of being anything more than grafting an industrial complex onto the old social structure with built-in alienation and discrimination. Only when the Negro is free of closed doors and the white is free of preoccupation with the Negro, can the Southern economy grow to the benefit of all. Attacks on segregation are economically sound--they are necessary to make the "resources" of the South sufficiently free, mobile and developed to contribute to the greatest possible economic advance. The "dislocation" or "tension" that a sit-in or boycott might bring to a community one day are not debilitating to the economy if in the long-run they bring a new, freer role for the Negro and the white society.

(3) Poverty must be attacked directly, just as discrimination must, as a vicious circle. A new "land grant" type program is needed to expand education, health, and housing opportunities for all southerners. Regional development authorities should be established not only to produce more electrical power, but to plan for the development of depressed "pockets" throughout the South. Public works programs are needed immediately. Long-range planning and careful investment, particularly in intensive, large-unit agriculture and experimental, high-growth-potential industry, must be made. Social and industrial research should become the preoccupation of Southern leaders and Southern public finance with federal help.

(4) Cooperative federalism must be advanced; negative states' rights must be buried. The South needs federal grants-in-aid for education, planning, research, and training, expanded health and welfare programs, urban renewal and housing, highway construction, water, power, and resource development, recreation and parks programs, etc.

(5) The southern economy should be viewed not as an antagonism between city and rural areas, between farms and factories, but as a continuum that is increasingly interdependent. Credit expansion for viable farm production helps cities. New manufacturing industries are crucial for agricultural growth. Technical education is needed by all persons, urban or rural. "Tenantry" and poverty must be attacked with equal fervor in the urban slums and on the marginal, eroded acres. Planning is needed in rural towns as well as in growing metropolitan areas.

(6) All efforts to increase worker participation in economic decision-making must be made. Unionization must be advanced. More experiments in cooperative development must be made (for instance, Negro freeholders in Mississippi

who are living on small, marginal plots of land and are shut out of the segregated society, should be aided in more cooperative efforts: equipment-buying, ginning, marketing, etc.). Local and state, as well as federal units of government must strive to unite and coordinate public efforts to make all endeavor subject to the electorate. Needless to say, southern politics must be democratized, demythologized, racially integrated, pluralized, and made issue-relevant before efficient, effective, and truly "representative" government can be expected in the South--and the needed advances in public economic development can be made.

(7) Experimentation with non-military public works must grow. Only if southerners, as well as all Americans, can conceive of power plants, hospitals, highways, experimental factories and farms replacing airplaine-building, explosives-production, and military posts as the base of public "pump-priming" expenditure, can the efforts for a disarmament agreement be on solid ground--and, equally important, can the actual process of staged transition from cold war production to peacetime production be workable. Regional development authorities, public works efforts, hospital construction programs, farm credit plans (where discretion is made about the sort of units getting assistance according to economic growth feasibility), urban renewal and housing programs, Domestic Peace Corps--all must be seen in this "Transition Matrix" as well as in terms of the specific needs and the "mix" between public and private investment.

These are just a few suggestions. The most important thing is that Southerners are aware of the actual trends and problems of the region and are willing to apply their knowledge to political intervention for positive change. Southerners must consider the national and international implications of "southern progress" according to present patterns. Also, southerners should realize the opportunity that the South offers as a place to face some of the worst problems of the world: racism, poverty, militarism, undemocratic politics, irrational and unbalanced development.

While the South is not one of the undeveloped areas of the world, it is underdeveloped in many ways, particularly in its human resources. Though the people and the natural surroundings of the South are dear to many southerners, the stark problems of the past and present in the South must be faced for what they are.

In the words of Walter Hines Page: "We look forward to a golden age that we may surely help to bring, not back to one that never was."

Available from:

Southern Student Organizing Committee
Box 6403 Nashville, Tennessee

THE POWER OF THE DIXIECRATS

by Tom Hayden

Originally published by:
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reprinted by:
SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

FOREWORD:

One should not, on seeing a 1963 date of presentation for this paper, assume that its relevance is past; As this is being prepared, we hear that yesterday, April 4, 1966, students at Alcorn College were dispersed by the gentle means of billy clubs and boots, as their dormitories were tear-gassed. Indeed the time for "liberal rejoicing" is not yet.

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THE POWER OF THE DIXIECRATS

by Tom Hayden

The last major stand of the Dixiecrats may be occurring in the 1963 hearings on the Kennedy civil rights bill. Behind the wild accusations of communism in the civil rights movement and the trumpeted defense of property rights is a thinning legion of the Old Guard. How long will the Dixiecrat be such a shrill and decisive force on the American political scene? The answer requires a review of Southern history, ideology, the policy of the New Frontier, and the international and national pressures to do something about America's racial problem. The conclusion seems to be that the formal walls of segregation are being smashed, but the White Man's Burden can be carried in more subtle ways--as the people of the North well know.

Dixiecrats in History

For more than a generation the Democratic Party has been split deeply between its Southern and Northern wings, the former a safe bastion of racist conservatism and the latter a changing bloc of liberal reformers. The conflict is not new, and cannot be understood properly unless it is traced from the period of the New Deal.

In the 1936 election, the Democratic tide was rolling. Roosevelt brought to power 334 Democrats in the House against 89 Republicans. In the Senate 75 Democrats took seats against only 17 Republicans. The President's inaugural address promised the greatest liberal advances of this century: "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished...It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope--because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out."

But Roosevelt, in trying to oust the Dixiecrat bloc from influence, could not escape the contradictions that eventually would paralyze his program. At the 1936 convention he was successful in eliminating a rule that two-thirds of the delegates must support a presidential nominee--a rule that had meant considerable power for the Southern delegations. Roosevelt's next target, an anti-New Deal Supreme Court, was less yielding. He demanded from Congress the power to appoint justices to the court within six months after the seventieth birthday of each. The Congress realized angrily that Roosevelt's intent was not merely more efficiency, but to transform the Court into a legal outpost of the New Deal. Immediately the Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans, joined by a few Northern conservative Democrats began a clamor of opposition. The plan of court re-organization was destroyed--and in the wake, a recalcitrant Congress gained the political initiative.

By the mid-term elections of 1938, Roosevelt and Congress were stalemated, and the nation remained in the clutch of depression. Roosevelt tried to arouse the nation once more in the election campaign, often directing his vehemence against the South, but many of his liberal allies suffered defeat in House and Senate campaigns.

The overt conflict between the New Deal Administration and the powerful Dixiecrat-Republican coalition was slackened by the advent of World War II when the nation's leadership "unified". But immediately after the war, the fight resumed--and reached a peak at the 1948 Democratic Convention, when the Dixiecrats walked out of the party in opposition to its liberal civil rights proposals. Harry Truman's victory

over Dewey, coming as it did without the support of either the left-wing Progressive movement or the right-wing State's Rights movement, seemed to signal the beginning of a more consistently liberal and viable Democratic Party. And so, as the 1949 session of Congress began, Administration liberals joined with liberal Republicans to limit the power of the House Rules Committee, a stronghold of remaining Dixiecrat-conservative influence. Under the liberal reform, the Rules Committee was given 21 days to report out a piece of legislation--or else the chairman of the appropriate House Committee could introduce the bill himself. Meant to subvert the tremendous power of the Rules Committee over legislation and the procedures of the House, the new measure was used only eight times.

In 1951, after 29 Democrats, most liberal, were defeated in House contests, the "coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, backed by Republican Party leaders and aided by a silent Democratic speaker, restored the group's former privileges" (quoted from Holbert N. Carroll, The House of Representatives and Foreign Affairs, U. of Pittsburgh, 1958, p. 258. For the full debate and proceedings, see Congressional Record, Vol. 95, Oct. 10, 1949, pp. 15096-8.)

Republican strength grew for two years under Eisenhower, but by 1955 the Democrats were returned to congressional committee power. That power was undercut slightly, especially in the Senate, by the remarkable liberal victories in the 1958 elections. But for the most part in recent years, the conservative coalition has ruled Congress as it would a barony.

Dixiecrat Ideology

What are the ideas and programs characteristic of the Dixiecrat establishment?

Often the term "reactionary" has been used glibly by liberal critics to cover a lack of information about specific Dixiecrat behavior which itself is usually not monolithic. In the Thirties there was a minority of Southern "planners" inspired by the National Resources Planning Board, just as today Estes Kefauver had a far different view of economic development than most of his Southern brethren.

Keeping these crucial disunities in mind, it still is fair to lump the Southerners together as conservatives--at least. On the level of political style, the Dixiecrats have been known for a stifling demogoguery that kept the better parts of the Southern white conscience silent and the Negro subordinate in every area of life. On the level of issues. the Dixiecrats generally split from the rest of the Democratic Party. Based on Congressional Quarterly (30 Nov. 1962) recordings of roll-call vote splits between the Dixiecrats and Northern Democrats in 1960 and 1962, the following issue differences are clear:

Civil Rights - Fifteen splits were caused in the 1962 session of the 87th Congress, 12 in the Senate and three in the House; on a constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax, on a bill to restrict the misuse of literacy tests by registrars, and on Thurgood Marshall's nomination for a federal judgeship. In the 1960 session of the 86th Congress, the two wings of the party split on 27 Senate roll-calls and six House roll-calls related to civil rights.

Foreign Aid - Nineteen splits, 13 in the Senate and six in the House, with the Southerners opposing or reducing foreign aid appropriations, and opposing the President's power to send aid to communist nations. In 1960 there were 15 party splits on foreign aid measures. Temporary unemployment compensation, extension to other

to other workers--Opposed by a Southern bloc when it came up in 1962. Depressed areas recovery program--Caused two Senate splits and 10 House splits in 1960. Urban Affairs--The conservative coalition successfully opposed the President's plan for a new executive department to be headed by Robert Weaver, the liberal Negro administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Medical care--The coalition prevented the bill from reaching the House floor and killed it in the Senate in 1962.

Taxes - Seven splits occurred in 1962, the Senate Dixiecrats supporting tax relief for DuPont stockholders, opposing dividend withholding in the Administration's tax bill, and opposing amendments to close tax give-aways and loopholes. In 1960 the House Dixiecrats voted for a "closed rule", a procedure which prevented Northern Democrats from introducing legislation to tax corporation, telephone and passenger transportation services, and temporarily increase the national debt. Minimum wage--South and North split eight times in 1960, the South successfully voting for a minimum extension of coverage and for a wage of $1.15 or lower against the North's proposed $1.25 and broader coverage. Federal aid to education--In 1962 House Dixiecrats killed the President's college aid bill, and Southern Senators voted to delete scholarships from its provisions. In 1960 there were seven splits in which the South opposed federal aid. Housing--In 1960 the Dixiecrat Senators opposed increased public housing authorizations, and Dixiecrat representatives opposed urban renewal and slum clearance grants.[1]

These splits clarify the formal issues on which the Dixiecrats defect from the Democratic Party platform. But there is a spirit as well as a roll-call index that characterizes the Southern establishment. One must read an Eastland speech calling Chief Justice Warren a pro-communist; or a Thurmond press release demanding preparation for a war of extinction; or study the hypocritical grabbing of federal funds while denouncing government spending; or merely know that these politicians are in power only because their constituents are poor, politically voiceless, and segregated--to understand the decadence holding sway in America's foremost democratic institution.

The Base of Power

How do Dixiecrats remain in power? The answer primarily is structural, involving the political shape of the South and of the Congress.

First, until very recently almost all Dixiecrats were elected from one-party, non-competitive districts with relatively low percentages of participating voters. In these circumstances a congressman is more confident of continuous re-election if he can keep his constituents happy or simply acquiescent. Towards Negroes the treatment traditionally has been more severe. They have been excluded from the political process except in instances such as East Texas where they are manipulated by competing white power elites.

Second, although the South is quite diverse, its political representatives historically shared an ideological consensus: the need to defend "the Southern way of life". This defense required unity and, at times, conspiracy against its enemies. Thus the Dixiecrats often operate as a high-consensus, interest-conscious caucus. Their views, except on the matter of overt bigotry, converge with those of northern (usually rural) Republicans to form the bipartisan coalition.

Third, the Congressional system works to the advantage of men with tenure, and men with tenure can make sure the system is perpetuated. The key is the principle of seniority, which permits Congressmen, by virtue of their years in office, to be elevated to increasing heights in the committee structure.[2] "No major Western democracy rewards its politicians with so much power for so little relevant accomplishment," writes James McGregor Burns (Deadlock of Democracy, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p.244). At present, Southerns chair a majority of committees in both Houses of

Congress, although they "represent" only two percent of the national population.[3] While seniority is the crucial principle, it is natural that the rest of the congressional rules structure benefits the Southern minority. Rule 22, the "filibuster rule", makes it impossible to end debate on an issue unless two-thirds of the Senate concur. Since Rule 22 was first adopted in 1917, there have been 27 attempts in the Senate to end filibusters (and the 28th probably is coming soon). Eleven of these attempts focussed on civil rights legislation and every one failed to cut off Southern oratory. In addition to specific rules, however, the entire tradition of "senatorial courtesy" inhibits any polarization and conflict aimed at radically changing the policies and structure of Congress.

The forces which historically have held the Dixiecrats in power run deeper than these immediate support mechanisms, of course. They include the usefulness of an easily-exploited Dixieland to Northern and Southern businessmen; the structured ease with which the nation has existed without confronting its problems of racial discrimination, and so on. But seniority, rules systems, and the traditions of "the club" are the immediate pins that secure the Southern bloc.

Kennedy and the South

What has been the relation of the New Frontier to the Southern bloc since 1960? The history shows a steady shift from uneasy fraternity to uncontrollable polarization.

It is not oversimplifying matters too much to claim that Kennedy's 1960 election was the direct result of a sympathetic phone call to Coretta King, whose famous husband Martin was impounded in an Atlanta jail just prior to voting day. Certainly the Kennedy political machine capitalized on the event: 800,000 leaflets describing the phone call were distributed at Negro churches in Chicago two days before the election (Kennedy carried Illinois by a popular total of only 9,000 votes--and received 63.7 per cent of the heavily-Negro Chicago vote).

Richard Nixon, meanwhile, issued a "no comment" on the King incident, intensifying the conservative image he had created earlier when he repudiated Henry Cabot Lodge's "Negro in the cabinet" proposal. For this and other reasons, Kennedy scored huge majorities in the Negro areas of the North: 64% of the city vote in Baltimore, 75% in Boston, 64% in Chicago, 71% in Cleveland, 66% in Detroit, 54% in Los Angeles, 63% in New York, 68% in Philadelphia, 67% in Pittsburgh. Both Republican leader Thruston Morton and Robert Kennedy attributed Nixon's narrow defeat to a failure to hold the Negro voting percentages which Eisenhower secured in 1956 (Ike was supported by 36 per cent, Nixon by less than 25 per cent).

Though enormously dependent on the Northern Negro vote, Kennedy was enmeshed in even deeper political debts to Dixiecrats and their allies. In his book Kennedy in Power (Ballantine, 1962), Prof. James T. Crown reports that in 1960 agreements were made with Southerners that no civil rights legislation would be backed by Kennedy in the first session of Congress and, further, promises were made of military contracts, increases in the cotton support level, and a $100 million loan fund for the South, attached to another bill. Kennedy, who breakfasted cordially with Alabama Governor John Patterson during the campaign, later appointed an old Patterson aide and prominent segregationist to the Export-Import Bank (which transacts business with "underdeveloped" non-white nations). That many other deals probably were struck is suggested by an editorial which appeared in the Birmingham Alabama Journal during the September 1962 Ole Miss crisis: the newspaper attacked the President for violating "pledges previously made to secure the Democratic nomination in 1960".

Thanks to the South's traditional pro-Democratic instincts, disclosed and undisclosed bargains, and the active work of Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy, the President carried seven of the traditional ten Southern states--but only five of them solidly. Excluding the Texas vote which Johnson personally captured, Kennedy's

electoral advantage in the South was 70-43, with 14 Mississippi and six Alabama electors defecting from the New Frontier to vote as independents. Kennedy reversed Ike's 1956 success in the South, when the GOP had swept to a 77-50 advantage in the same states. But it should be noted that JFK's surplus 27 votes from the South were still a "cushion" and not a decisive edge. The President finished 81 votes ahead of Nixon and 31 votes over the necessary 269 needed for a electoral college victory. However, the GOP addition of 22 seats in the House crippled the President's legislative chances and, presumably, made him disinclined to alienate those Southern Democrats with whom he disagreed.

The first key to understanding the Kennedy relation to the South, then, is the concept of political balance. The President was elected not just by disparate groups, but by sharply opposed ones, with Kennedy acting as the diplomat-manager of the coalition. In the first year, he sent liberal Mennon Williams to Africa but conservative Charles Meriweather to Export-Import Bank; he strolled with Martin Luther King through the White House but breakfasted with racists as well; he nominated Thurgood Marshall for a federal judgeship but sent four more segregationists to the Southern bench.

The President is fully aware that the Dixiecrats constitute a political impediment to the success of the 1960 Democratic platform. "Some Democrats," he said at a 1962 news conference, "have voted with the Republicans for 24 years, really since 1938, and that makes it very difficult to secure the enactment of any controversial legislation. You can water bills down and get them by, or you can have bills which have no particular controversy to them and get them by."

Their power is not simply political. It is also economic--the Southern Democrats are enabled by their position to demand priviliges that other regions cannot. More specifically, the Administration has seemed reluctant to tread on the interests of Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges, the only Southerner in the Cabinet. Hodges is a former governor of North Carolina and executive of the Southern Textile Manufacturer's Association, the South's most crucial--and most segregated--industry, with 800,000 operatives. Hodge's record indicates little sympathy for the development of racially-integrated labor unions in the South even though they are the only conceivable means by which the Negro will obtain the economic security he desperately needs. At least for the present, Kennedy's establishment rests partially on the support of those who hold the Negro in the lowest sectors of the economy.

Two further factors are operative in the Kennedy program, however, which crucially affect his approach to the South and civil rights. One is the Cold War, which demands that <u>in appearance</u> at least we brush off our racism. Secretary of State Rusk calls racial discrimination the "biggest single burden that we carry on our backs in the foreign relations of the 1960's". While Cold War diplomacy dictates improved race relations on the one hand, it requires also the playing down of incidents which receive front-page attention in the African press. For the Kennedys these colliding requirements have led, externally, to displays of "vigor" with spare content and, internally, to a steady pressure on the civil rights movement to achieve its gains through the courts and negotiation.

The other factor is the evasive one of mood and style. The New Frontiersmen are young, urbane, filled with a sense of internationalism that opposes racial bigotry. But while acknowledging much of the modern world, they do not dream of a seriously better life or act on the basis of human values. "Unlike many of the New Dealers of 30 years ago, they have no illusions about remaking America. Crusades are not their style; fanaticism is foreign to them. They are men of power who enjoy high offices because they like to run things...their approach to politics is manipulative and managerial," writes William Shannon (<u>American Scholar</u>, Fall 1961, p.486). This

mood leads to bartering with entrenched Dixiecrats and to discomfort with the spontaneity and revolutionary mood of many Negro demonstrators.

In this context, the Kennedy administration has done much more in the field of civil rights than any other government--and yet one can argue that the American race problem has grown worse in the 60's, especially in the North, in housing, schooling, and jobs. At a time when the cumulative effects of centuries of racism are running against the "status" of America in a new world, it is doubtful that irregular and partial measures can root out the sore. Kennedy's relations with Congress, up to this summer's unavoidable crisis, show clearly the dismal lines of "progress".

Kennedy and Congress

In the first days of the 1961 session, there was a major liberal effort to amend Rule 22 to permit closure by majority, or even by three-fifths of the senators present and voting. Despite a platform pledge to "safeguard majority rule", the President refused to side with the liberals--and the measure was buried in committee on a motion by Majority Leader Mansfield, the vote being only 50-46. "Mansfield did not bring up the issue again until the September adjournment rush was on. The Liberal's defeat came in slam-bang order," according to Congressional Quarterly (January 4, 1963, p. 12).

The President also passed up the opportunity to support Senator Joseph Clark's move to unseat any Democratic Committee chairman who disagreed with the platform plank related to his committee's area of legislation, which would have robbed the Dixiecrats of their essential power.

Finally, Kennedy approved the modest course of expanding the House Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members--a move that barely succeeded and which has meant very little subsequently because of the extreme conservatism of the House. The enlarged Rules Committee in 1962 released tax and trade bills, but killed measures in civil rights, urban affairs, youth employment, mass transportation, and college aid.

In May, Senator Clark and Representative Emanuel Celler introduced a civil rights "package" especially aimed at discrimination in voting and education. Although the President had designated the two Democrats to prepare the legislation, new Press Secretary Pierre Salinger commented: "The President has made it clear that he does not think it necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation."

The President was vacuous in his 1962 message to Congress. "The President linked the approaching centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation with a plea for fuller guarantees of racial equality, then made it plain he had nothing original to put forward in this regard," editorialized the New York Times.

In April, two voting bills, with Administration endorsement, reached Congress. One recommended action to prevent the discriminatory use of literacy tests, and to make sixth-grade education (or its equivalent) the only requisite for registration. The other called for elimination of the poll tax requirements in the five states where they still are used.

It is a stunning comment on America that its Senate voted against the bill to prevent the racial use of literacy tests. It was filibustered to death, with Administration lobbyists expressing no essential interest. Anthony Lewis wrote in the Times, "President Kennedy may have wanted the literacy bill as an abstract matter. But he said little on its behalf and did not act to make it a major public concern." The anti-poll tax bill did pass, however, with most Dixiecrats opposing it. But

its significance is small, since it will take nearly five years in ratification and only affect a few areas at that time.

After two years of waiting for New Frontier action, New York Post reporter Milton Viorst wrote, "Southerners, especially those in the House, voted against most key Administration programs anyway--despite appeasement on civil rights." For example, as Spelman College Professor Howard Zinn pointed out, Georgia Senators Russell and Talmadge both voted with the New Frontier on only two of 12 key issues in 1961, and these two votes were on a non-controversial farm proposal. So it went with other Southern delegations.

In January 1963, Senate liberals again organized unsuccessfully to fight the Southern filibuster. They began a filibuster of their own early in the session, demanding a ruling from Vice President Johnson that the new Senate operate under general parliamentary rules until specific rules are adopted--which would permit a majority, instead of two-thirds, to eliminate Rule 22. Johnson, presumably representing Kennedy, ruled against the liberals, arguing that the Senate is a "continuing body" operating under its past rules. The Administration did succeed, however in obtaining permanence for the enlargement of the Rules Committee. The price of this ambiguous achievement, however, was silence by liberals on all other congressional reforms.

Then, shortly after, the President presented his first major civil rights message, calling for several reforms which would improve the effectiveness of voter registration efforts in the South, and which would aid school districts trying to desegregate in areas hostile to integration. Although very moderate, as shown by the stronger legislation demanded by the Republican liberal leadership two weeks later, these were important proposals in the history of the New Frontier.

Reforming the Dixiecrats?

During the entire period, the New Frontier was advancing a cautious but substantial program of reforming the Dixiecrat contingent. Through foundation contacts and Justice Department initiative, it was supporting--usually with equivocation--the voter registration and direct action drives of civil rights organizations. It was prudently edging the Executive establishment out of its more glaring attachments to bigotry--hiring practices were changed, some federally-subsidized housing was covered by non-discrimination agreements, etc. It was seeking to persuade "reconstructible" Southern officials of the need for new attitudes, and everywhere it was building contacts with and strengthening pro-Kennedy Democratic organizations in Southern states. This spring the Administration broke custom by openly trying to purge 13 Dixiecrat representatives by financing their "moderate" opponents, an action not tried since Roosevelt's miserable failure in 1938.

For a while it appeared that the Kennedys could set their own pace, one which would be tantalizing and infuriating to integrationist and Dixiecrat alike. But their ability to do so was threatened increasingly by the civil rights movement. The government was forced, unwillingly, into situations embarrassing to itself in numerous Deep South areas. It still only took negligible action, however, even when Negroes were beaten, jailed, and sometimes killed for their efforts. But, imperceptibly at first and later with unavoidable power, the civil rights movement began producing crises which required more controversial Administration responses. The first important one, perhaps, was the entry of James Meredith into the University of Mississippi, which forced JFK into sending troops. More important, though, were the series of revolts building up to the Birmingham crisis of April and May and followed by exploding Negro direct action in the North. History will record if these events finally burned the bridge between the liberal and conservative factions

of the Democratic Party. The President was coerced into a "crash" program of mobilizing community support for voluntary desegregation, and he sent to Congress the biggest civil rights proposal to date.

A New Era

Although inadequate in the judgment of the civil rights movement, it did contain sections which would bar discrimination in most public accomodations; further, legalize the role of the Attorney General in litigation against school segregation, and place voter referees in certain Black Belt counties. While calling for restraint by Negroes, however, the President did not publicly demand a change in Dixiecrat behavior. There began instead a typical flurry of private political dealing. This time, however, the Kennedy role as broker was threatened by the steady evaporation of a basis for barganining between liberals and Southerners in the Democratic Party. Liberals, especially those with Negro constituencies, are currently pressing for more comprehensive legislation, while the Administration wants a moderate bill in order to obtain Republican support for a measure the Dixiecrats violently oppose.

It now appears that the Dixiecrats have prevented the passage of a bill this session, but the consequence is the greatest tension in party politics since 1948. Inaction of civil rights will increase the militance of the Negro movement, which will, in turn, create so much disturbance that the need for federal remedial action will become all the greater. It will also increase the discontent of Dixiecrats and liberal Democrats, not only with each other, but with the Kennedy establishment.

How long can this stalemate persist? The present tension may be a symptom of the weakening, and perhaps the decline, of the Southern oligarchy. America is obviously passing into a new era of social conflict. One of the enemies, and hopefully a victim, of this transition is the Dixiecrat; for he cannot answer the question posed by a civil rights leader at the March on Washington: "Where is our Party?"

NOTES:

1. "An earlier study of 56 roll-call controversies between 1949-56 corroborates these findings and testifies to the longevity of Dixiecrat influence...both Southern Democrats and non-Southern Democrats are split within their own ranks, but two out of three Southerners support the "conservative-isolationist" view on labor-management policy, displaced persons, taxation and revenue policy, use of treaty power, public housing, rent control, and some other economic issues, while two out of three non-Southern Democrats will support the "liberal-internationalist," concludes H.D. Price, in "Scale Analysis of Senate Voting Patterns, 1949-56" (Harvard, unpublished PhD. thesis, 1958). Price, however, underestimates actual Dixiecrat strength by not going on to point out that the two conservative Dixiecrats in every three are usually the highest in seniority and committee placament.

2. Of the 16 Senators with the highest seniority, 14 are Southerners; in the House, 66 of the top 125 are Southerners.

3. Southerners chair 14 of the 21 Senate committees and 11 of the 18 House committees

ADDENDA:

The pressures weakening the Old Guard are these: first, the voter registration and general political insurgency of Southern Negroes cannot be tranquilized. It can only spread to Northern Negro communities and spill over to create a massive social demand for full employment, housing, and school improvements.

Second, the Negro revolt takes place in the midst of a broad shift away from rural-conservative power to urban-liberal political strength which the Supreme Court's stand on reapportionment (Maker vs. Carr) is accelerating. The 1958 elections were an early and significant sign of this trend. In that year 15 liberal Democrats and three liberal Republicans were elected to the Senate, and since 1957, the Republican bloc in the Senate has been reduced from 45 to 33. In itself this trend has shifted the balance-of-power from conservatives to the moderates in the Senate. Senator Clark recently charted the path of conservative decline in a brilliant speech to the Senate. Speaking against the remaining conservative "Senate establishment", Clark pointed out that

> since 1958 the establishment has lost control of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Commerce Committee, the Committee on Government Operations, the Interior Committee, and as of Monday, believe it or not, the Judiciary Committee. They never had control of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. They have lost control of the Public Works Committee.
>
> Therefore time is on our side. Unless catastrophe overtakes the liberals of both parties in the election of 1964, I predict that we are within striking distance of obtaining control of the committee system of the Senate for the liberal and forward-looking elements on both sides of the aisle. (Congressional Record, 20 February 1963, p. 2530)

As Clark shows conclusively, the Dixiecrats still are over-represented on the crucial Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance, Foreign Relations and Steering Committees. But here a third set of factors runs against the old guard:

Time and seniority are running down. As William Korns demonstrates (in the New Republic, 16 March 1963, p. 6):

--the Senate majority now consists of 23 Southerners, 37 Westerners, 13 Midwesterners, and 13 Easterners. But 22 of the Southerners entered the Senate before 1958 while nine of the Westerners, none of the Midwesterners, and ten of the Easterners entered since that time. Thus an attrition rate is working against the South;

--six incumbents died during the 87th Congress. Of the 17 incumbent Democrats now 65 years or over, ten are Southerners. Of the 36 now 55 or over, 19 are Southerners;

--in 1964, when Johnson is likely to win with ease, 19 non-Southerners and only 6 Southerners will be up for re-election. If the liberals do not suffer disastrous losses in 1964, then they can look forward to the greater seniority which they will receive in the 88th Congress and to the probable setbacks for the ten Southern Democrats who must run in the harder mid-term contests of 1966.

Korns concludes: "...despite the prospect of some net losses among non-Southern Democrats over the next two elections, the present age-tenure composition of the Senate majority points to an inevitable shift in the pattern of seniority, with non-Southerners rising to the ranks now occupied by Southerners."

The House is changing subtly as well. Congressional Quarterly's 1962 elections analysis showed that only 25 of 69 retiring congressmen supported the President. Of the 67 new members, 27 are expected to be supporters of the President. This is hardly soothing information for the liberal, but it does indicate that the dwindling GOP-Dixiecrat coalition will be pressed even harder to find enough allies on all issues--their hegemony is broken, if not their ability to obstruct.

While this toppling process goes on "above" in Congress, "below" in Dixieland many Democratic politicians are either reconstructing themselves or being forced into it by the Negro voter and incipient Republicanism. Young, ambitious Governor Hollins, in retiring from the South Carolina gubernatorial chair, received a standing ovation from his legislature this spring when he acknowledged that the 1954 school desegregation was the "fact of the land". Only two Southern governors supported Ross Barnett in his "quarantine" of Ole Miss. "We believe in law and order and in the principle that all laws apply equally to all citizens," declared Georgia's Governor Sanders at his 1963 inaugural. The trend towards a new political fashion is clear.

Hurrying things along significantly is the development of a Republican, urban-and-suburban political party in the South, created largely by the influx of business professionals and aging citizens from the North. Ten years ago the Republicans were completely missing from the Southern scene. In 1961 there were nine Republicans in the House. Today there are 14, and the party plans to run candidates in every district of the South next year. They inevitably will force the Democrats to heed the lower classes and middle class "good citizens" in the urbanizing South more than the rural reactionaries. No more pungent question could be addressed President Johnson than that of I. Lee Potter, chairman of the GOP Southern political drive:

> How popular will they (the Administration) be in the large urban centers of the North if they continue to accept segregationist votes? How popular will they be among Northern Negroes if they continue to imprison the Southern Negro in a one-party Democratic South?

Johnson is political, and wary of the threat which Potter outlines. It is probably no coincidence that Kennedy's political biographer, James MacGregor Burns, in his new book, Deadlock of Democracy, points the way to a realignment of the political parties in the near future. Dividing the liberal and conservative factions of both parties into what he calls "presidential" and "congressional", Burns forecasts that

> The presidential party that first gains control of its congressional party will dominate the politics of the center-left or center-right for decades to come. (p.339)

The current "presidential party", of course, intends to dominate. Kennedy, had he lived, might well have alienated the South as soon as November, setting the conditions for realignment. LBJ, however, may postpone that inevitable day because of his traditional Southern support. However, the trend is irresistable: the Dixiecrats are outmoded. The problem now is to hasten their decline, of course, but more importantly, to ask whether the party of Wagner and Daley and Johnson is "our party".

To summarize, a review of events indicates that the present Dixiecrat bluster and filibuster on Capitol Hill--no matter how influential at the moment--may be the last stand for an idea, for a political style, and for a cadre of political men whose power makes a profound mark on American history. With the Southern Bourbons on the edge of eclipse it is now perhaps time to suggest, briefly, a new agenda of problems which might be confronting the nation before very long.

Prior to any liberal rejoicing over the fall of the South, it must be seen that in nearly every instance of change today, the formal institutions of Jim Crow are being replaced by the deceit of the white commercial class. Urbanization in the South may lead to the scrapping of Negroes and other poor people into the "inner

cities". Industrialization and automation, especially in the capital-starved South, may push the Negroes and poor whites still further below the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. These are matters of the immediate future in the South, but not so in the North. If I am less than enthusiastic for the new epoch, it is because I know well the North and its white snaring suburbs, its complicated barriers that never seem either up or down, its millions of insulated consciences. I see the South, in the next few years, becoming part of a nation that cares only for its images and its social peace--while millions and millions and millions live hideously deprived in the city ghettoes, unable to muster quite enough political force to change their condition. In this situation, the Southern politician, shifting from Bourbon to bourbon, will become the same corrupted man of promise which the North has heard through history. The task of defeating the ultras is nearing a climax; but this may be less a reason for rejoicing than for a new wariness.

This paper was originally delivered at a conference of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee in the Spring of 1963. It was later published in pamphlet form by the Students for a Democratic Society.

MISSISSIPPI'S ECONOMICS

AND

MISSISSIPPI'S "NEW IMAGE"?

This paper was prepared for the Freedom Democratic Party by Mike Bruland. Mike has the Master of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota and is currently doing research on fair employment practices in Mississippi.

Reprinted for distribution by the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212

Many important people in Mississippi nowadays are concerned about "Mississippi 's Image." If one reads the newspapers, watches TV or listens to the radio, one always finds some businessman or politician expressing concern about "Mississippi's Image." So important is this image that it often forces businessmen and politicians to say things they would rather not say. Such is the case when on January 21, 1964, Governor Paul B. Johnson said in his inaugural address: "I would point out to you that the Mississippi economy is not divisible by party or faction, or even by race, color or creed. As a practical matter, we are at this moment in the mainstream of National light. National policies have a direct bearing on our economy, on our political freedom, on our daily living, whether we like it or not -- If I must fight it will not be a rearguard defense; it will be for our share of tomorrow." This very moderate statement was spoken after a bitter, racist campaign.

What is it that causes this concern about "Mississippi's Image?" Basically it is the fact that, whether it likes it or not, Mississippi needs money from the rest of the country for politicians to run the state and businessmen to make a profit. Mississippi talks about state's rights and the interference of the Federal Government, but the facts are that in recent years Mississippi has received more money from the Federal Government than it has paid out in taxes to it. Mississippi is trying desperately to get new industry to come to the state to provide more jobs for unemployed and underemployed people. Mississippi needs the tourists' dollars. Therefore, Mississippi is concerned about its image.

Immediately, a number of questions come up. What is behind "Mississippi's Image?" Is there really a "New Mississippi?" If so, how does it differ from the "Old Mississippi?" Have the people of Mississippi benefited from the changes that have taken place?

AGRICULTURE

Cotton is still the single most important crop in Mississippi, but things are changing; it is not nearly as important a crop as it was just 25 years ago. In 1961 the money received by the farmers of the state for selling cotton and cotton seed was only 45.5% of all the money earned by farmers by selling all kinds of crops. In 1940 the money received from selling cotton was 61.8% of the money made from selling all farm crops, including cotton. More and more cotton is being raised on only the large plantations of the Delta, where rich soil and more and more use of machinery like cotton pickers has resulted in larger and larger crops on less and less land. In 1940, 1 million more acres of cotton were planted than in 1960; but in 1960, because of the use of machines and fertilizer, much more cotton was harvested.

There are also fewer acres being planted in corn now than in 1940. In 1962 two million fewer acres of corn were planted than in 1940; also the total corn harvested was one-third less.

What agricultural products are taking the place of cotton and corn. The Answer is that although the number of acres of rice and soybeans is being increased in the Delta, most of the land not planted with corn or cotton has become pasture and woodland.

The greater amount of land in pasture shows that more and more cattle and poultry are being raised. In 1940 for every $100 made from selling farm products, $28 of it was made selling cattle and poultry. In 1960, though, for every $100 of farm products sold, $40 was made from selling livestock. In 1960, three times more beef cattle were sold, than in 1940 and five times more broilers were sold in 1960 than in 1940.

What is important to the people of Mississippi, particularly the Negroes, is the fact that less and less land is being planted with crops and more and more land is becoming pasture and woodland; and even more important, the greater use of machines and fertilizer in agriculture, have resulted in the loss of jobs. The Mississippi Economic Council's report, "Mississippi Agriculture and Forestry Trends and Prospects," talks about it this way:

> *The substantial increase in farm output has been accomplished mainly through research and the adoption of a vast array of management and technological improvements. Many farmers and farm workers have left the farm. The 252,000 people employed on Mississippi farms and comprise less than half the 1940 number. The enormity of the increase in farm labor efficiency made possible through better management and technology is emphasized when we consider that Mississippi farms are now able to produce more than 1½ times the volume of their 1940 output with only 46% as many workers.*

Perhaps an example taken from a report on the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union can help put these numbers into more human terms, to show what this means to human beings:

> *What the Union is fighting is the rich farmer who operates his plantation like a huge, inhuman industrial corporation. Visitors from other countries come to Mississippi to see one of the world's largest plantations, the Delta Pine and Land Corporation, which owns more than 60 square miles of land in Bolivar County alone. They are amazed at how so few*

men can run so many acres so well with so few workers. Delta Pine and Land Corporation, owned in England, is typical of the way bigger and bigger farms are raising most of the crops in this country. From the civil war to about 1930 the large slave-owner's plantations were divided up among large numbers of sharecroppers. But since 1930 the number of Negro sharecroppers and renters has become smaller because farm land costs too much for poor people today -- $500 an acre. And there is very little land for sale. For the Negro, there is practically none at all.

Although the sharecropper has never been able to earn enough to feed and house his family in the Delta, he at least lived on and farmed some land. In a sense, the land was his to work, though not to own. But for the day laborer, this was never true. For him, the corporation is his boss man and his works for him on a day-to-day basis, without security, without tenure, without rights of any kind. The important change that has come about is that most of the Negroes in this part of the state are day laborers, without money, without property, without anything except today's piece of bread and lard. In the wealthy of America today the Negro day laborer has no share. And with the use of more and more machinery he is rapidly becoming permanently without a job, for there is no need for him.

For years the Negro day laborer has received $2.50 or $3.00 for ten hours or more work a day -- in Shaw there has been talk about the wages going down to a $1.75 a day -- and it looks like even this amount will soon be gone. These facts lead to some very, very important questions: First of all, what can these people who are losing their jobs do to change what appears to be a future without a job, housing and food? W What can the MFLU do? What can the MFDP do? Is there any hope at all?

MANUFACTURING

In 1940 about 12 of every 20 workers were working in agriculture,, but by 1960 only four of every 20 workers were working on farms. At the same time, in 1940 about two of every 20 workers worked in industry. By 1960, four of every 20 workers worked in industry. The fact that more and more people are working in industry is more important in this state now than in 1940. This increase in industry is not so important because more people are being employed than in 1940, but because it means that Mississippi is more dependent on the rest of the United States.

Mississippi needs the rest of the country because she needs money from outside the state to buy new products. This is why the state officials are worried about "Mississippi's Image." If the bombings, beatings, demonstrations and the Congressional Challenge continue, industries will not want to come to Mississippi, and people around the country will not buy Mississippi product or come and spend money as tourists in the state. This concern in Mississippi and with "Mississippi's Image" can be seen in a recent aritcle by a columnist in the Jackson Clarion-Ledger: "Yessir, industrialists who are coming to Mississippi say they are proud to come here. To them, the image of our state is such that they are willing and ever eager to stake their future with us."

Both the state and local governments, along with the Mississippi Economic Council, have made tremendous efforts to obtain more manufacturing plants. Aside from advertising the advantages for new industry in their state and local areas, an important part of their effort to get industry to Mississippi has been the Balance Agriculture With Industry Program (BAWI). Under the BAWI program any particular community may look for and attempt to bring in an industry that they want by promising to give the industry a place to build and/or buildings in which to set up, and promising that the new industry will not have to pay certain taxes that in most states they would have to pay. If a company agrees, the community may hold an election to determine whether or not the bonds to pay for the place and/or the building for the new industry should be sold. For the bond issue to pass two-thirds of all the qualified voters who vote at the election must vote for the bond issue.

Needless to say very few Negroes in the state can vote for any bond issue, but they do have to pay the increased taxes need to pay for the bond issue. A result of not being able to vote on the bond issue will be talked about later in this section. In addition to the issuance of bonds, state law permits city governments to let new and expanding firms avoid paying any taxes on their property for a period of ten years. Furthermore, when the city or county government pays for the construction of a new building or buildings for a new industry, the industry does not have to pay taxes as long as the city or county government owns the building. Therefore, in many cases the community not only pays for the building in which the factory is housed, but also the industry does not have to pay any taxes for anything else, like new schools and city improvements, and the people pay the cost of the industry plus all other city expenses.

Now, the question may be asked: Has the BAWI program done what it set out to do? To a certain extent it probably has. Certainly new industry has moved into Mississippi since the program started; however, how much of this came because of the BAWI program is difficult to say. When 1500 factory owners that had just moved into the South were asked what had made them decide to move, it was found that the officials

of these companies felt fourteen things were more improtant to them than low taxes and financial aid (e.g. labor supply, market, raw materials, etc.) when they were deciding where to put new plants.

To what extent have the people benefited from the program? Jobs have been provided; however, most of the companies that have used the BAWI program are clothing, textile, or furniture and electrical fixture companies, all of which are kinds of industry that pay low wages. Moreover, the Negro people have not received as many benefits from the BAWI program as the white people. In 1960, only twelve of every 100 of the employed Negro men were working in industry. Furthermore, more than one half of the Negro men who were working in industry were working in the kinds of companies that pay the lowest wages -- furniture, lumber and wood product companies.

This leads to some very important questions: What might happen to the BAWI program if Negroes were allowed to vote? Should the Freedom Democratic Party work to eliminate the BAWI program? Are there ways of providing work for people and still have industry help pay the taxes that the people pay all of now? What are some of the methods that can be used in getting more and better jobs for Negroes in the manufacturing plants? What will be the effect of the increased use of machines rather than men on the problem of more and better jobs?

INCOME

In 1929 in Mississippi most people earned $510 or less in a year, and this amount was less than ½ of what most people in the rest of the country earned in one year. By 1962 in Mississippi most people earned $1259 in a year, which was a little more than one half of what the people in the rest of the country made. Most of the increase in income earned in the rest of the United States was done during World War II. At the end of World War II, Mississippi had a per capita income of almost $1000 a year, which was about one half of what most of the rest of the people in the country earned in a year.

While per capita income in Mississippi went from $500 to almost $1000 in the 15 years between 1929 and 1944, it has grown to only $1240 a year since 1944. This means that the amount of money that most people in Mississippi made in a year increased almost $500 from 1929 to 1944, but in the years since 1944, the amount of money most people in Mississippi made in a year increased only about $250. This information from the Mississippi Economic Council's Booklet, "A Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress" clearly shows that the income of most of the people in the state is not growing larger; income for the people in the rest of the country has grown a great deal while Mississippi's has not. In fact, if the poor, unemployed Negro farm workers had not moved to the northern cities in search of jobs, their tragically low pay would have meant the state would be even poorer than it is now.

It is mostly because of the low farm income that Mississippi has remained so much poorer than the rest of the United States. However, even in industry the wages are much lower than the rest of the nation. In 1963 the usual wage paid per hour for production workers in manufacturing was $1.73 and the normal wages in the rest of the country were $2.46 per hour. A booklet published by the Mississippi Power and Light Company tries to explain the low wages in Mississippi by saying that it is cheaper to live in Mississippi than in other parts of the country. The booklet says:

> *" . . . we in Mississippi do not feel that the prevailing wage rates indicate cheap labor. When all factors behind the cost of living are considered, it is felt that the rates are adequate. Some of these factors are: With plenty of garden space, gardens will be found at practically every home supplementing cash income. The cost of rent or the construction cost of a home is less because the same labor costs going into construction is less and the type of construction costs less. Storm windows, basements, and large heating systems are not necessary in this mild climate. Abundance of electricity, natural gas, and water at economical rates. With natural recreational facilities the year-round, this item is also inexpensive. Rural labor will usually consist of wives, sons and daughters of farmers living on the farm and working in the plant. To these families the wages of the plant workers are supplementing farm income and in most cases will mean extra dollars over and above the accustomed existence. Rural labor pool their own transportation and this item is less costly than in large industrial centers."*

The above statement reveals two things which have caused the low wages paid in the manufacturing companies. First of all, Mississippi has a large number of very poor farm families from which to get people who are willing to work for very little money because it is all they can get. This cheap labor, together with the BAWI program, has helped to attract the large number of industries which pay low wages into the state. The second reason that wages are low is that most parts of the state are very much against labor unions being organized. This feeling has caused laws like the Right to Work law to be passed in the state legislature. If people were allowed to organize labor unions they could strike and get higher wages. The fact that Mississippi does not like unions, that they want low wages, and that they are proud that the state has poor unions and low wages, is shown by the following statement by the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board, which the governor is the president of:

> *"Mississippi has lost a smaller portion of the total working time because of labor strikes and has had fewer strikes and fewer workers involved in strikes relative to employment than the average state in other areas and in the nation. These facts indicate that Mississippi has had labor-management relations which are above average."*

The last statement is not true: what these facts do show is that workers are not allowed to organize in Mississippi, and the result is that employers and owners can pay low wages without worrying about the workers getting together to complain.

In 1959, one half of the people in Mississippi made $1204 a year or less; however the usual income per year for white people was $2028, while the Negro average was $724 a year. These facts clearly show that Negroes, for the most part, have not received any benefits from what little industry has come into Mississippi. The Negro men can only get jobs in agriculture, private households -- which includes gardners, chauffeurs, etc. -- and the most menial and lowest paying jobs in industry -- like janitors. The Negro women can only get jobs as maids, cooks and housekeepers, and some jobs on farms. The facts are that there are not even enough decent jobs for the white workers. Therefore, the Negro workers holding poor jobs threaten the white workers, and businessmen and politicians have used this fact to prevent the poor Negroes and poor whites from getting together and working to improve conditions in the state of Mississippi.

This leads to some very important questions: What can be done to increase job opporutnities for Negroes in Mississippi? What can the Freedom Democratic Party do to improve working conditions and increase income? Will it ever be possible for the poor Negroes and poor whites in Mississippi to work together to "overcome" those politicians and businessmen that exploit them both? Is so, how can this be done?

TAXATION

A brief comment on the tax system of Mississippi will further reveal how the politicians and businessmen and the system they work in takes advantage and cheats the people. The facts are that most of the taxes that are paid are not paid by the corporations or wealthy individuals that can most afford them, but upon those families and persons that are poorest and have the least amount of money. The BAWI program has already been described, and it has been shown how the local taxes are not paid by wealthy corporations, but that the people in the community pay the taxes for the industries. Furthermore, some of the communities which have paid for industries in their towns have greatly weakened their ability to borrow money by borrowing too much to pay for industries that do not even pay taxes to help the city pay

off its debts. This means that it may be difficult to seal future issues of bonds to pay for new school buildings or other improvements. No wonder this state has such a poor school system.

The fact that the taxes are paid by people who can least afford them can be seen in the following statement in a booklet on government and tax policy put out by the Mississippi Economic Council:

> *"Tax policy in Mississippi has, of course, been affected by the relatively low income of the people. It has been necessary to take a relatively higher percent of aggregate income for taxes in order to finance necessary government improvements.*

In less complicated language, this means that people in Mississippi have to pay more of what they earn for taxes because the people in the state do not make enough, or as much as people in other states.

> *Certain classes of taxpayers, however, have been taxed less heavily than similar classes in a majority of other states. These classes include homeowners and persons in middle and upper-income brackets. Other important features of tax policy include heavy reliance on consumptive and provision of tax inducements for industrial location."*

Again, the people who make the least amount of money are responsible for more than their share of the taxes.

> *The general sales and use tax-accounting for about one half of the state general fund revenues has been the most important source of tax revenue. Other state taxes, ranked according to revenue yield in fiscal year of 1960 are motor fuels, corporation taxes, tobacco tax, oil and gas severence, and individual income."*

One question stands out from all these facts: What should be the Freedom Democratic Party position on how people and industries are taxed, and what does the FDP feel is fair taxing.

SUMMARY

The politicians and usinessmen talk about "Mississippi's Image"; they continually refer to a "New Mississippi." But is it any different from the Old Mississippi? The only possible answer to that question is No. The ways people are kept poor may be more hidden and harder to understand than before; it may look like a good system on the surface; it may seem to provide more for the people of the state--new factories, new highways, new schools, new buildings --but basically it is the same old Mississippi. What can be done to change all of this?

INSURANCE RESEARCH PROJECT, FILED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHORS, REARRANGED BY SUBJECT MATTER ON DUPLICATE CARDS.

1. Armed Forces

2. Business & Economic

   a. Agriculture & Farming
   b. Business Development (including Cooperatives & Credit Unions)
   c. Economic Boycotts
   d. Economic Status ~~& Markets~~
   e. Industrial Development
   f. Markets

3. Crime

   a. General
   b. Juvenile Delinquency: statistics & studies
   c. Law Enforcement
   d. Prisons & Parole

4. Education

   a. General
   b. Adult
   c. Colleges & Universities
   d. Elementary & Secondary
   e. Psychological Studies & Tests
   f. Teaching Profession

5. Employment

   a. Employment (general) & occupational statistics
   b. In the professions

6. Health

   a. General: and factors affecting health
   b. Diet
   c. Health Personnel: Doctors, Nurses & Dentists
   d. Hospitals & Facilities
   e. Mental & Emotional: Sociological Statistics & Studies
   f. Public Health
   g. Social Service & Welfare
   h. Tuberculosis
   i. Venereal Disease

7. History

   a. General
   b. Progress

8. Housing

9. Insurance

   a. Discrimination
   b. Investments

10. Legislation

11. Labor Unions

12. Miscellaneous

13. Population

   a. Migration
   b. Vital Statistics

14. Religion

15. Sociological

   a. General
   b. All Negro Communities
   c. Inter-group Relations

16. Voting

17. Yearbooks, handbooks, Enclycopedias, Bibliographies

MATERIALS FILE

Africa, 1956-57

Africa, Prior to 1956-57

African-American Bullentin

African News

Agriculture, Prior to 1956-57

Agriculture, Farm Tenure

Agriculture, Migratory Labor

Agriculture, Southern

American Civil Liberties Union, 1956-57

American Civil Liberties Union, Prior to 1956-57

Anti-Semitism, 1944-45

Annual Summaries, 1949

Atlanta, City of

Audio-Visual Aids

Bibliographies, 1944-45 (2 Folders)

Bibliographies, 1956-57

Book Notices, Bibliographical References

Business, Southern

Business, Negro

California Council for Civic Unity

Capital Punishment

Censorship

Child Labor, 1944-45

Catholic Church

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The Rural Church

Children and Youth, General

Church and Race Relations, " A Moral Issue "

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Church and Race Relations, (Undated Materials)

Church and Social Action

Church and State

Civil Liberties, 1940-49

Civil Liberties, 1956-57

Civil Liberties, 1950-55

Civil Rights, 1956-57

Civil Rights, 1954-55

Civil Rights Legislation, 1954-55 (2 Folders)

Civil Rights Legislation, 1944-49

Communism

Community Planning, 1944-49

Community Planning, 1944-45

Community Surveys, Prior to 1956

Community Surveys, Negro 1944-45

Conferences and Institutes

Conscription, 1944-45

Congress on Racial Equality

Court Decisions

Crime, 1944-45

Democracy

Directions, 1944-45

Economic Outlook

Economy, General

Economy, Southern, 1956-57

Economy, Southern, 1948-55

Education, Adult, 1956

Education, Adult, Prior to 1956

Education, 1956-57

Education, 1946-49

Education, Atlanta School Suit

Education, Anti-Segregation Suits

Education, Equalization

Education, Desegregation, 1956-57

Education, Desegregation, " October, 1954- Briefs presented to the Supreme Court "

Education, School Desegregation, " Ammadments and other evasive legislation designed to circumvent desegregation decisions "

Education, School Districts, Federal Aids

Education, Higher, 1956-57

Education, Negro, 1944-45

Education, Regional Action

Education, Regional

Education, Teacher Tenure ~~Laws~~ and Status

Education, Vocational

Education, Vocational (2 Folders)

Employment, 1956-57

Employment, Prior to 1956-57

Employment, Domestic (2 Folders)

Employment, Full

Employment, President's Committee on Government Contracts

Fair Employment Practices, General (2 Folders)

FEPC, Municipal

FEPC, State

FEPC, New York

Foreign Students(2 Folders)

Foundations

Health, General

Genocide

Politics and General

Georgia, 1956-57

Georgia, Prior to 1956-57

Government, Municipal (Cleveland)

Government, Municipal (Chicago)

Government, Municipal (Cincinnati)

Government, Municipal (New York)

Government, Municipal (Milwaukee)

Government, Illinois

Government, New York

Government, Wisconsin

Governor's Speeches to Legislature-1955 Session

Health,(2 Folders)

Health, Mental

Health, National Health Insurance

Highlander Folk School

Hospitals, Mental

Health, Negro- 1956-57

Health, Negro (2 Folders)

Homicides

Housing, Farm

Housing, Public Projects and Non-Discrimination

Housing, US Housing Act of 1949

Housing, Property Values and Negro Occupancy

Housing Restrictive Covenant

Housing, Studies of Non-White Housing

Human Rights

Human Relations Agencies, Municipal

Immigration

Income, 1956-57

Income, Prior to 1956-57

Industry, 1956-57

Industry, Prior to 1956-57 (2 Folders)

Intercultural Education

Intergroup Organizations, 1955

Intergroup Organizations, 1956-57 (2 Folders)

International Organizations, 1944-45

International Relations

Interracial Marriage, 1955-57

Jury Service, 1956-57

Jury Service

Juvenile Delinquency

Ku-Klux Klan, 1945-56

Ku-Klux Klan, " Anti-Klan Legislation "

Ku-Klux Klan, " " " (2 Folders)

Latin America

Labor, 1956-57

Labor Education

Labor, Negro

Labor, 1954

Labor, 1950-53

Labor, 1945-50

Law Enforcement, 1956-57

Law Enforcement, Prior to 1956-57

Legal Status of the Negro, 1945

Legislative Reapportionment

Libraries

Loyalty Investigation

Lynchings, Leo Frank Case

Lynchings

Minority Groups, American

Mobilization (Korean War)

NAACP, 1956-57

NAACP, 1945-49

NAIRO, Reporter, 1956

NAIRO (National Assoc. Inter group Relations Org)

National Council on Agriculture Life and Labor

Negro Representation on Public Bodies, (Roundups)

Organizations and Movements

Panel of Americans

Peace Planning

Peonage

Photographs

Police Brutality, Birmingham, Alabama

Police, Negro

Politics, Political Action, etc.

Polls, 1944-45

Prejudice, Racial and Religious

Press, 1956-57

Press

Professional Associations

Public Accommodations

Public Accommodations, 1956-57

Public Relations Techniques

Race Riots and Violence

Race and Racial Differences, 1956-57

Race and Racial Differences, Prior to 1956-57

Race Relations, 1956-57

Race Relations, Prior to 1956-57

Race, UNESCO Series

Recreation, 1956-57

Recreation, Prior to 1956-57

Recreation, Segregation in

Recreation, State Park Facilities

Regional Planning

Resistance Groups

Resources, Natural and Human

Rural Life

Rural Life, 1956

Segregation

Social Questions Bullentin (Methodist)

Social Research

Social Security

The South, General

The Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council, 1956-57

Southern Patriot

Southern Sociological Society

State Constitution

State Government and Administration

State Bill of Rights

Suffrage, 1956-57

Suffrage, Prior to 1956-57

Suffrage, Georgia , 1944-45

Transportation, 1956-57

Transportation, Prior to 1956-57

U. S. Armed Forces, 1956-57

U. S. Armed Forces, Prior to 1956-57

UNESCO

United Nations

Veneral Disease

Violence, 1957

Vocational Guidance

Welfare

World Affairs

World Trade

PERIODICALS RECEIVED REGULARLY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Daily Papers

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

ATLANTA JOURNAL

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

WASHINGTON POST

New York Times (Paul)

Weekly or Bi-Weekly Papers

JOURNAL AND GUIDE

PALMETTO LEADER

TEXAS OBSERVER

LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE

Other Papers

COMMUNITY (monthly)

THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE (Bi-Monthly)

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS (Monthly)

Magazines and Journals

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

THE CRISIS

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

THE NATION

NEW REPUBLIC

PHYLON

PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

PROGRESSIVE

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER

THE REPORTER

TIME

NEW LEADER

CURRENT NEWSPAPER CLIPPING
1956

1. Achievement
2. Agriculture
3. Armed Forces
4. Civil Liberties
5. Civil Rights
6. Community Action
7. Desegregation
8. Economic Pressure
9. Economy General
10. Economy, Southern
11. Education, General
12. Education, Federal Aid
13. Education Higher
14. Education teacher Status and Tenure
15. Education Alabama
16. " Arkansas
17. " Delaware
18. " District of Columbia
19. " Florida
20. " Georgia (State of)
21. " Kentucky
22. " Louisiana
23. " Maryland
24. " Mississippi
25. " North Carolina
26. " Oklahoma
27. " South Carolina
28. " Tennessee
29. " Texas
30. " Virginia
31. " West Virginia
32. Employment
33. Foundation, General
34. Foundation, Fund for the Republic
35. Government, General
36. Government, General Assembly Georgia
37. Health and Medical Care
38. Housing
39. Intergroup Organizations
40. International Relations
41. Jury
42. Labor
43. Law Enforcement
44. Politics, General
45. " Southern
46. " All Southern States - Politics + Gov.
47. Press, Radio and TV
48. Professional, Fraternal Groups
59. Public Accommodations and Public Facilities
60. Race and Race Relations
61. Religion
62. Recreation
63. Resistance Groups
64. Resistance Movements
65. Representation and Membership
66. Segregation & Prejudice
67. ~~Southern~~ Opinion
68. Sports
69. Suffrage
70. Transportation
71. Transportation, Montgomery, Ala.
72. Violence and Intimidation
73. Welfare

Transportation, Atlanta
Transportation, Tallahassee

Federal Aid

CURRENT NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

1957

1. Achievement
2. Agriculture
3. Armed Forces
4. Civil Liberties, Civil Rights
5. Community Action
7. Desegregation
8. Economic Pressure
9. Economy, General
10. Economy, Southern
11. Education, General
12. Education, Teacher Status and Tenure
13. Education, Higher
14. Education, Alabama
15. Education, Arkansas
16. Education, Delaware
17. Education, District of Columbia
18. Education, Florida
19. Education, Georgia
20. Education, Louisiana
21. Education, Maryland
22. Education, Mississippi
23. Education, North Carolina
24. Education, Oklahoma
25. Education, South Carolina
26. Education, Texas
27. Education, Clinton, Tennessee
28. Education, Tennessee
29. Education, Virginia
30. Education, West Virginia
31. Employment
32. Foundations, Fund for the Republic
33. Foundations, General
34. Government, General
35. Health and Medical Care
36. Housing
37. Intergroup Organizations
38. International Relations
39. Jury
40. Labor
41. Law Enforcement
42. Opinion
43. Politics
44. Politics, Southern
45. Politics, Alabama + Gov.
46. Politics, Arkansas
47. Politics, Florida
48. Politics, Georgia
49. Politics, 1957 Georgia Legislature
50. Politics, Kentucky
51. Politics, Louisiana
52. Politics, Mississippi
53. Politics, North Carolina
54. Politics, South Carolina
55. Politics, Tennessee
56. Politics, Texas
57. Politics, Virginia
58. Press, Radio and TV, + other Media
59. Professional, Fraternal Groups
60. Public Accomodations and Public Facilities
61. Race Relations
62. Recreation
63. Religion
64. Representation and Membership, Resistance Groups
65. Segregation and Prejudice, Resistance Movements
66. Sports
67. Suffrage
68. Transportation
69. Transportation, Atlanta
70. Transportation, Montgomery
71. Transportation, Tallahassee
72. Violence and Intimidation
73. Welfare

CURRENT NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

1958

1. Achievement
2. Agriculture
3. Armed Forces
4. Civil Liberties
5. Civil Rights
6. Civil Rights Commission
7. Community Action
8. Desegregation
9. Economic Pressure
10. Economy, General
11. Economy, Southern
12. Education, Federal Aid
13. Education, General
14. Education, Higher
15. Education, Teacher Status and Tenure
16. Education, Alabama
17. Education, Birmingham, Alabama
18. Education, Arkansas
19. Education, Little Rock, Arkansas
20. Education, Delaware
21. Education, District of Columbia
22. Education, Florida
23. Education, Georgia
24. Education, Atlanta Public School Suit
25. Education, Kentucky
26. Education, Louisiana
27. Education, Maryland
28. Education, Mississippi
29. Education, North Carolina
30. Education, Oklahoma
31. Education, South Carolina
32. Education, Tennessee
33. Education, Texas
34. Education, Dallas, Texas
35. Education, Virginia
36. Education, Virginia: Arlington, Charlottesville, Newport News, Norfolk
37. Education, West Virginia
38. Elections and Appointments
39. Employment
40. Foundations, Fund for the Republic
41. Foundations, General
42. Government, General
43. Health and Medical Care
44. Housing
45. Intergroup Organizations - Miscellaneous
46. Intergroup Organizations: Montgomery Improvement Association
47. Intergroup Organizations: N.A.A.C.P.
48. International Relations
49. Jury
50. Labor
51. Law Enforcement
52. Legislative Investigating Committees
53. Opinion
54. Politics, General
55. Politics, Southern
56. Politics, Alabama
57. Politics, Arkansas
58. Politics, Florida
59. Politics, Georgia
60. 1958 Georgia Legislature
61. Politics, Kentucky
62. Politics, Louisiana
63. Politics, Mississippi
64. Politics, North Carolina
65. Politics, South Carolina
66. Politics, Tennessee
67. Politics, Texas
68. Politics, Virginia
69. Press, Radio, T.V., Movies
70. Professional Fraternal Groups & Clubs
71. Public Accomodations & Public Facilities
72. Race and Race Relations
73. Recreation
74. Religion
75. Resistance Groups: Miscellaneous
76. Resistance Groups: Ga. Education Commission
77. Resistance Groups: Ku Klux Klan
78. Resistance Groups: Leaders
79. Resistance Groups: State Segregation Organizations
80. Resistance Groups: White Citizens Councils
81. Segregation & Prejudice
82. Sports
83. Suffrage
84. Suffrage: Tuskegee
85. Transportation
86. Transportation: Atlanta
87. Violence and Intimidation
88. Welfare

Clipping file Classifications

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS - 1961

1. Achievement
2. Agriculture
3. Armed Forces
4. Book Reviews
5. Civil Liberties
6. Civil Rights, General
7. Civil Rights Commission
8. Civil Rights Legislation
9. Crime & Delinquency
10. Desegregation
11. Economic Pressure
12. Economy, General
13. Economy, Southern
14. Education, Federal Aid
15. Education, General
16. Education, Southern
17. Education, Higher
18. Education, Alabama
19. Education, Arkansas
20. Education, Delaware
21. Education, District of Columbia
22. Education, Florida
23. Education, Georgia
24. Education, Kentucky
25. Education, Louisiana
26. Education, Maryland
27. Education, Mississippi
28. Education, North Carolina
29. Education, Oklahoma
30. Education, South Carolina
31. Education, Tennessee
32. Education, Texas
33. Education, Virginia
34. Education, West Virginia
35. Elections and Appointments
36. Employment
37. Foundations, General
38. Government, General
39. Housing
40. Intergroup Organizations, Misc.
41. Intergroup Organizations, NAACP
42. Intergroup Organizations, Official Race Relations Committees
43. International Relations
44. Jury
45. Labor
46. Law Enforcement
47. Legislative Investigating Comm.
48. Medical Care & Welfare (Health)
49. Opinion
50. New York Times Libel Suit
51. Politics, General
52. Politics, Southern
53. Politics, Alabama
54. Politics, Arkansas
55. Politics, Florida
56. Politics, Georgia
57. Politics, Kentucky
58. Politics, Louisiana
59. Politics, Mississippi
60. Politics, North Carolina
61. Politics, South Carolina
62. Politics, Tennessee
63. Politics, Texas
64. Politics, Virginia
65. Press, Radio, T.V., & Movies
66. Professional Fraternal Groups & Clubs
67. Public Accommodations & Public Facilities
68. Race & Race Relations
69. Recreation
70. Religion
71. Resistance Groups, Misc.
72. Resistance Groups, KKK
73. Resistance Groups, Leaders
74. Resistance Groups, White Citizens Council
75. Segregation & Prejudice
76. Sit-ins
77. Sports
78. Suffrage, General
79. Suffrage, Alabama
80. Suffrage, Arkansas
81. Suffrage, Florida
82. Suffrage, Georgia
83. Suffrage, Kentucky
84. Suffrage, Louisiana
85. Suffrage, Mississippi
86. Suffrage, North Carolina
87. Suffrage, South Carolina
88. Suffrage, Tennessee
89. Suffrage, Texas
90. Suffrage, Virginia
91. Transportation
92. Violence & Intimidation, General
93. Violence & Intimidation, Southern
94. Violence & Intimidation, Georgia

Temporary:
Education, University of Georgia
Civil War Centennial

Shepherded by police, a group of seven Brooklyn CORE pickets leave 67th Precinct Station singing *We Shall Overcome*. They finally did after bitter fight against baking company.

CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLE: NORTHERN STYLE

Ebony March 1963

IN BROOKLYN last fall, Ebinger Baking Company executives crumbled like cake after a determined year long campaign of Brooklyn CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) which won almost immediate hiring of 12 Negro and Puerto Rican saleswomen. Frosting sweet was a company promise of an additional 28 saleswomen within a year making a total of 40 out of a 240 woman sales force.

The bakery battle began in 1961 when CORE learned Ebinger's had no Negro or Puerto Rican salespeople in any of its 44 stores, no drivers and no Negroes in the skilled trades of the baking division although 40 per cent of the division's employes were Negro. CORE's smart cookies, dedicated young Brooklynites, swung into action—seeking negotiations first which the company adamantly refused. Picketing and leaflet distribution then began and continued unremittingly around the entire chain for nearly a year.

In early August, CORE mobilized all metropolitan CORE chapters in a massive non-violent resistance demonstration characteristic of the group's goodwill methods. On a busy Saturday, over 125 members and friends picketed 34 stores in a six hour period and not a punch or a pie was thrown. Company sales plummeted as hundreds of passersby expressed approval and 3,800 took time to sign pledges not to buy at Ebinger's.

The climax came a week later with a sit-down by seven Brooklyn CORE members in the bakery's truck driveway. The sit-downers were arrested but the press, radio and TV gave the demonstration full coverage. Melting under the increasing heat in the kitchen, Ebinger executives capitulated and sat down to talk. Nowadays in Brooklyn at Ebinger's, when they know CORE is coming, they bake a cake, and make sure a Negro or Puerto Rican girl is there to sell it.

Nothing moved at the bakery, not even jellyrolls and raspberry twists when Ebinger trucks were stopped by CORE's Barbara Weeks, Claire Toombs calmly sitting in drive.

Bloodless battle of bakery almost becomes ballet as CORE member Miss Toombs, a secretary, is lifted from pavement and carried away by police—giving baker's men temporary victory.

Up in arms, but literally, Mrs. Weeks, a housewife, takes policeman's carry with disdain.

Arrest holds no terror for CORE's Dr. Barbara Wallace or any others of well-trained group.

CORE leader Ben Brown epitomizes the courteous, non-violent, determined tactics of CORE.

Continued on Next Page

Women Love

The Well-Groomed Look of a

MURRAY MAN

It's amazing how a well-groomed MURRAY MAN becomes a "stand out" in any social gathering or business meeting. He has confidence, poise,—feels at ease in any group. No wonder, he knows good grooming starts with the hair. He uses Murray's **Superior** Hair Dressing Pomade to keep his hair neatly in place. You, too, can become a MURRAY MAN. Here's how easy it is.

Simply apply a small dab of Murray's **Superior** Hair Dressing Pomade to your hair, massage and comb. Takes 17 seconds—the result will convince. Then look into your mirror 8, 10 or 12 hours later and you'll find your hair still has that "just combed" look. Skeptical? Buy a package of Murray's today on a guarantee of satisfaction or money back.

MURRAY'S *Superior*

HAIR DRESSING POMADE

Famous since 1926, Murray's **Superior** Hair Dressing Pomade has set the standard for good hair grooming. Never greasy, never sticky. Contains no acids, alkalies or other harsh irritants. It's kind to your hair and so flattering. Giant size—90 day supply only 35¢—trial size just 15¢.

Other Murray Superior Products

MURRAY'S HAIR GLO
A wonderful soft dressing for easy-to-manage hair. Contains Lanolin and coconut oil. 60 day supply just 35¢.

MURRAY'S HAIR CREAM
Contains essential ingredients, highly beneficial to healthy hair and scalp. 90 day supply only 79¢.

You'll find MURRAY'S Superior Products on sale at Drug Stores, Barber Shops, Beauty Parlors and on the rack at your super-market. Buy a package today.

MURRAY'S SUPERIOR PRODUCTS COMPANY
456 Charlotte Avenue Detroit 1, Michigan

Blocking driveway, CORE pickets Eduardo Standard and Rioghan Kirchner prevent deliveries to branch stores. Boycott as racial technique gained impetus from successful use in Montgomery, Ala. bus controversy, spread over U. S.

The message was the same in Spanish, too: "Here we cannot work. Then don't buy!". CORE fight had full support of mixed Spanish-speaking, Negro community. Puerto Ricans in big cities face same discrimination as Negroes.

Pat-a-cake brigade joins fight as kids get in the act with placards like one in middle above: "Ebinger's takes dimes for cakes from us. But gives no jobs." Many CORE parents teach children early that even the young should join fight against bias.

BACKACHE MISERIES

DeWitt's Pills, with positive analgesic action, bring fast palliative relief of symptomatic pains in back, joints and muscles. DeWitt's Pills are mildly diuretic and help flush out unwanted wastes left by sluggish kidneys. DeWitt's Pills may be just what you need to relieve backache miseries and help you avoid getting up nights.

DeWitt's Pills

FEMALE HELP WANTED

$2300 WEEKLY for wearing lovely dresses supplied to you by us. Show Fashion Frocks to friends in spare time. No investment, canvassing or experience necessary. Fashion Frocks, Dept. L-31471, Cincinnati 2, O.

ITCH ***STOPPED IN A JIFFY or money back***

Medical Science can now stop the tormenting itch of eczema, rashes, acne, chafing, athlete's foot, other itch troubles. A doctor's discovery—cooling, antiseptic D.D.D. Prescription really speeds relief from even the most intense raw, fiery itch. Greaseless, stainless. Stops scratching—helps prevent infection, promotes healing. Don't suffer. Ask druggist for D.D.D.—liquid or creme.

Now a special hygienic powder

Destroys Odors On Sanitary Napkins

Women use the special deodorant QUEST to destroy odors on sanitary napkins. But women also have a day in, day out problem that calls for Quest where underarm deodorants aren't suitable and might even be decidedly unsafe.

For intimate daily use QUEST is gentle, bland—non-irritating to sensitive tissues. QUEST contains a most effective deodorizer that clings and gives unfailing protection for hours.

For use on sanitary napkins, QUEST is soft, absorbent. It is drying—helps prevent irritation due to chafing. And it's neat to use. Use QUEST before going out—on certain days and every day—at all drug and toiletry counters.

Continued on Page 100

lovelier hair!

Longer hair may now be yours...
when you use

IMPROVED!
Raveen.
hair and scalp
CONDITIONER

ONLY $1.00 PLUS TAX

If you cannot find IMPROVED RAVEEN, just send $1.25 (this includes luxury tax and postage) to us and we will send a jar to you promptly.

Your hair can have a softer, longer, more luxurious, satin-like look . . . when you use IMPROVED RAVEEN. This top quality beauty preparation was especially designed to help women check dry scalp, splitting hair and breaking ends. IMPROVED RAVEEN also helps protect hair from moisture, dryness and dandruff. Get IMPROVED RAVEEN at your favorite drug or cosmetic counter today! Sold on positive money back guarantee.

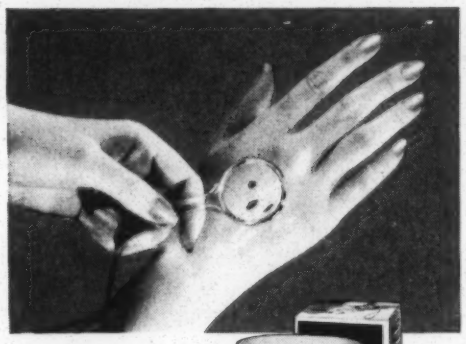
SUPREME BEAUTY PRODUCTS CO. 1820 S. Michigan Ave. • Chicago 16

Bakery officials, Donald Ullrich, Atty. Eckhaus, brought to bay after lengthy boycott, work out settlement with Marvin Rich and Ben Brown (r.) of CORE.

Pen pals now, bakery boss Arthur Ebinger signs agreement with CORE as Brown beams his approval. Company and CORE are to confer regularly during tenure of four month pact.

Finding pact in apple pie order, Carl Rackling signs for CORE as Ebinger, Brown, Eleanor Stein (a student), Atty. Eckhaus watch. CORE reserved right to picket if company defaults.

those horrid age spots*



fade them out with ESOTÉRICA

*Weathered brown spots on the surface of your hands and face tell the world you're getting old—perhaps before you really are. A new cream called Esoterica fades them away, as it moisturizes, lubricates the skin. Masses of pigment break up, roughness disappears, your skin looks clearer, younger. Esoterica works equally well on hands, face, arms and neck. Makes a wonderful hand cream and makeup base. Product of a trustworthy 50-year-old laboratory, it is featured by leading department stores and drug stores. If you want your skin to be free of these blemishes, fairer, younger looking, begin using Esoterica today. $2.00 for 90-day supply. Plus 10% Federal exise tax. Available in Canada.

MITCHUM CO., 610 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

REAL RELIEF FROM
HEMORRHOIDS

When simple piles cause agony and embarrassing itch, use DeWitt's ManZan —now even more effective with Allantoin, a special healing agent. ManZan also contains benzocaine to ease pain, and a vasoconstrictor to help reduce swelling. For soothing action and fast palliative relief, try . . .

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Friendly handshake between baker Ebinger, CORE's Brown, marks end of long battle as Miss Stein looks on. CORE was founded in Evanston, Ill. in early 1940's. Ministerial groups in U. S. are also planning similar boycotts to gain jobs.

Continued on Page 102

NEW . . exciting
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Among first Negro job applicants, Anna Walker is interviewed by Ebinger personnel chief Trinneer after community protest overpowered bakery bias.

On the job, Miss Walker sells baked goods to a customer in Ebinger main store in Brooklyn. After winning year-long employment campaign, CORE spokesman Brown said: "The project was wound up in a spirit of reconciliation."

Sweeping up by Lloyd Hodges, Ebinger Co. porter, is final tableau in real life drama enacted on Brooklyn's busy streets. The bitter battle was over and a baker had learned a new recipe for sales ladyfingers after a year of lessons.

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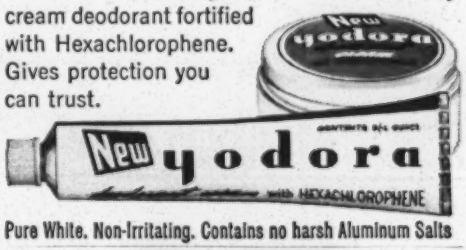

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BETWEEN THE LINES

CHARLES A. WELLS, *Editor & Publisher*, 7 Patton Ave., Box 143, Princeton, N. J.

Send all mail concerning *subscriptions* to
BTL Circulation Dept., Newtown, Penna.

John R. Theobald
1390 Merritt Dr.
El Cajon, Calif.

apr-64

THE WELLS NEWSLETTER
CONDENSED, NON-DENOMINATIONAL, NON-PARTISAN

Second-Class postage paid at Newtown, Penna.
Published twice monthly except June, July and August when it is published monthly.
$2.50 per year; 3.50 per year for foreign subscription. 15¢ single copy.

JUNE 1, 1963
VOL. XXII, No. 11

America has the best news coverage in the world. Unfortunately, however, much reporting is under the pressure of narrow provincialism and our traditional prejudices. Thus political fanaticism and military extremism frequently threatens sound democratic practice and a rational defense system. **Between The Lines** seeks to provide greater insight on major issues by presenting selected reports, research analyses and forecasts, drawn from the most authoritative sources at home and abroad, dealing with the issues of war and peace, science, religion, education, economics, race and industrial relations. This effort is dedicated to the belief that only through the Judaic-Christian concepts of truth can we avoid the violent changes inherent in war, communism and fascism. Only thus can we move forward out of the tribalism of man towards the brotherhood of the Kingdom of God. Anything less will be dangerously inadequate in the nuclear age.

X-Ray and Forecast: *Prejudice Is Not A Little Sin*

JUST as Socrates taught that virtue is wisdom, so may we see how the evil of prejudice makes fools of men in areas of racial strife. In gleaning information from Southern Negro leaders — educators, clergymen, lawyers, businessmen — this Newsletter had uncovered the place where constructive White-Negro community relations seems to have been derailed. This place of derailment needs to be carefully examined, for countless communities, North and South, still must seek solutions for racial tensions in housing, job opportunities and other areas, including, we regret to add, in the churches.

SINCE WORLD WAR II great advances have been made in Negro education. Negro colleges and universities have poured out thousands of able, trained and ambitious Negro youth who have made impressive contributions to the nation's literature, music, art and drama — not to mention their overwhelming leadership in sports. A new personal and racial pride, along with an eagerness for further achievement, has naturally arisen among them. But this proud, eager and skilled new generation of Negroes have encountered an arrogant prejudice that would push them all back indiscriminately into the swamplands of the "Uncle Tom's Cabin niggers" of the past. The able young Negro of today simply will not accept this fate.

The responsible young Negro also refuses to be classified with the Negro criminal element of our cities. (See "Crime and Race," col. 2, p. 4.) Negro leaders consider this urban situation the end result of long-time discrimination in education, job privileges and housing.

NEGRO LEADERS SAY **that had the doors been open (in education, employment, housing, restaurants, churches) for the able, responsible Negroes of good reputation,** who still constitute a comparatively small minority of their race, then **the pressures for complete integration would not have accumulated.** Negroes of ability and character would be mingling freely in all stratas of our society today, while the great mass of Negroes would still be content in their own environment — for before them would be open doors of opportunity by which they could better themselves if they prepared for it.

Comparatively few Negro high schools in the South, for instance, have adequate facilities for teaching the sciences — chemistry, biology, etc. On the outside they may look "just as good or better" than the white schools, but invariably the laboratory equipment is inadequate and skimpy, often the teachers poorly qualified. As a result few Negro students have had sufficient background in science by the time they reach the university level to qualify them for pre-med or engineering courses.

TWO ERUPTING FORCES must now be met as a result of the efforts of white society to keep **all** Negroes "in their place" as second class citizens in both North and South:

- THE FIRST FORCE is the **mass discontent** now stirred up among **all** Negroes, most of whom would have largely remained content with their limited privileges since they have limited outlooks and abilities. **But they have seen their most able, moderate and reasonable leaders humiliated, assaulted and jailed by white officials, and their most attractive and outstanding youths brutally beaten, set upon by police dogs, jailed and imprisoned for engaging in well-mannered, non-violent demonstrations. Therefore all Negroes of all levels of life are now aroused and embittered to the extent that it will take far more concessions on the part of white society to pacify them than would have been the case if reasonable concession had been made to the reasonable demands of the responsible, moderate Negro leaders.** The White Supremacy extremists, symbolized by the white idiots in uniform inciting trained dogs to savagely attack unarmed teen-age Negro marchers, will long penalize the white man.

- THE SECOND FORCE, already towering in the background, is the specter of **Negro organizations and Negro leaders dedicated to extreme violent measures,** rather than the well-mannered, non-violent, Christian-motivated methods of the present Negro leadership. This threat is already apparent in the Black Muslim movement which repudiates and scorns the moderate Christian Negro leadership, symbolized by Martin Luther King, and proposes to deal with all white men on the same terms and with the same methods as the white extremists have used against the Negro. This would mean race war. We have been skirting on the edge of such conditions in Mississippi, Alabama and other areas. (The FBI has infiltrated the Black Muslims to keep watch over them.)

THE BLAME for these conditions, according to most social scientists, rests on the failure of moderate and liberal white community leaders to speak up and take a stand — in time. Thus they have left the initiative to the extremists. Washington newsmen point out that no Senator from the South — with the possible exception of Sen. Tower of Texas — has made a public statement denouncing the white extremists in his own or other Southern states; none has been willing to impair his political future by putting himself on record on this question, although it has been demonstrated repeatedly that when a few white citizens of prominence do speak out and take a stand, the white supremacy extremists soon retreat to the back woods.

Unfortunately, it was not until the week **after** the violence at the Univ. of Miss. that the "Committee of 100" Mississippi business and professional men came out for the enforcement of law and order, even though it meant accepting the principle of integration. Editorial comments appearing widely suggested that, had the committee so spoken a week earlier, the violence would have been averted. As it was, there were no barriers raised by local citizens of influence in Mississippi against the extremists. **They were there, but they did not speak out.**

THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCHES during recent racial strife is causing much damage to Christianity throughout the world, especially in Africa and Asia, at a time when Christianity is already in retreat before the resurgence of Mohammedanism. A realistic Southern newsman, Ralph McGill, editor and publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, states that **the white churches of the South continue to be the single greatest road block to racial progress.** In Birmingham, only 14 or 15 white churches have accepted well-dressed, reverent Negro worshipers, while hundreds of other white churches barred all Negroes from worshiping in their sanctuaries. McGill accuses these churches of having made "bouncers of their ushers." Yet most of these evangelistic white Protestant churches maintain missionaries in Africa to preach that "God is love" and that "all men are brothers" in Christianity! McGill believes the churches could have prevented all the strife had they taken a firm and moderate stand for racial brotherhood early in the evolving crisis. (N.Y. Herald Tribune, May 5.) Of course there would have been penalties; churches, clergymen and laymen would have suffered for their belief in brotherhood. But is that not the church's mission, that Christians suffer for truth and love to prevent much greater suffering and to lead all humanity towards the Kingdom of God?

THE LARGER LESSON: This demonstration of how prejudice distorts human judgment and moral values recalls parallels in history. It was the spirit of prejudice and revenge against the Germans which helped to strangle the moderate and democratic Weimar Republic after World War I. The ensuing frustrations and despair among a new generation of young Germans opened the way for Hitler and Nazism. And it was racial prejudice in the West that kept a tight economic stranglehold on Japan in the 1930's and discredited the moderate Japanese Christian statesmen who had sought reasonable concessions from the West — thus turning loose upon the world the Japanese military extremists. **Prejudice is not a little sin.**

UN PEACE FORCE — TO GROW OR TO DIE?

THE announcement that representatives of the Latin American nations in the Organization of American States are planning to create an OAS Armed Peace Force, patterned after the United Nations Emergency Forces serving in the Mideast and in the Congo, **strongly reaffirms the principle of international authority to maintain the peace.** An OAS Peace Force could be used in such tension areas as the Dominican-Haitian frontier and to stabilize and supervise the re-establishment of new governments — when, for instance, the present corrupt Duvalier tyranny collapses in Haiti. The U.S. strongly supports the OAS Peace Force idea, for the plan would greatly facilitate handling the Cuban problem, since it would provide the necessary peace-making and law enforcement agencies needed to fill the vacuum created should Castro be overthrown. U.S. military forces would not then be required.

ANOTHER BOOST to the UN is the decision by Denmark, Norway and Sweden to establish a 3,000-man force (later to be 20,000) that would be available to the UN whenever and wherever needed. The Scandinavian countries will maintain these forces at their own expense until called into the UN's service. Several other countries are considering similar action. There is a strong likelihood therefore that a much expanded UN Emergency Force will be brought into being, as one of mankind's most important steps forward. These developments spring from the relief and enthusiasm expressed throughout the world over the continued stabilization of the Congo under the UN's auspices — one of the great achievements of modern times, for otherwise unlimited chaos would still reign in the Congo, infecting all of Africa. The foreign press has been full of these encouraging sentiments — by contrast to much of the U.S. press which, with its anti-UN bias, often skims over the good news about the UN.

THE UN PEACE FORCE, however, is in jeopardy, despite these hopeful trends, since 46 countries out of the 110 member states have paid nothing for the UN Emergency Force expenses in the Congo, and 24 have not paid their apportionment for the UN peace-keeping action in the Middle East. The total amount owed the UN is about $100 million, of which $63 million is owed by the Soviet bloc and $14 by France, so aside from the default by the Communists, the margin is not too serious. Several countries have paid up since May 1, with the forecast that only a few outside the Soviet bloc will not pay — Portugal, Spain, France and others that still have colonial interests. The Security Council will do all possible to implement the World Court judgment that the UN has the authority to make members pay or deny them voting rights.

There is, on the other hand, a considerable feeling in Washington and other Western capitals that with the growing strength of the international peace force principle, it would be better to strengthen and expand the UN Emergency Force and let the nations refusing their support bear the stigma of their defaults. Each time their representatives rise to speak before the General Assembly or the Security Council, the shadows of their defaults also rise to haunt them and weaken their influence. Already the Russians are squirming and insisting that they would pay if the peace force action had been ordered by the Security Council — where the U.S.S.R. could use its veto, as it has done about 100 times! So while the principle of an international police force is in danger **on paper** in the UN, the reality is gaining strength daily.

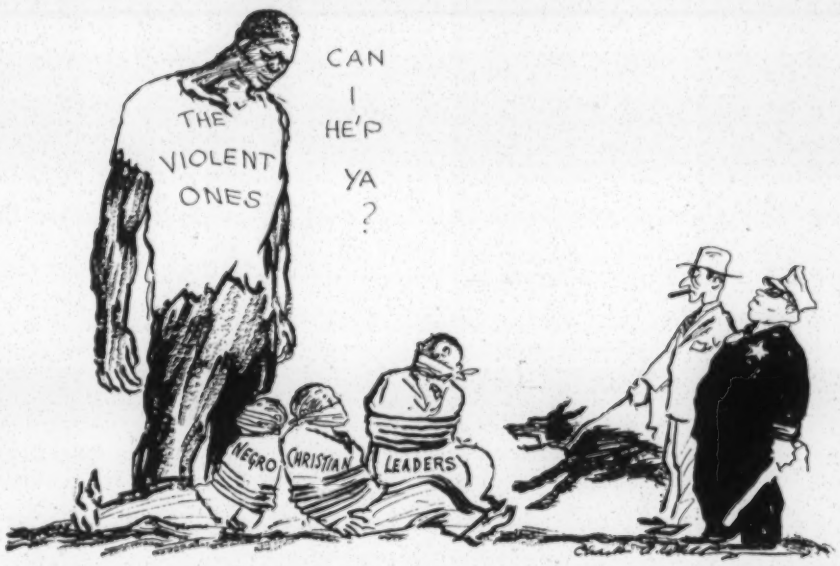
THE KENNEDY CURE FOR CASTROISM

(Continued from our last issue)

PARTY politics have forced the Kennedy Administration's Cuban policy underground since the GOP stalwarts and the military extremists are so prone to call anything less than military action against Cuba "appeasement." But with the Cuban exiles irreparably split and given to irresponsible adventures, the U.S. can no longer even furnish them arms. Consequently the Administration has been compelled to turn towards non-military means of dealing with Castro. At the present time this consists chiefly of secret aid to anti-Castro forces carrying on guerrilla operations in Cuba and a close surveillance over any attempt by Castro to export his revolution, which would be met with armed resistance by the victim country, with U.S. military support. Also pressure on the economic blockade of Cuba is increasing, thereby forcing the U.S.S.R. to spoonfeed the island's economy at a cost of over a million dollars per day. Aside from this **the Administration looks to long-range remedial efforts to prevent Communist-oriented revolutions from erupting elsewhere, for U.S. military intervention is no longer feasible in Latin America.**

U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS in the past have inflamed the most foul spots on the Latin American map. The late Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, the Samozas of Nicaragua and the Duvalier tyranny in Haiti . . . all these have followed occupation by the U.S.

Where We Failed



Marines. When we intervene or support these military regimes, we become responsible for them but can't control them. **Not only in this hemisphere but in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, Thailand and Spain, we have become identified with largely corrupt military dictatorships. This is the source of most of the anti-Yankeeism in Latin America. For us to seek to cure Castro by military intervention would therefore create antagonisms and resistance that would leave us with no workable policy in this hemisphere.**

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS — the backbone of the Kennedy policy for Latin America — has made slow headway. This greatly complicates the situation for the Administration since the success of the Alliance can't yet be publicized as an alternative for the more aggressive military policy which many GOP critics and extremists demand. But the Alliance has not failed, although it has been necessary to change its methods and aims. Alliance leaders had previously assumed that the Castro revolution would sufficiently frighten the rich oligarchies in Latin American countries until they would accept the land and tax reforms which must precede economic progress.

But the rich families have manifested little change in attitude. For the most part they have left their huge land holdings in the care of their political hirelings and transferred their cash accumulations to Swiss banks while they hide out in the fashionable resorts of Europe. Since most Latin American politicians owe their support to these rich oligarchies, they will do little to legally promote tax reform and land reform. Hence violent revolution would seem to be the only alternative, and such upheavals are already smoldering in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua. The U.S. policy now is to avoid revolutions by encouraging constructive changes — **but can the changes come in time?** There is encouragement in the gains the Alliance has made in Colombia and Chile where local conditions have been propitious.

SIGNIFICANT CHANGES, moreover, are taking place **within the Alliance for Progress which will have wide influence on the whole concept of foreign aid** and the efforts to bring economic progress to underdeveloped countries. First, it should be recognized **that U.S. officialdom has never been exactly honest about foreign aid** — and this goes for the recent report on foreign aid by the Kennedy-appointed commission under General Clay. Most U.S. foreign aid has had direct or indirect military ties. And generals and admirals do not get medals for economic achievements. When our military chiefs have gone into an area — Spain, Thailand, Formosa, Greece, Laos or Vietnam — they have received medals for "getting things done" and they've used whatever native leadership available, usually a wide assortment of corrupt politicians, fast-buck business interests and plain crooks. Anybody who spoke English was in.

Such foreign aid may have achieved some political and military gains for Washington — although much of this has been temporary. But in the process the rich got richer, the crooks became millionaires, and the people became even more impoverished. One day spent by an inquiring person beyond the good-wage radius of our U.S. bases in any of the above countries will provide abundant and sickening evidence of this situation. Even when U.S. foreign aid has been free of military ties it has often been so politically motivated that the assistance became a

kind of bribe with the recipients feeling little obligation to the U.S. While more benefits accrued to the people in these instances than from straight military aid, the native political leaders and established business interests benefited first and most.

THE NEW CONCEPT OF AID being worked out through the Alliance for Progress **begins and stays with the people.** The Alliance is adhering to the principle that without adequate education, health and basic opportunities for all, there can be no lasting progress. Even land reform means little until the illiterate peasants who receive the land are taught something about modern farming. Tax reform will benefit little unless there are capable and honest officials and civil servants to administer it. So all these projects, along with education and public health (which includes medical clinics, supplies of good water, roads, the draining of infestuous swamps) must come first — and be set up in full cooperation with local governments. And since graft and corruption cannot thrive on such frugal down-to-the-people programs, effective cooperation with local governments is much more readily secured.

THE SUCCESS OF THE PEACE CORPS, whose teams of dedicated young people accomplish more with pennies than diplomats, generals and admirals can do with millions, is strongly influencing aid concepts. In this same spirit the universities and colleges of California, for instance, are carrying out very successful projects in agriculture, mining and forestry in Chile — the two states having similar geographical situations. The Alliance is organizing other such state-to-state aid programs. Alliance directors are also planning to organize teams of U.S. businessmen to devote a year to the Alliance in selected localities, helping to start new businesses and industries in their particular field of experience — a kind of senior Peace Corps. Many other new and promising plans are shaping up.

AS WITH THE PEACE CORPS, almost every phase of these developments can be traced back to **the work of Christian missions.** In fact, it will be recalled that the Peace Corps, after a faltering start, was reorganized under the guidance of veteran American missionary leaders who were called in by our Government. The principle of Christian missions — **that love and dedicated lives count much more than money** — is slowly permeating the areas of official life where profligacy, military expediency and political fanaticism in our international relations have cost us billions and gained us very little. Did someone say the day of Christian missions was over? The redemptive power of love will never become obsolete.

Charles A. Wells

Our Economic Pyramid – Cracks at the Bottom

The U.S. economy continues to move deeper into a unique era of abounding prosperity at the top and growing crises at the bottom. Will the prosperity permeate downward enough to ameliorate the crises or will the crises break up the prosperity?

The talk in business circles about the "profit squeeze" is pure fiction as far as the large corporations are concerned which dominate U.S. industrial production. Corporation profits for the first quarter of 1963 average about 3 per cent higher than the average profits for 1962 which were the highest on record. (Wall St. Journal, April 29.) The real profit squeeze is on small businesses. With administered prices now prevailing in most industries, profits of 12 to 20 per cent on investment are common in the large industries, while the small businessman is lucky to make 6 per cent on his investment, above his own salary. (Administered pricing is the fixing of prices arbitrarily, irrespective of the laws of supply and demand which were traditionally the heart of the free enterprise system. Autos, steel, chemicals, rubber and many other products are largely so priced today.)

There is little doubt that the large corporations are prospering from the immense savings in labor costs accruing from new automated processes. Whereas the little businessman gets much less advantage from automation for he, like the small farmer, seldom has the volume or capital for automation equipment. So the small businessman, the worker displaced by automation and the small farmer, being crowded off his land by the more efficient bigger operator, create the crises at the bottom of our economic pyramid.

The White Collar Worker is now being hit by automation which will continue in an ever-widening swath. Insurance companies, banks, department stores, etc., have cut their clerical staffs from 5 to 15 per cent in the past few months. (U.S. News & World Report, May 13.) Even voices of big business are conceding this, although they evade the issue as much as possible. But it is freely discussed among the economists.

The hardest to be hit in the coming months will be the high school graduates, for jobs for the unskilled will be increasingly scarce. Already, it's much easier for a woman to get a job than a man in several industrial areas because the machines displace the men, and women can be trained for automation control jobs — and hired for less. (The recent Federal legislation on equal pay for women will probably be evaded for a long time through various "classification" gimmicks.)

Strikes Vs. The Miracle: Peak moments of strife are coming up as soon as automation leaps forward in railroads, steel, autos and other industries. A nationwide rail strike is in the offing; labor contracts are facing renegotiation in steel, autos, electric manufacturing and other lines. And these threatened strikes all focus on job security. "Featherbedding" in the vocabulary of management . . . . "job protection" in the language of the worker. Unless there is a miracle there will soon be some angry and costly strikes. A miracle stands by, waiting to deliver us, however, if management has the vision to see it.

Kaiser Steel and American Motors have successfully inaugurated profit-sharing plans geared to the problems of automation and job security. Kaiser employees have drawn a bonus of $80. a month per worker, American Motors employees a yearly dividend of similar proportions. This in addition to retraining and replacement programs for displaced workers. Enlightened labor leaders are pushing similar plans in other giant industries.

(See Wall St. Journal, Jan. 14; Wash. Post, April 25.)

Unfortunately most big business management looks with jaundiced eyes on these progressive solutions despite the demonstrations of success. There is no reason why the Kaiser and American Motors plans cannot be adopted by other industries, including big steel and railroads. Of one thing you may be sure — the cure and the deepening crisis are spread out very clearly before our eyes at this point, and each new step taken forward or backward, in cooperative goodwill or vindictive bitterness, will make its contribution to our future.

(These varied profit-sharing plans at best only provide "lay-off protection" in industries that are automating. They don't solve the problem of the increasing numbers of new workers coming on the labor market each year. But they do promise a respite from bitter strikes at this crucial period, and time for natural adjustments to be worked out.)

"What Can I Do?"

Those who wonder how much influence their letters to political leaders or to newspapers have on important issues should always remember that in our democracy, **public opinion** guides or checks policy. There have been many instances in American history when a President dared not act until the public was ready to support his move. Political leaders always have a careful score kept of the mail on various issues. Newspapers quickly respond to complaints or praise of a feature — judge public opinion by the mail received. TV-radio and sponsors will dump an expensive program if there are **enough** complaints — or keep a program that has public support.

The lobbies are heard from regularly — **are you?**

Frances E. Layer missed her active participation in peace organizations when her husband retired and they started traveling around the country in a trailer. Then she hit upon the idea of writing letters on the subject of world peace — to editors, government officials, heads of various organizations. Wherever she goes, she writes to the leading paper in the town; she also writes regularly to the N.Y. Times and the Christian Science Monitor because of their international circulation. Her approach is non-partisan; her letters are factual and brief. She also corresponds with others who are interested in becoming effective letter writers. From time to time she sends them copies of her letters, with suggested names of people and editors to write to. She wisely advises that her letters not be used verbatim but only as guides. Her permanent mail address is Box 448, Warren, Ohio.

Dr. and Mrs. Carlton Brehmer of Sheboygan, Wis., send post cards to TV stations and sponsors when they see something they feel should be protested — or praised. Recently they have been concentrating on protesting the TV cigarette ads slanted towards young people.

A useful circular, **How-To-Write A Letter To The Editor,** is published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. A copy is available for 10¢ (available in quantity at special rates).

Please forward to Priscilla Hogue 10817 Admirals Way Rockville Md.

also good

Jobs For Prisoners

Although the prison population in most states is growing rapidly, the prison population in North Carolina is diminishing. From an all-time high of 12,000 just two years ago, North Carolina's prisoners today number fewer than 11,000, which is 3,000 below the number anticipated in a projection of the state's overall population growth.

This decrease has been achieved by a multiple attack against the antiquated prison system which formerly prevailed in North Carolina as in most states. G. W. Randall, Director of Prisons, commented, "Crime in the nation is growing four times faster than the population. That shows the old ways don't work. We just had to do something else."

North Carolina's overall program is based **on preparing the prisoners for release through effective rehabilitation** that includes vocational and literacy training, mental and alcoholic clinics, work-release plans. The new program will save North Carolina $800,000. this year alone, and the budget request for the next two years is $1.25 million less than had been anticipated.

"But more important than saving tax dollars," continues Randall, "is the incalculable saving of human suffering. There is no way to measure the waste, heartaches and human misery caused by crime."

Here is how North Carolina's prison program works: **School attendance is required** for all inmates who have less than fourth grade achievement levels. "The link between crime and lack of education is irrefutable. Of 541 youthful felons that we have, 512 were school drop-outs." Prisoners are encouraged to go beyond the fourth grade and many have achieved the equivalent of a high school certificate.

The alcoholic rehabilitation plan invites Alcoholics Anonymous groups to take their program into various prisons. "About 75 per cent of our inmates are here because of an alcohol problem." The record of the inmates participating in the voluntary alcoholic rehabilitation program has been closely followed **after release** by prison officials. Of those studied, 2000 have remained in free society and continue to participate in Alcoholics Anonymous, while about 345 failed and came back to prison.

The Work-Release Plan is probably the most important as well as the most experimental part of North Carolina's program. Selected prisoners who are serving five years or less are permitted to work in the free community during working hours. During non-working hours they go back to the prison. The money they earn pays the Prison Dept. for their cells, meals and transportation to and from work, supports their families and the balance goes into a savings account payable on their release. Many prisoners accumulate as much as $2000. in savings. Some use the money for down payments on new homes. A welder, serving five years for breaking and entering, used his savings to start his own business.

A printer with a wife and two children worked three and a half months, earned $1075., less taxes and social security; he paid $229. to the prison for his housing and board, spent $53. on transportation to his job, contributed $750. to the support of his family and had $43. in savings. A bricklayer on a construction job earns $3. an hour, supports his wife and two children.

About 20 per cent of the 8000 prisoners now serving five years or less have been approved for the work-release program. Only about five per cent of those who start it are withdrawn for violations. (Most violations fall into a category of taking a drink or slipping off to see their wives.) Many inmates work for former employees. Others, who learn a trade in prison and are accepted for the work-release program, are shifted to prisons near their employment.

There are more than 1400 job-holders in the North Carolina prison system who pay their way through prison, support their families and accumulate savings. The work-release plan not only keeps the prisoner's dependents off the welfare rolls, but in addition provides him with a job on release and so he is not forced back into crime. Thus he has an incentive to make a good record.

At first the public was dubious about the work-release program but Randall explains, "People forget that **97 per cent of our prisoners are going to be released.** We simply ask: Is it better to come out with a job and self respect and contribute to society, or to come out with nothing?"

Note

Crime and Race

We hear much about the increase of crime in the big cities and the high percentage that is committed by Negroes. But Police Chief R. V. Murray of Washington, D.C., where the crime situation has been especially distressing recently, reports that while 85 per cent of the crime of Washington is committed by Negroes, **at least 85 per cent of the victims of these crimes are also Negroes.** "My records show that in the categories of homicides, rape, aggravated assault, Negroes are victims in 85 per cent of the cases and in robbery they are the victims in 70 per cent of the cases."

Note:

Illiteracy and Relief

In Chicago an educational program for adult illiterates has uncovered the startling relationship between unemployment, the relief rolls and literacy. This city found that at least **half of greater Chicago's 50,000 able-bodied relief recipients were functionally illiterate** (unable to read a want ad or fill out a job application).

Some 7,600 of Chicago's relief recipients were enlisted recently in an adult education effort to give them the basic 3-R education — reading, writing and arithmetic — which they missed as children. The program was started just one year ago with 225 volunteer teachers but it is already attracting the attention of welfare officials in many other cities. For the costly job-retraining program supported by heavy Federal aid cannot benefit the thousands of illiterates who have lost their jobs; they simply don't qualify for most types of training.

The Chicago system was started on a compulsory basis with the 7,600 relief recipients required to attend two evening classes a week, each two hours long, or they would lose their relief checks. "You cut classes and we cut your checks," were the orders. But the compulsory factor has rarely had to be enforced. Relief authorities were surprised to find most of the group not only willing but eager to attend, and many others on relief rolls who have heard of the program are applying for the privilege of joining the project.

The teachers in the literacy school point out that, besides the employment potentials involved, the school often helps make attenders into more reliable and conscientious parents; many parents rejoice in the new privilege and comment, "No kid of mine will ever drop out of school." Said one former cotton picker, "I feel like a caged bird that all of a sudden got out and is free." Being able to read and write enables the jobless to get jobs at higher-than-menial levels and to qualify for job training.

The oldest part of the Chicago program is job training which is carried on in an old 5-story wooden warehouse. About 20 vocations are taught, including spray painting, metal drilling, glass cutting, running power sewing machines, etc. Over 13,000 are enrolled at the training center and last year the center found jobs for over 12,000 relief recipients after basic job training.

Journey Into Light, a penetrating study of First Century Christianity for today, is a handsome hardcover book of 142 pages, written and illustrated by Charles A. Wells. Available for $2.50 postpaid from Between The Lines Press, Box 143, Princeton, New Jersey.

The Birchers In Politics

The extreme right-wing organizations, such as the John Birchers, are concentrating their efforts on gaining political control in the states of small population such as Wyoming, Montana, Utah and Nevada, according to Sen. Gale W. McGee (D., Wyo.), who taught U.S. history for 22 years and made a study of this situation in his home state of Wyoming. The Birch Society there has collected funds from chapters all over America to defeat McGee because of his liberal views.

In such states as Wyoming and Montana, the Senator points out, a political dollar goes further because you only have to reach 140,000 voters compared with seven million in New York. Thus the Birchers are concentrating their funds on these areas where they can get results. Sen. Frank Moss (D., Utah) is also up for re-election next year and is already under fire by the right-wing groups who are contributing heavily to the campaign funds of his opponents (selected for their right-wing views). In Idaho last year, Sen. Frank Church was marked for defeat but won despite nationwide Birch support of his opponent.

In Utah Reed Benson, eldest son of former Sec. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, serves as a paid coordinator of the John Birch Society at a salary of $12,000. a year. He directs Birch activities through volunteer leaders of local chapters of 10 to 15 members each. The younger Benson states that membership in Utah has tripled since he started work six months ago, although in accordance with the Society's policies he declines to reveal its total membership. In 1962 Reed Benson unsuccessfully sought the Republican nomination for Congress.

Ezra Taft Benson said of his son's affiliation with the Birch Society, "I admire Reed's courage and applaud his decision," adding however that he is not himself a member. The elder Benson has been in the middle of a Mormon dispute over the church's position on the Birch Society. This has ranged during recent months from neutrality to hostility to neutrality again.

The Birch Society is strong enough in Wyoming to dominate the legislature this year which voted to abolish the Federal income tax, to get the U.S. out of the United Nations; it also passed legislation that clears the way for the state to over-ride the authority of the Supreme Court! If the right-wing fanatics can capture enough of these small-population states, they will get power in the U.S. Senate all out of proportion to their numbers and might even get laws passed that would never receive support of the thickly settled areas of the country.

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 2

Racial Unrest: A Time Bomb With Fuse Lit

Editor's Note: Will current racial strife in America be limited to sporadic outbreaks or are we, in this turbulent summer of 1963, on the verge of major domestic violence? Here, in the second installment of a special series on the deepening integration crisis, is an on-the-spot survey of major friction spots.

By BERNARD GAVZER
Associated Press Writer

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson has warned that "a time bomb ticks" in America's streets this turbulent summer of 1963.

The bomb is the explosive crisis which already has flared in sporadic violence in Danville, Va., Cambridge, Md., and New York as Negroes and whites have clashed on the issue of full racial equality now.

Overhanging these and other outbreaks are the haunting questions: Will the bomb go off? When? How? Where?

Interviews with and reports from top level white and Negro officials in federal, state and municipal governments, with civic, social and religious leaders and with citizens in the street, point to one conclusion:

There is grave danger of major racial violence as America searches for a solution to the deepening integration crises.

IF SUCH chaos comes, the consensus is:

1. It may very likely—but not necessarily—occur in a Northern big city.

2. It may stem from rigid police action—or from some minor incident blown out of proportion by rumor.

Viewing the state of affairs today, the National Urban League's Board of Trustees reports:

"Hundreds of thousands of (Northern) Negro citizens—struggling beneath the mounting burden of automation, over-crowding and subtle discrimination—are reaching the breaking point."

Dr. Gardner Taylor, Negro pastor of Brooklyn's Concord Baptist Church, warns:

"Miscalculation of the moment of truth which is upon us could plunge New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles into a crimson carnage and a bloodbath unparalleled in the history of the nation."

ONE OF THE worst years in the history of U.S. race relations was 1919. There were seven major riots that year—the three worst occurring in Chicago (38 killed, 537 wounded and injured), Washington, D.C. (6 killed, scores hurt), and Phillips County, Ark. (30 killed, hundreds hurt).

Can such riots come again?

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro professor at City College of New York, answers:

"If white America refuses to grant rights to Negro citizens and continues to withhold them, I suppose white America will try killing Negroes. If white America is prepared to see Negroes being killed and killed and killed, then this will happen, but it won't stop anything because you simply cannot kill everyone."

In Chicago, veteran labor leader Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers—a union which has been integrated for decades—says:

"My feeling is that the discontent still is below the boiling point, but I wouldn't bet a thin dime on when it boils over. Our organizers throughout the country are surprised that it hasn't boiled over."

IF THE time bomb should go off, where is it likely to explode?

Some, including Dr. Richard Wade, professor of urban history at the University of Chicago, think it may occur in the South.

Wade cites a long history of deference on the part of the Negro, who is in many Southern regions unskilled, uneducated and has little organization.

Others believe the explosion is more likely to occur in the North where there is job discrimination, de facto segregation in housing, de facto school segregation and social discrimination.

Speaking of the onslaughts to personal dignity endured by the Negro in the North, a Negro public relations man notes:

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Speaking of the onslaughts to personal dignity endured by the Negro in the North, a Negro public relations man notes:

"I sit in my air conditioned office all day and I see nicely dressed people and I look down on Sixth Avenue and I almost forget about color. And then at 5:30 I get downstairs and it hits me in the face. I can't get a cab because everybody thinks I want to go up to Harlem."

IN CHICAGO, Alvin Prejean, deputy director of the Urban League, insists all the ingredients for explosion are to be found in Chicago, among other Northern cities.

"Negroes are pushing and whites are pushing back," he says. "People here used to talk about those poor people down in Birmingham. Now they are talking about here. We need better teachers, better jobs, better housing just to catch up with whites."

Earl Brown, Manhattan's Negro deputy borough president and former magazine writer who with Louis E. Martin, now a member of the Democratic National Committee, predicted the 1943 Detroit race riot (34 dead, 700 injured), says it is the discovery of obtaining dignity which contributes to the Negro militancy.

"This is the Negro doing something for himself," Brown says. "He's learning something about dignity. He may have to lose some blood, but he's found that that's the road to freedom, not just winning a peace."

Martin, former editor-publisher of Detroit's Negro newspaper, the Michigan Chronicle, says:

"Today, everybody recognizes the danger. In 1943, nobody would believe it.

"For once in America, the issue is on top of the table. There are no illusions. The confrontations that have taken place are vital because the Negro now knows he is being listened to."

AS IN ANY social movement, there is confusion. Leaders struggle for power positions, goals depend upon who's defining them, control of the masses evaporates.

James Meredith gets booed at an NAACP convention in Chicago, for example. At the same convention, Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National (Negro) Baptist Convention, is booed for 9 minutes, supposedly because he backed President Kennedy's call for a moratorium on demonstrations.

On leaving the speaker's platform, Rev. Jackson was pinned against it by some 50 persons who kept crying, "Kill him! Kill him!"

The mood for action is all-pervading. Its beat is sounded by Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr., president of Howard University:

"We are sick of evasions, weary of excuses, fed up with promises and want action now, liberty now, equality now."

C. Summer Stone Jr., editor of the Washington (D.C.) Afro-American, says, "There is a new Negro out there somewhere. For the first time, I'd say, everybody is involved. All Negroes, except for some Uncle Toms, are prepared to be involved."

THERE IS concern that the one thing which might lead to trouble would be a mass nonviolent march on Washington.

Such a march was decided upon in New York recently at a top level strategy meeting involving the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Martin Luther King Jr., the Urban League's Whitney Young, CORE's James Farmer, the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee's John Lewis and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council.

The march is set for Aug. 28. It was decided upon even though the Kennedy administration has voiced vigorous determination to get a strong civil rights bill through Congress. Negro leaders feel there will be a filibuster and that a march would show lawmakers the degree of Negro unity and determination.

While there may be argument about the length of the fuse or whether it will be ignited, the authorities who must plan for any eventuality have done so in many areas. It is clear the federal government is committed to back decisions of courts and policies of the administration with armed troops.

"If there is runaway rioting—I hope there won't be—then the Negro can't help but lose," says Lee Blackwell, editor of the Chicago Defender.

"We represent only 10 per cent of the population. We couldn't win. I don't think it will happen that way because the Negro is realistic about being outnumbered. I do think there will be some blood.

"You can't have a revolution—even a peaceful one—without some casualties."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Naked Basis of Crisis.

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 3

'Negroes . . . Just Are Not Ready Yet'

EDITOR'S NOTE: What is the naked basis of the white man's resistance to integration of the Negro in America? Here is a hard look at the core of the problem, often hidden behind polite reasons and rationalizations. This is a third of a special series of articles comprehensively surveying both sides of the argument in today's racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

MACON COUNTY, Ala., July 30 (AP)—It is not uncommon in the South to hear a white segregationist say that, by and large, he likes the Negro.

He sees no inconsistency between having an affection for Negroes and at the same time defending a system that denies them full equality. "The Negroes as a whole just aren't ready yet," he says. "It's not their fault, but that's the way it is at this point."

A key point in his reasoning is that the great majority of Negroes are like children and that, for the time being, they must be treated as such.

A COMPOSITE of many conversations with the thoughtful type of segregationist goes pretty much like this:

"When I was a kid, my best friend was a colored boy. We played together, fished together, slept side by side on hunting trips. I was in and out of his house every day and he was in mine, eating from the same kitchen table.

"After we grew up, I paid his hospital bills and loaned him money when he needed it. I went to the weddings and funerals in his family and he came to ours. On Saturday night, when he got into trouble with the law, who went to the jail at 2 a.m. and bailed him out? I did."

It was a comfortable, harmonious relationship, he says. And even today, while racial strife rises toward the danger point in many places, you can still see this relationship between individual Negroes and whites in the South.

HERE IS A cotton plantation, deep in Alabama.

It is about 10 miles from the nearest community, the nearest sheriff or policeman. In the county, Negroes outnumber the whites, 5 to 1.

Yet the doors of the planter's home are never locked. And when he has to travel, he tells the Negro foreman, "I'll be away a few days. You look after things around here."

At night, the foreman listens to the dogs. If he hears a peculiar note in their barking, he will go outside to investigate. He is proud of being "in charge."

DRIVING INTO the plantation, you see a softball game in a field near the planter's house. Three of his children, including a girl, are playing with the children of the Negro "hoe hands."

In the sun-drenched afternoon, the oldest boy goes fishing with two Negro boys. He brings the sandwiches.

Meanwhile, the oldest girl goes horseback riding, deep in the woods. She is alone. Her parents say they never worry about her, that she is perfectly safe.

Some miles away, in a corner of the plantation, an aged Negro woman sits, rocking, on the porch. She is the widow of a "hoe hand" who worked here many years. The house is hers as long as she lives. The planter asks if she is all right. "Gettin' along jes' fine," she says.

Associated Press Wirephoto

YOUNG GIRL PLAYS WITH FAMILY COOK
She Tries to Teach Woman to Ride Bicycle

A LITTLE scene takes place in the cotton fields. As the Negroes stop work for their mid-day meal, the planter slips a dollar bill into a woman's hand. He tells a man, "Drive her to the store."

You ask what this is about.

For some reason, she brought no food to the fields that morning. "Maybe she hasn't got any money," the planter says, "or maybe she just plain forgot. But I sure can't see her go without eating."

In the winter, when the fields are bare, he finds other work on the plantation for his "hoe hands." They have to eat in the winter, too.

It all adds up to a unique segment of the racial story.

The integrationist, however, calls this "Uncle Tom-ism." And the militant Negro says it is "paternalism," archaic, degrading the Negro, numbing his effort to develop himself.

Let's look further.

THE PLANTER frequently works in the fields beside the "hoe hands." The relationship appears completely comfortable. Little jokes—in language largely unintelligible to a Yankee—pass between them. They agree that the cotton looks good.

"Way I figure," says the Negro foreman, "the better the boss does, the better we do." There will be a bonus for them at Christmas.

He has been on this plantation 24 years, another man for 17, several others for from 8 to 10 years.

The foreman once went to Florida and worked for a year. He came back. Some of the others went north for jobs. They came back, too. All of them have been to school, three, five, six years.

You see television antennae on the Negro houses. The foreman says he saw pictures of the disturbances at Birmingham and elsewhere, North and South. What did he think?

"WELL," HE SAYS, "they is sorry colored folks and they is sorry white folks everywhere, and I wish they'd both jes' leave us alone."

Whether this is the attitude, generally, of the Negro field workers in Macon County is difficult to say. Even the whites there, who consider themselves on close personal terms with their Negroes, say they don't know what the "hoe hands" are thinking, as the clash and clatter of racial trouble comes nearer.

Not all segregationists, of course, profess to like Negroes.

THERE IS the bigot, ridden with fear and hatred of the Negro, and clutching his prejudices. He is the night-rider, shooting indiscriminately into Negro homes, dumping garbage on the front porch of white integrationists.

To anyone who pleads for reason and good will in the struggle over civil rights, he scrawls a "hate letter." It is misspelled, ungrammatical, frequently obscene, dripping venom.

"That type of white man," says a Southern newspaper woman, "is at the bottom of the scale and he knows it. The only thing that separates him from an equally poor, uneducated Negro is the color of his skin. He has to look down on somebody so he looks down on the Negro."

BUT WHAT about the segregationist who says he has a genuine affection for his Negro friends? How does he square this with the fact of injustice and inequality?

He begins with a basic premise, a conviction that underlies most of his attitudes—that, by and large, the Negro has not yet reached a stage of development where he is "ready" for full equality.

"No race on earth ever made so much progress in 100 years as the Negroes have made," he says. "But they did it with the guidance of the white man and they still need our guidance."

Flowing from that comes his opposition to integrated schools.

"THE NEGRO doesn't have the same capacity for learning," he says. "Moreover, his home invironment is seldom conducive to study. So why should my children be held back to his pace? They're both better off in schools where they can advance at their own pace."

The segregationist also says that Negro children frequently come to school unbathed and wearing dirty clothes. He says they come from homes with a high rate of illegitimacy and adds, "I don't wany my kids sitting next to kids who talk openly about what they have seen at home."

For similar reasons, he doesn't want his wife and daughter to sit next to a Negro in a movie theater or a lunch counter, use the same fitting rooms in a store, or the same rest rooms.

Does he really believe the Negro's ultimate goal is to "marry your daughter?" Yes, he does. He's convinced of it.

As to the Negro's right to vote, one segregationist said, "There's no reason why their best people shouldn't vote, those who are educated, literate, and able to make a judgment on candidates and issues. But there aren't many with these qualifications."

SO IT GOES, consistently, over point after point—the assertion that the Negro's level of development is not yet at a stage where he is "ready" for full equality. "What he is asking," segregationists say, "is the rights without the responsibilities."

I once asked a Southern newspaper editor, a segregationist, to itemize the five or six principal reasons why so many Southerners believe in segregation. On the back of an envelope, he set down the various points. Leading his list was one word:

"Habit."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Church's Role.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

IN ARIZONA, WHERE MEN ARE COOKS

PHOENIX, Ariz., July 30 (AP)—Joseph Meeker is out to prove that boys know how to use the stove as well as the ice box.

The 13-year-old Phoenix lad has entered a contest with six girls in the Maricopa County junior cooking championships.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

THE DEEPENING CRISIS—NO. 7

8-4-63 Journal-Const.

Here's How It All Began

EDITOR'S NOTE — The struggle for integration of the races in America started quietly. But a historical perspective reveals its inexorable progress to this critical summer of sporadic violence, frustration and discord — a forward march of events predestined to occur from the moment the first slave ship dropped anchor in the free world.

By JULES LOH
Associated Press Writer

There was nothing very complicated about it at the beginning.

A Dutch ship dropped anchor in the harbor at Jamestown, Va., one sweaty August day and its captain, named Jope, rowed ashore and told tobacco man John Rolfe and some of the others that he had a cargo of "20 negars" which he wished to swap for food.

The Negroes probably had been captured as pirate booty on the high seas from some Spanish vessel for they had names like Isabella, Pedro and Antonio, though the language they spoke surely wasn't Spanish.

Where they came from really didn't matter much to the colonists. After all, many were indentured servants themselves. In fact just a few months earlier a boatload of 90 "young maidens" had arrived from Europe to become wives of the first 90 bachelors who would go the price of 20 pounds of tobacco per maiden.

THE YEAR was 1619. In some respects it is as profound a date in American history as the following year, 1620, when the Mayflower arrived.

However wide the chasm of racial separation was to become during the succeeding 3½ centuries, not a single segment of the fabric of American life would go untouched by the black thread introduced into the nation's social and cultural loom that day at Jamestown.

Harper's Ferry, Little Rock, Bloody Kansas, Birmingham—what generation has not known racial violence? Dred Scott, Medgar Evers, Theodore Bilbo, Marcus Garvey, John Brown—how many names has "the Negro question" thrust into national prominence? Lynch law, Mr. Interlocutor, freedom rides, underground railroad, jazz, Ku Klux Klan, sit-ins, eeny meeny miney moe catch a nigger by the toe — what man, woman or child in all the land can say he has escaped the influence of the Negro in his midst?

THE PEOPLE of Jamestown could have suspected none of this; their part in the emerging drama was innocent enough.

The 20 Negroes melded quite nicely into their established system of servitude whereby a man could be sold, or sell himself, for a certain duration. After working or buying off his bondage he was as free, white or black, as any other man. For four decades Negroes lived in Virginia on a basis of equality, accumulating land, voting in assemblies. One Negro even bought a white servant. There

NEGRO SLAVES LEAVING THEIR QUARTERS AFTER EMANCIPATION WAS PROCLAIMED
This Sketch From Harper's Weekly of 1864 Caught Negroes at Time of Rising Hope

guess, had been forcibly exported and another 30 to 40 million had died before they could be sold.

It wasn't the custom of slavery — an institution as old as Moses — but the commercialization of it that had such melancholy results.

Historically slaves were merely unfortunate folks who happened to have been captured in battle or maybe went bankrupt. It could happen to anybody. Race certainly wasn't a factor and there was no stigma of basic inferiority attached to their lot.

Portugal, for example, had elaborate codes developed over the centuries which made slavery far from a hopeless plight. Families could not be split up; masters were forbidden to injure slaves; slaves could testify in court, even against their owners, and so forth.

IN AMERICA, on the other hand, there were no slave codes. Moreover, only Negroes were slaves. Thus, unlike the attitudes which developed in other countries of the Western hemisphere where the slave ships docked, slavery in the United States gradually came to be regarded as the natural condition of the black man and his color therefore a mark of intrinsic inferiority.

As it became necessary from time to time for American law to define a slave he was described variously as "a chattel" or "real estate" or finally, in the opinion of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the 1856 Dred Scott decision, merely an "article of merchandise."

Legally, slaves were incapable of matrimony, which meant they could have children but not families. In 1838 slave dealer Benjamin Davis of Hamburg, S.C., advertised that his current stock "consists of . . . several small boys without their mothers."

trained tutor named Eli Whitney spent a few idle days in 1792 at the home of the Widow Green in Savannah and noticed how frustratingly tedious was the job of extracting seeds from the tenacious fibers in a boll of short staple upland cotton.

His invention of the cotton gin moved slavery from convenient luxury to economic necessity as small farms became huge plantations. By 1850 three-fourths of the world's cotton was being supplied by the Gulf states and planters felt the economy of the entire Southland depended on slave labor. To a great many in the cotton kingdom it appeared obvious that slavery was a positive good, and practicing it was simply following the natural order of things.

"OUR NEW government," explained Alexander Stephens of Georgia the day he was named vice president of the Confederacy, "is based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth . . . that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery — subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition."

Stephens acknowledged that "this truth has been slow in the process of its development," but once the process was complete there could no longer be any such thing as a literally free Negro.

An owner could, of course, free a slave, though in some cases it required consent of the legislature or a $1,000 bond to insure his good behavior. But he still remained the prisoner of his skin.

Most of the slave laws continued to apply to him. In some states he couldn't possess firearms, poison, dogs or whisky. Others had deadlines for him to get out of the state or be sold back into slavery—Virginia one year; North Carolina 90 days; Tennessee immediately.

a bad deal and sold her to someone else for a $50 profit.

As the Negro's legal status sank lower and lower so did his human status. He became the butt of ridicule, the subject of caricature by comics who discovered burnt cork. Most famous of all the antebellum blackface minstrels was Daddy Dan Rice who toured the country for years performing a thigh-slapping song and dance number titled "Jump, Jim Crow!"

THE NEGROES had songs of their own, generally regarded as quaint. They had words like "Go Down, Moses, 'Way Down in Egypt Land, and Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go," and "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and "Oh, Mary, Don't You Weep, Don't You Moan. . . ."

From Socrates to Lincoln, wherever slavery has existed there have been voices to oppose it.

SLAVEOWNER Thomas Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, wrote a blistering indictment of George III for his part in the slave trade but the 167 words were stricken out.

Concerning slavery Jefferson later wrote "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever," and predicted that slavery would be the "rock upon which the old Union would split." Patrick Henry, another slaveowner, said, "I will not, I cannot, justify it." Neither man anticipated the cotton gin and both thought slavery would gradually fade away.

Benjamin Franklin wasn't that patient. He joined the Abolitionist Society and became its president. George Washington set his slaves free on his deathbed; John Adams refused to own them at all.

Through the years another

nence, persuaded Congress to buy some territory in Africa which later became the independent state of Liberia. Only about 6,000 American Negroes chose to move there, however. The latest and perhaps the most colorful back-to-Africa advocate was Marcus Manassen Garvey, a Jamaican Negro educated in London who came to New York in 1917 wearing a purple and gold uniform and three-cornered hat. He wound up in the Atlanta penitentiary for using the mail to defraud.

From the beginning most Negro leaders have denounced emigration ideas. During the Liberian movement a speaker at a Negro rally in Hartford cried, "Why should we leave this land so dearly bought by the blood, groans and tears of our fathers?"

THE AUDIENCE nodded, perhaps recalling that during the Revolutionary War (when all the colonies practiced slavery except Pennsylvania where the Quakers held it to be an evil deserving of excommunication) there were enough Negoes in the Continental Army's ranks that the British had a barracks doggerel which went:

The Rebel clowns, oh
what a sight,
So awkward is their figure.
Yonder stands a pious
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gro question thrust into national prominence? Lynch law, Mr. Interlocutor, freedom rides, underground railroad, jazz, Ku Klux Klan, sit-ins, eeny meeny miney moe catch a nigger by the toe — what man, woman or child in all the land can say he has escaped the influence of the Negro in his midst?

THE PEOPLE of Jamestown could have suspected none of this; their part in the emerging drama was innocent enough.

The 20 Negroes melded quite nicely into their established system of servitude whereby a man could be sold, or sell himself, for a certain duration. After working or buying off his bondage he was as free, white or black, as any other man. For four decades Negroes lived in Virginia on a basis of equality, accumulating land, voting in assemblies. One Negro even bought a white servant. There was no inferiority attached to skin color. That came later.

The significance of their arrival in 1619 was that it marked the first contact between the American colonies and the Atlantic slave trade.

It was perhaps inevitable that America should be caught up in the trade. For nearly four centuries beginning about 1500, slave ships flying Portuguese, Dutch, English and, finally, American flags competed for favor on the African coast

THEY STACKED their human cargo like cordwood in the fetid holds and in the two-foot space 'tween decks and headed for the thriving markets in the new world. Each day during the 10-week voyage they could count on having to toss a few dead ones over the side. Mutinies were frequent; suicides commonplace.

Most of the slaves imported in America came from the Guinea coast, the Gold Coast, Gambia and Senegal; some kidnapped by whites, most captured by corrupt African chieftains and traded for rum and guns. In 1736 Col. William Byrd of Virginia said in a letter to the Earl of Egmont, "They import so many Negroes hither that I fear this colony will some time or other be confirmed by the name of New Guinea." By the time Col. Byrd's children were grown the Virginia population was estimated at 300,000 whites and 200,000 slaves.

WHEN THE TRADE finally petered out more than 15 million Africans, a conservative

were slaves. Thus, unlike the attitudes which developed in other countries of the Western hemisphere where the slave ships docked, slavery in the United States gradually came to be regarded as the natural condition of the black man and his color therefore a mark of intrinsic inferiority.

As it became necessary from time to time for American law to define a slave he was described variously as "a chattel" or "real estate" or finally, in the opinion of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the 1856 Dred Scott decision, merely an "article of merchandise."

Legally, slaves were incapable of matrimony, which meant they could have children but not families. In 1838 slave dealer Benjamin Davis of Hamburg, S.C., advertised that his current stock "consists of . . . several small boys without their mothers."

THE LAW FORBADE a slave to learn to read or write, to leave the premises without a pass or to assemble with fellow slaves without a white person present to overhear any insurrection plots. He — or she — couldn't testify in any litigation involving a white person.

It took decades, however, for the idea of black inferiority finally to mature. Perhaps it never would have had not a Yale

slavery — subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition."

Stephens acknowledged that "this truth has been slow in the process of its development," but once the process was complete there could no longer be any such thing as a literally free Negro.

An owner could, of course, free a slave, though in some cases it required consent of the legislature or a $1,000 bond to insure his good behavior. But he still remained the prisoner of his skin.

Most of the slave laws continued to apply to him. In some states he couldn't possess firearms, poison, dogs or whisky. Others had deadlines for him to get out of the state or be sold back into slavery—Virginia one year; North Carolina 90 days; Tennessee immediately.

SOME NEGROES, for lack of security, returned to slavery voluntarily. A rare few managed their freedom quite well. In Louisiana a free Negro named Cyprian Ricard owned nearly 100 slaves, and North Carolina freedman Thomas Day hired white help in his cabinet shop. A free Negro shoemaker in South Carolina earned enough to buy his wife from her owner for $700. Later he decided it was

SLAVEOWNER Thomas Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, wrote a blistering indictment of George III for his part in the slave trade but the 167 words were stricken out.

Concerning slavery Jefferson later wrote "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever," and predicted that slavery would be the "rock upon which the old Union would split." Patrick Henry, another slaveowner, said, "I will not, I cannot, justify it." Neither man anticipated the cotton gin and both thought slavery would gradually fade away.

Benjamin Franklin wasn't that patient. He joined the Abolitionist Society and became its president. George Washington set his slaves free on his deathbed; John Adams refused to own them at all.

Through the years another scheme has attracted intermittent interest as a solution to the Negro's plight: emigration to Africa.

AS EARLY AS 1812 a Negro sea captain, Paul Cuffee, tried unsuccessfully to establish an African colony for American Negroes. In 1820 the American Colonization Society, backed by John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay and others of similar promi-

the Quakers held it to be an evil deserving of excommunication) there were enough Negoes in the Continental Army's ranks that the British had a barracks doggerel which went:

The Rebel clowns, oh
what a sight,
So awkward is their figure.
Yonder stands a pious
wight,
And here and there
a nigger.

American abolitionists scored their first major victory in 1808 when Congress declared the slave trade illegal. The act did not stop the trade — an estimated 250,000 more Negroes were smuggled in — but it did increase the hazard and slaves became far more valuable. George Washington paid $500 for a slave, but in 1853 a No. 1 male fetched $1,250 on the New Orleans market and by 1860 the price was $1,800. When civil war came fewer than 5 per cent of the South's 8 million people were slaveowners.

After the Missouri Compromise struck a tenuous sectional balance in 1820 between 12 slave and 12 free states, the abolitionist movement began to develop with the fervor of politics and the zeal of religion. In 20 years' time the American Anti-Slavery Society counted 250,000 members in 15 states and published 25 journals, and it was but one group among several.

IN MANY RESPECTS the various organizations were prototypes of the civil rights groups in today's headlines; change the dates on some of the handbills and history would seem to be repeating itself.

William Lloyd Garrison, one of the most militant of the abolitionists, advocated moral persuasion and passive resistance. "Perhaps blood will flow," he once told a friend, "but not through any counsel of mine." John Brown took an opposite stance, holding that "slavery is a state of war." In a third camp were Arthur Tappan, James Birney, Gerrit Smith and others who believed in political action and in 1840 helped organize the Liberal Party.

Abolitionist literature flooded the mails.

IN THE SOUTH it was contraband and in 1835 a mob sacked the Charleston post office and burned all the propaganda they could find. In Alabama a grand jury indicted

Turn to Page 3B

NIGERIAN NATIVES HOLD UP REMINDERS OF SLAVE TRADE
Chains Were Used to Shackle Captured Natives in Africa

DEEPENING CRISIS

Continued From Page 1B.

Ransom Williams of New York in absentia for mailing his newspaper into the state. In Kentucky Cassius M. Clay kept a loaded cannon at the door of his Lexington office where he published The True American. In Alton, Ill., Editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, three of his presses already thrown in the river, tried to defend the fourth and was shot to death by a mob. In Brunswick, Maine, a mother of six, Harriet Beecher Stowe, took time off from her housework to write a book, more a tract than a novel, which sold 300,000 copies within a year and immortalized such names as Uncle Tom, Simon Legree and Topsy.

Emotions were high, tempers hot. On Capitol Hill Congressman Brooks of South Carolina lit into Senator Sumner of Massachusetts with his cane. There was no middle ground. When war came few were surprised.

If Appomattox solved some problems, it left many more in its bloody wake.

THE SOUTH was in ruins and disorganized former slaves wandered idly about the wreckage. Only one in 10 could read or write. For many, attainment of their ideal was the beginning of their disillusionment. Now able to own property, few were equipped to manage it. But with federal bayonets to protect them at the polls and carpetbaggers to show them how to vote, they became a powerful political force.

Soon the state legislatures of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi had majorities of Negro members, most of whom learned the rudiments of reading and writing after they were elected. Many of them engaged in what one conservative historian refers to "a saturnalis of corrupt expenditure" and the demoralized South added further economic woes to its misery. There were any number of occasions for the hatred engendered by war to flame again.

Negro rule in the South was such an obvious failure that few Northern states were willing to apply the same reconstruction plans to their own areas. Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Ohio and Michigan, for example, refused the Negro the right to vote.

WHEN PRESIDENT Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South in 1877 white reaction was swift, and in the light of what had happened, predictable.

Legal barriers began to be erected against the Negro, such as the "Grandfather Clause" invented by Louisiana in 1898 which denied a ballot to anyone whose grandfather hadn't voted prior to 1867. Private organizations were formed to restore "the Southern way of life" — the KKK, the White Brotherhood, Pale Faces, Knights of the White Camellia.

Lines of segregation were drawn, and they were unmistakable. When Homer Plessy, a Negro, was removed from a white railroad coach in 1896 and took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court the idea of "separate but equal" became the law of the land.

Over the years the Negro began to protest.

As the protests grew louder, the Jim Crow signs began to fall. More important to the Negro, so did the Jim Crow laws. In the history of the colored man in America, the year 1954, when "separate but equal" was stricken from the law, was as significant as the year "involuntary servitude" was outlawed. Recent events surely prove this.

No one can know when the next turning point will be, what shape it will take. But a glance at how we got where we are, a look ahead at the ever-deepening crisis as America's ears are being assailed as never before, and the suspicion is that it couldn't be far off.

The Deepening Crisis . . . No. 9

Action Muffles Negro Voices

Editor's Note: A new Negro militancy is apparent in this turbulent summer as voices of responsible moderates are drowned out by radicals who preach an inflammatory approach to racial equality. Here is a closeup of the militant Negro movement.

By JUNIUS GRIFFIN

NEW YORK, Aug. 5 (AP)—Voices of moderation in both Northern and Southern Negro communities are muffled today.

In vogue is a Negro militancy, conceived in frustration and impatience.

Radical organizations preaching inflammatory tactics have emerged in the ghettos where most Northern Negroes live.

In the South, the militant leadership seeks to organize largely undisciplined would-be followers into concerted action.

If the moderate Negro in the South or North speaks out against demonstrations that might result in violence, he often is branded an "Uncle Tom" and a coward. For a Negro to express a moderate view on any civil rights issue is to risk his reputation and maybe his personal safety.

AN EXAMPLE of the radical's vehemence was evident when James H. Meredith and Rev. J. H. Jackson, president of the Baptist Convention, ventured to counsel a conservative course at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Chicago.

Meredith, who risked his life and the safety of his family to establish the right of a Negro to attend the University of Mississippi, was attacked by a youthful wing of the NAACP with such a bitterness that he publicly admitted, "I wept my first tears since I was a child."

Jackson, who heads the largest Negro religious organization in the nation, was booed and narrowly escaped injury before being escorted from the Chicago convention.

Sam Riley, Chicago chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, resigned his post, saying "I'm sick of sit-ins and picket lines."

Riley's resignation came in protest against what he termed the "ultramilitant tactics of the kids" in the organization. "I prefer to plan and negotiate," Riley said.

IT WAS MILITANT civil rights demonstrations in Cambridge, Md., during June and July that split the Eastern Shore town and then brought it back together when violent racial conflict threatened.

The Cambridge demonstrations caused President Kennedy to comment:

"I am concerned about these demonstrations. I think they go beyond information, beyond protest, and they get into a very bad situation where you get violence, and I think the cause of advancing equal opportunities only loses. So I have warned against demonstrations which could lead to bloodshed and I warn now against them."

The President added, however, "You just can't tell people, 'don't protest' — but on the other hand, 'We're not going to let you come into a store or restaurant.' "

"The way to make the problem go away," the President said, ". . . is to provide for redress of grievances."

demonstrations and advocating that "Negro leaders negotiate their grievances with the city fathers."

The influence of the radicals is apparent in the concentrated attack on the "the Big Four" action groups for equal rights. This attack is led by radical organizations such as the Black Muslims and a variety of African Nationalist associations.

These organizations have attracted larger gatherings on Harlem street corners on occasion than the combined forces of the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The success of radical elements in Negro communities is due partly to their ability to identify with grass-roots elements.

DR. MARTIN Luther King Jr., at a recent public appearance in Harlem, was greeted with a barrage of eggs from unidentified Negroes before he entered a church. The leader of a nationalist group blamed the incident on "Communists."

King and leaders of the other "Big Four" groups constantly are referred to as "Uncle Toms" by the radical leadership in Harlem.

One radical explains the popularity of the extremist movement this way:

"We give the forgotten man a dignity that the NAACP, CORE and the other groups deny him. We let him know that he is just as important as the middleclass Negro who wants to ignore his presence in the community.

"The curse of many years of segregation has left him an almost hopeless cripple, a cripple that cannot be cured or rehabilitated even if we were to acquire his complete civil rights overnight. Most of these people will be looking for a handout for the rest of their lives."

THE RADICAL leader adds:

"The individual Negro who fits this description is bitter and ready to fight somebody. If he wants to fight, he might as well join an organization that will guide him in the right direction."

For the African Nationalist, the "right direction" is back to Africa.

Most Negro leaders do not share the idea that Negroes will support organizations that preach a "back to Africa" movement.

But some NAACP officials acknowledged that the nationalists are a thorn in the side for conservative leaders.

NAACP membership is around 4,000 in Harlem, a community of more than a half million Negroes. Most of the members merely pay dues and carry membership cards, but do not attend meetings.

Dissatisfaction with the "Big Four" civil rights organizations is obvious in Harlem.

Who leads the community and pulls the strings?

Who could channel the "new Negro militancy" into a concerted action?

CONGRESSMAN Adam Clayton Powell, D-N.Y., is the spiritual and political king of a large element of the "black burgeois."

Powell exercises control from the pulpit of Abyssinian Baptist Church, the Harlem Democratic Club and a variety of civic organizations of which he is sponsor.

The Harlem Democrat attacks the presence of white men in positions of authority in the "Big Four" civil rights organizations

noise and get the publicity while the NAACP furnishes the manpower and pays the bills. A good many things have not been made known to our membership. They have come to believe that we are standing on the sidelines working up legal cases while everybody else is participating in nonviolent direct action. We don't like to have people talking about us as if we were old and sitting in the corner knitting."

WHITNEY YOUNG JR., Urban League director, said: "I do not see why I should have to go to jail to prove my leadership."

His organization, though conservative in its approach, seeks civil rights progress through biracial consultation and cooperation.

James Farmer, CORE's national director, said his organization is the "nonviolent Marines of the civil rights struggle."

"It's going to be a long hot summer," Farmer said. "Spontaneous demonstrations are going to be a problem. Our job is to channelize them constructively."

To a great extent, the frictions among these major groups offer no real threat to Negro solidarity on fundamental aims.

Young said: "We are sympathetic to the methods of the other . . . organizations. There are temporary misunderstandings and overlapping, but that's to be expected."

Next in the Atlanta Journal: World Prospective.

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A militancy similar to that in Cambridge moved north to Brooklyn where Negro ministers gathered their congregations from the ghettos of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, described as a "wasteland in the heart of New York."

The militant Negro ministers vowed to lead their entire congregations to jail, if necessary, in pressing their demand for more jobs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans on publicly financed construction projects.

IN SAVANNAH, where National Guardsmen were summoned to quell racial demonstrations, Dr. William Payne, president of Savannah State College for Negroes, refused to make public statements on the situation. The city's Negro community branded him an "Uncle Tom." (Dr. Payne died July 26 after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage.)

In Charlotte, where the city government has made strides on the civil rights front, a leading Negro physician, Dr. Emery L. Rann, became an "Uncle Tom" for suggesting the end of racial segregation has left him an almost hopeless cripple, a cripple that cannot be cured or rehabilitated even if we were to acquire his complete civil rights overnight. Most of these people will be looking for a handout for the rest of their lives."

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The Harlem Democrat attacks the presence of white men in positions of authority in the "Big Four" civil rights organizations and recently has been vocal in his support of Malcolm X, Harlem's Black Muslim leader.

Malcolm X attracts thousands with tirades against the white man. But Negroes more often than not leave his rallies without having found solutions to their problems.

A young Negro leaving a Muslim rally commented:

"I dig this cat. But I am not about to become a Black Muslim. I've never been to Africa and don't want to go. I don't care for his religion. What I need is a job so I can make some bread (money)."

His problem is shared by many. About 13 per cent of Harlem's labor force is unemployed. This represents more than twice the percentage for the City of New York at large.

Asked if he had sought employment through the Urban League and other organizations, the young man replied:

"I don't even know where their offices are."

AT LEAST 50 others on Harlem street corners, in pool rooms, taverns and restaurants did not know where the NAACP, CORE or Urban League offices are. Many volunteered, "I don't know and I don't care."

Told of this condition, Paul Zuber, a Harlem lawyer who recently retired from active civil rights work, said, "The only solution to this crucial problem is for all four civil rights organizations to unite and present a solid front."

He readily admitted this is an unpopular view, but said, "The real problem is the refusal of these organizations to actively recruit in the Negro community. The partially suppressed feuds between the organizations tend to make them unpopular and conceal their commendable work for civil rights."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, said recently, "The other organizations furnish the

Youth Confesses 33 Arson Cases

CHICAGO, Aug. 6 (AP) — Police said Monday that a 16-year-old has admitted setting 33 fires in the Chicago area, including one which was responsible for the deaths of two men.

Police said the boy, Alan Norcutt, who lives with his stepparents, has been charged with 13 counts of arson.

The youth was apprehended Sunday night while allegedly in the process of setting a blaze in the basement of an abandoned building on the near North Side, police said. Three other youths arrested with Norcutt were released into custody of their parents.

8-7-63

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 10

Foreign Envoys Get Bitter Taste

By MAX HARRELSON
Associated Press Writer

Few events in the United States have commanded such wide attention abroad as the developing crisis over integration.

The impact of the violent and dramatic conflicts at Little Rock, Oxford, Birmingham, Cambridge, Savannah, Philadelphia and New York City, has been tremendous.

U.S. policy makers acknowledge they are concerned over possible repercussions in the nonwhite nations of Asia and Africa.

How much damage, they ask, have recent events done to the U.S. image as a champion of human rights? Have these events had any discernible effect on the relations between the United States and other countries?

U.S. officials disagree on the extent of the damage, but influential leaders such as Secretary of State Dean Rusk and U.N. Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson believe the United States definitely is being hurt abroad by the racial conflict.

THE SITUATION is complicated by several factors likely to make some countries more sensitive to U.S. events:

—The independence explosion which has brought to the world scene in the past decade a large contingent of new nations whose people had been under the white man's rule for generations. In many cases there were strong racial resentments.

The personal experience of many Asian and African visitors, especially diplomats, who came face to face with racial discrimination in the United States and were left with a bitter taste. Rusk reported scores of such incidents in the past two years.

—The preoccupation of the African and Asian countries with the apartheid (racial segregation) policies of South Africa. This not only makes them more conscious of the developments in the United States, but renders it difficult for the United States to form its own independent policies on South Africa and related world problems.

—Communist efforts to exploit the U.S. racial problem with the aim of discrediting the United States in the eyes of Asians and Africans.

RUSK told a congressional committee recently that the Communists regard racial discrimination "as one of their most valuable assets." He warned that unless Congress acts to remove discriminatory practices "hostile propaganda might be expected to hurt us more than it has hurt us until now."

Stevenson says he finds U.N. diplomats generally tolerant and understanding, but even they have been "shocked by what they have seen and heard in recent months."

Even more serious, he believes, is the "false impression" created abroad about the attitude of the bulk of the American people and the official policy of the government. This must be corrected as promptly as possible, he says.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, American Negro who is an undersecretary of the United Nations, says "repression" of the Negro has hurt the United States "because the basic image of the United States is that of a democratic nation leading the cause of world freedom."

exploiting U.S. racial tensions: (1) Racism is inevitable under American capitalism; (2) inaction by the government is tantamount to the support of the "racists"; (3) racial incidents have exposed the "hypocrisy" of U.S. claims to world leadership, and (4) the attitude toward Negroes in the United States is indicative of the attitude toward colored peoples everywhere.

In the United Nations a few weeks ago, Soviet delegate Platon D. Morozov told a committee the "unbridled racism" in the United States has proved there is "no moral basis" to claims that the United States is the defender of human rights in the world. This theme has been stressed in the Soviet press.

There is no evidence so far that the Soviet campaign has driven a wedge between the United States and other friendly countries or that any are ready to follow Soviet suggestions that the United Nations should get out of the United States because of racial discrimination.

THIS IDEA was brought up by the Russians two years ago after African delegations received a scurrilous, unsigned letter threatening their safety. Some Africans were angered by the letter, but Stevenson soothed them by denouncing the senders and stating that the FBI was making a thorough inquiry.

Discrimination in housing and restaurants, however, continues to cause ill-feeling both in Washington and New York where large numbers of nonwhite diplomats are concentrated. One African diplomat, Ambassador Gershon B. O. Collier of Sierra Leone, put it this way:

"Your American Negroes understand this kind of prejudice and are used to it. We are not."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: What It's Like to Be a Negro in America Today.

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DURING THE SUMMIT meeting of African leaders in Addis Ababa, the U.S. racial crisis was widely discussed. Milton Obote, prime minister of Uganda, said: "The key to the successful projection of the United States image in Africa lies more in a solution of the Negro problem than in foreign aid."

The Ethiopian Herald was more critical. It referred to the U.S. government's "half-hearted willingness" to act against discrimination and said:

"The United States is campaigning on a free world slogan and is condemning the racist government of South Africa while practicing its own version of apartheid. What happened in Birmingham . . . showed the United States in its true light."

No African leader has sought publicly to put the United States in the category with South Africa, which has been haled before the United Nations repeatedly because of its official policy of racial segregation.

The London Daily Telegraph pointed out the distinction. In the United States, it said, "the law is on the black man's side," while "the inferiority of the black man was written into the Constitution of the South African Union."

RUSK says the Communists have used four main themes in

THE DEEPENING CRISIS . . . NO. 11

Where Did Racial Hate Begin?

8-8-64

By JUNIUS GRIFFIN
Associated Press Writer

"We are not something from Porgy and Bess . . . we want to share equally with our white brothers—yes, brothers."

These are the words of Herbert Fielding, businessman and a leader of the Negro community of Charleston, S.C.

An official in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Fielding prides himself on being a moderate. But he sums up the temptation to violence, to express old angers that many American Negroes feel in this summer of crisis.

"The Negro is mad," he says, "not angry, but mad and filled with a hate he has nourished for almost a lifetime."

THE FEELING is echoed in the North as a Negro youth suddenly snatches a white woman's handbag and flings it into the street.

"I did it because I hate white people," he explains.

You hear the word "hate" again and again as Negroes, packed into the ghettos of Harlem and Washington try to articulate their feelings. In Savannah and Charleston you hear it once more.

In Columbia, S.C., a Negro talks of his "intense dislike" of the white man.

In Charlotte, N.C., a Negro says simply: "We dislike the white man, but he's doing better."

North and South, animosity is a palpable thing. In the South because the Negro feels the weight of "Jim Crow" laws, written and unwritten; in the North because he faces discrimination when he wants to get a job or live in certain neighborhoods.

WHERE DID IT all begin . . . and where will it end?

Hosea Williams, 37, militant head of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters in Savannah, said:

"We Negroes weren't born hating the white man. We have cultivated this hatred and nourished it for years hoping that one day he would make us ashamed of ourselves. But he hasn't . . . he has given us pride . . . pride to protest and if necessary to tell him to go to hell if he doesn't allow us full and equal opportunities."

Williams said that he once worked for the NAACP. .

"But, I became too hot for them, or rather too radical. I don't believe in tomorrow. I want equal rights for my people now. If necessary, I intend to die in Georgia fighting for what I believe is right and to leave my children an honorable legacy," he said.

In Charleston, NAACP official Fielding delights in talking about the historical beauty of the city and its traditions.

"The white man's great failing here is that he doesn't know that his Negro neighbors are just as prideful, stubborn, and sensitive about this great city as they are."

same clubs, live in the same neighborhoods, or even speak to each other.

E. Cedric Hart, publisher and editor of South Carolina's only Negro newspaper, said this intra-racial color problem hinders the solving of the larger racial conflict.

"My attitudes are those of a militant person," Hart said, "but I refuse to use my newspaper as a militant mouthpiece for the NAACP and disgruntled persons in the Negro community until they unite for a common good and stop bickering among themselves."

Charlotte, N.C., has eased racial barriers in hotels, restaurants, schools and recreational facilities, but still is plagued with racial problems in hospitals and in job opportunities.

Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, a Charlotte dentist and ordained Presbyterian minister, says:

"I served in World War II and the Korean war, and I have no intention of stopping my people's fight for equal rights. We want those rights now, not gradually . . . but now."

Dr. Emory L. Rann, a Charlotte physician and leading Negro moderate, has spoken against racial demonstrations.

"Our demonstrations have simply outgrown their usefulness," Dr. Rann said. "It is now time we started negotiating with the City Council. I don't see what good we can now derive from an ugly incident which could occur during a demonstration."

Dr. Rann stands almost alone in Charlotte's Negro community.

In addition to the division between militant and moderates in the Negro movement for racial integration there also is a split between what Negroes call "ceremonial leaders" and others who are close to the pulse of America's Negro masses.

CEREMONIAL LEADERS are described by the Negroes as those who stay away from the underprivileged within their own race and who have lost contact with the Negro people as a whole.

S. Summer Stone Jr., editor of Washington's Afro American, declares:

"We need leaders who will continue to meet this problem head on—courageous and valiant fighters for racial equality in America."

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: A Southerner's Viewpoint.

han, said:

"We Negroes weren't born hating the white man. We have cultivated this hatred and nourished it for years hoping that one day he would make us ashamed of ourselves. But he hasn't . . . he has given us pride . . . pride to protest and if necessary to tell him to go to hell if he doesn't allow us full and equal opportunities."

Williams said that he once worked for the NAACP.

"But, I became too hot for them, or rather too radical. I don't believe in tomorrow. I want equal rights for my people now. If necessary, I intend to die in Georgia fighting for what I believe is right and to leave my children an honorable legacy," he said.

In Charleston, NAACP official Fielding delights in talking about the historical beauty of the city and its traditions.

"The white man's great failing here is that he doesn't know that his Negro neighbors are just as prideful, stubborn, and sensitive about this great city as they are."

SPEAKING OF the deeping racial crisis, Fielding said:

"We are at the bottom, the end of the rope. The only way the Negro can go is up. And if we must fight to get there, both races will wear the battle scars for generations to come.

"From where I view the racial situation, I see us emerging with a victory. And I see the white man going down in defeat. With just a little sincere effort on the white man's part we can both leave the battle scene in victory, knowing that we have solved a century-old problem through mutual effort."

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, NAACP state field secretary, foresees a long and bitter fight ahead for Negroes in Charleston and other parts of South Carolina.

"If the white man had any sincere desire about ending this problem, he would take down the barriers of segregation and allow responsible Negro leaders to concentrate on preparing the poor and impoverished Negro for the role he is to play in our new society," Newman said.

"We no longer ask the Negro masses not to hate," Newman added, "we tell him that, if he must hate, he should try to show a little mercy. This is a harsh but realistic view."

IN COLUMBIA, Dr. Howard E. Wright, president of Allen University, an all-Negro school, said "the task of helping our students to face the realities of our times is just as important as sending them out into the world with an academic education.

"The racial tempo here is such that any incident in a downtown restaurant or store can cause our students to drop their books and take to the streets.

"It's too bad that I can't join them. I can't tell them that everything will work itself out. This would be a lie."

Negroes in Columbia and Charleston live in a caste system within their own race.

Negroes who have light complexions are disdainful of their darker brothers, so much so that often they do not worship in the same churches, frequent the

Should There Be 'Compensation' for Negroes?

Should the American Negro, for a limited period, receive more than equal treatment in jobs, housing and the like to make up for his long years of deprivation? This question is at the heart of the so-called doctrine of compensation, which has emerged from the civil-rights campaign; the articles below present two responses to it. Whitney M. Young Jr. is executive director of the National Urban League. Kyle Haselden is managing editor of The Christian Century and author of "The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective."

'DOMESTIC MARSHALL PLAN'

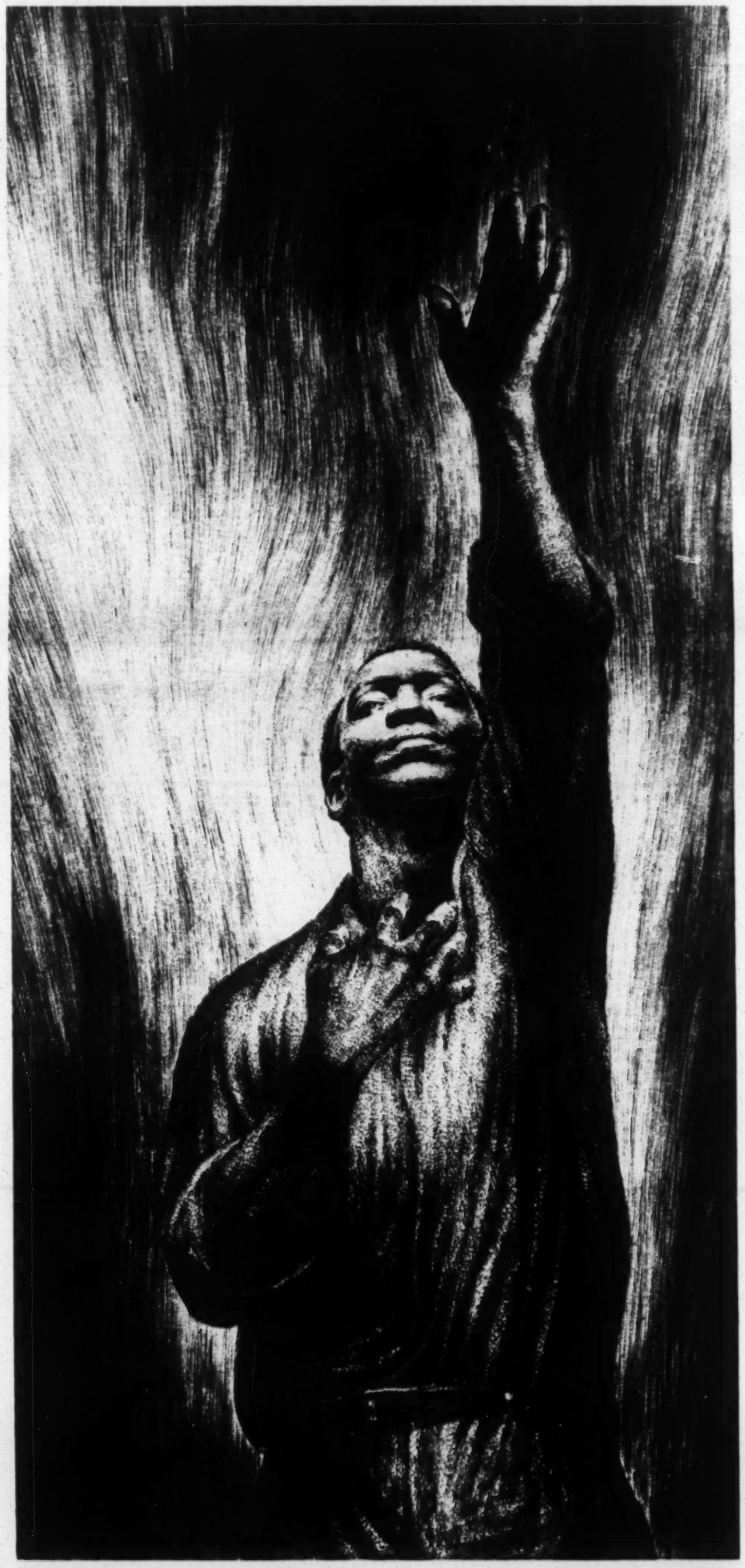
By WHITNEY M. YOUNG Jr.

IN 1948, by instituting the Marshall Plan to aid the war-torn countries of Europe, the United States took a step unparalleled in history. Recognizing the special need of the nations shattered by World War II, the people of this country committed some $17 billion in money, machines and technical aid to help our neighbors overseas to take their place again in the community of free nations.

This rightful action was in keeping with the long tradition of America's moral, political and economic credo. We have long given special, emergency aid to the oppressed, the sick, the handicapped and deprived. In recent years, we have seen this concept put into action through our aid—in employment, education and welfare—to Hungarian and Cuban refugees. We see it annually carried out in the form of emergency help to "depressed" and "disaster" areas, suffering from joblessness or devastation by hurricanes, drought and other misfortunes. The "G. I. Bill of Rights" after World War II was, in a sense, a recognition of the special need of our discharged veterans for education, housing, employment and other benefits.

Recently, the National Urban League has attracted nationwide attention with its proposal for a temporary "more-than-equal" program of aid for Negro citizens. In the current drive for civil rights, with its demonstrations, marches and sit-ins, this proposal has confused many white Americans. They ask: Is the Negro not to be satisfied by equality alone? Or, is he seeking, not equality, but preference? In the face of these questions, our history should teach us that what the Urban League proposes is not only directly in the American tradition, but has the arguments of racial justice, economic practicality and morality—secular as well as religious—behind it.

ON an economic level, the hard but simple fact—borne out by comparative statistics on unemployment, income, mortality rates, substandard housing and education—is that the past of the Negro exists in the present. Citizens everywhere must realize that the effects of over 300 years of oppression cannot be obliterated by doing business as usual. They must know, too, that in today's complex, technological society, a strong back and a will to succeed are no longer sufficient to break the bonds of deprivation, as was the case with minority groups in the past. For, in addition to the ordinary forces affecting one's way of life, the Negro's struggle into America's mainstream has been thwarted by the barriers of dis- (*Continued on Page* 129)



Drawing by Charles White.

'PARITY, NOT PREFERENCE'

By KYLE HASELDEN

AN increasing number of Negro and white Americans agree that securing complete freedom and total equality for the Negro is this nation's No. 1 domestic issue and that justice for the deprived one-tenth of the nation's population is the end toward which the whole society should move speedily. Unanimous in this agreement, they nevertheless disagree as to the permissible and effective means to that end.

Varied in their temperaments, their religious convictions, their sense of what is prudent and practical, these Americans prefer one or another of the various strategies which seek racial justice. The options range from the doctrine of violent rebellion against white domination at one extreme to a patient yet active appeal to the nation's creeds, congresses and courts at the other. Between these extremes fall various nonviolent strategies and schemes, each with its own supporters.

Unfortunately there are, in the ranks of men and women genuinely committed to racial justice, some who insist that unanimity of purpose requires uniformity of plan. They insist that whites and Negroes who share their objective also adopt their methods—however unruly, eccentric and impractical those methods—or accept vilification for Uncle Tomism. This absolutist, autocratic spirit believes that justice for the Negro is the ultimate criterion of all human action and that this end validates any means, whatever practicality or religious principle may dictate to the contrary.

This is a dangerous mood. It divides those who seek justice for Negroes; it alienates influential moderates unnecessarily; and, most serious, this authoritarian spirit lures the Negro into activities which corrupt his purpose and defeat his ultimate hope.

IN the struggle for racial justice a technique is not valid simply because it annoys the white man or because it promises some temporary advantage to the Negro. It is valid only if it honors the moral ground on which the Negro makes his claim for justice, respects the right of all men to the same justice, preserves in the human relationship values which are equivalents of justice, and promotes rather than prevents the Negro's progress.

The idea of compensation, which has been suggested as a device to equalize competition between whites and Negroes, fails these crucial tests. By compensation—in the passive rather than the active sense—is meant compensation *for* the Negro rather than *by* the Negro. It has been proposed that the Negro cannot succeed in his search for freedom and equality unless there is an arbi- (*Continued on Page* 128)

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'Compensation'—No

(Continued from Page 43)

trary—in fact, artificial—removal of the academic, cultural and professional lag forced upon him by over two centuries of slavery and by another of exploitation. It is argued further that the Negroes years of involuntary, payless servitude established a collectible claim against the descendants of those who enslaved and exploited him.

How can this debt be paid? The proposal is that the Negro be given preference in employment wherever a vacancy occurs, a premium in salary, and a quota system guaranteeing that one-tenth of all people hired by firms, professional enterprises and industries be Negroes. Even though this proposal is obviously unfeasible, what shall we say of it as a theory?

COMPENSATION must be rejected as an equalizer of competition between Negroes and whites for several reasons, all of which rest on the grounds to which the Negro appeals in his demand for freedom and equality.

First, compensation for Negroes is a subtle but pernicious form of racism. It requires that men be dealt with by society on the basis of race and color rather than on the basis of their humanity. It would therefore as a public policy legalize, deepen and perpetuate the abominable racial cleavage which has ostracized and crippled the American Negro. Racism, whoever may be its temporary beneficiary, should be eliminated from the social order, not confirmed by it.

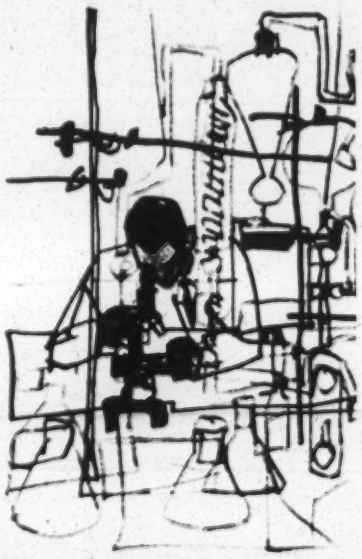
Second, preferential economic status for Negroes would penalize the living in a futile attempt to collect a debt owed by the dead. The 20th-century white man is no more to blame for the fact that his ancestors bought and held slaves than are 20th-century Negroes for the fact that some of their ancestors captured and sold slaves. This is the ironic tragedy of exploitation. It leaves with the descendants of the exploiters a guilt they cannot cancel and with the descendants of the exploited a debt they cannot collect.

Third, a scheme which gives Negroes preference in employment and a premium in salary would bestow on Negroes the debilitating social status which has for centuries cursed the initiative and enterprise of the white man in the South. Preferred status for the Negro, however much society may owe him a debt, will inevitably destroy in him the initiative and enterprise required of a minority people in a highly competitive society. Slavery corrupts ambition and self-reliance; so, too, does patronizing social status.

Fourth, compensation for Negroes would be unfair to other minorities handicapped by their history or by rapid social and industrial change: Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, migrants of all races, Indians, coal miners and others. Negroes are entirely right in demanding that they be hired, paid and promoted on their merit and in boycotting those enterprises which discriminate on a racial basis. But they are not right in demanding an artificial scheme which is unworkable, racist, destructive of initiative and unfair to other struggling Americans.

Our goal should be parity, not preferment, and there are three things we must do, none of them pleasant, none easy, if we are to attain it.

First, there must be a total, across-the-board desegregation of American society. Wherever the white man will



not voluntarily surrender the psychic and material advantages of racial discrimination, the Negro must use the law, his power as a consumer, his increasing political leverage, and coercive nonviolent protests to assail and destroy the color structures of our society.

Equality of opportunity is an elemental civil right specifically declared in the sacred documents of the United States. Withholding that right from any people because of their race profanes every tenet in the political and religious creeds of the American people. Denying that right encumbers and humiliates 20,000,000 American citizens. The first business of the nation is the total elimination of racial discrimination and its component, racial segregation.

Such liberation, however, would leave the Negro still handicapped by centuries of poor schooling and by his long exclusion from most trades and professions. A desegregated society would open to the Negro opportunities which are rightfully his and should be granted to him but for which centuries of neglect and abuse leave many of his race inadequately prepared. Even though all racial bars were removed, most Negroes could not, in a free and impartial society, compete on equal terms with most white people for jobs and preferments.

But this, as we have noted, is a handicap which Negroes share with another one-tenth of the population, whose competitive strength has also been sapped by an unfortunate history or by the entrapping eddies of industrial development.

OUR second task, therefore, is to undertake a nationwide crash program for the education, training and employment of the underprivileged, underdeveloped one-fifth of the nation, a domestic Point Four which would give to the employable a fair chance and to the unemployable qualifying education and training. Such a program would be based not on race but on need. Negroes would of course be the chief beneficiaries of an educational and economic crash program, because of the predominant number of deprived Negroes. But a domestic Point Four program aimed at the needs of *all* the nation's backward peoples would close rather than widen the nation's racial cleavage.

Finally, irritating as it may be, the fact might as well be faced that no immigrant or minority group has ever made its way into the mainstream of American life without studying and working harder and longer than the general population. This is the third task as it now confronts the Negro.

DURING their long pilgrimage through slavery and semi-slavery, most Negroes did not have an incentive for the kind of active self-compensation by which other minorities have climbed out of humiliating servitude into respected equality with other ethnic groups. Slavery and peonage do not generally encourage ambition. Even now the Negro must divert himself—his native abilities and his acquired skills, his initiative and enterprise, his devotion and endurance, his ablest leadership—from the pursuits followed by free men to the claiming of those dignities and opportunities which are the birthright of every American citizen. Yet the hard historical fact is that self-compensation is essential if he is to escape that social substratum into which a cruel history and an arrogant, avaricious white man have coerced him.

Along with several million Caucasian Americans, most Negroes need a lift from their Government if they are to overcome the handicaps of a tragic history. More than that, however, Negroes need to throw off the white man's domination if they are to discover at last what they can do for themselves unencumbered in an open society.

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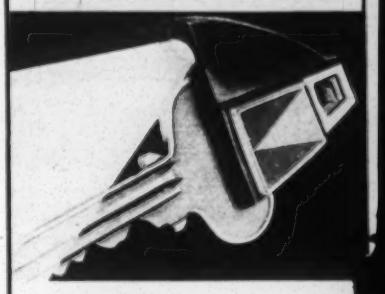

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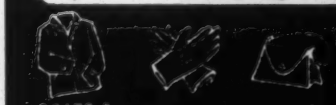

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'Compensation'—Yes

(Continued from Page 43)

crimination and denial based on the color of his skin.

The facts speak for themselves. Today, the average Negro family earns $3,233, as compared with $5,835 for the white family—a difference of 45 per cent. This gap has widened by two percentage points in the last decade alone. It has widened because the Negro started receiving too little, too late. More than 75 per cent of Negro workers are found in the three lowest occupational categories—service workers, semi-skilled workers, and unskilled and farm labor — the categories most affected by the geometric growth of automation. These same categories include less than 39 per cent of white workers.

By the same token, one out of every six Negro dwellings is substandard, as compared with one in 32 white dwellings. One in every four Negro women with pre-school children is working away from home. Of the school dropouts, 21 per cent are Negro; only 7 per cent of high school graduates are Negroes. Unemployment rates for Negroes are from two and one-half to three times higher than those for white workers.

To overcome these conditions the National Urban League declares that the nation must undertake an immediate, dramatic and tangible "crash program"—a domestic Marshall Plan—to close this intolerable economic, social and educational gap, which separates the vast majority of Negro citizens from other Americans. Unless this is done, the results of the current heroic efforts in the civil-rights movement will be only an illusion, and the struggle will continue, with perhaps tragic consequences.

In its plea for such a domestic Marshall Plan, the Urban League is asking for a special effort, not for special privileges. This effort has been described as "preferential treatment," "indemnification," "special consideration," "compensatory activity." These are "scare" phrases that obscure the meaning of the proposal and go against the grain of our native sense of fair play.

We prefer that our recommendations be seen as necessary and just corrective measures that must be taken if equal opportunity is to have meaning. They are necessary, because only by such means can the majority of Negro citizens be prepared to assume the increased responsibilities that they will face in a more integrated society. They are just, because such an effort alone can repair the devastation wrought by generations of injustice, neglect, discrimination and indifference, based on race.

To put it another way, the scales of equal opportunity are now heavily weighted against the Negro and cannot be corrected in today's technological society simply by applying equal weights. For more than 300 years the white American has received special consideration, or "preferential treatment," if you will, over the Negro. What we ask now is that for a brief period there be a deliberate and massive effort to include the Negro citizen in the mainstream of American life. Furthermore, we are not asking for equal time; a major effort, honestly applied, need last only some 10 years. This crash program must be a cooperative effort by all agencies, institutions and individuals, public and private.

The elements of the crash program, or domestic Marshall Plan, would include:

Education: For the deprived child—Negro as well as white—provision for first-class schools, with the most modern facilities and the best and most experienced teachers. These are necessary to help him realize his potential and prepare him to take advantage of greater educational opportunity. Necessary also is intensified remedial instruction in the lower grades for culturally deprived and retarded pupils. Schools and colleges must find new ways to seek out Negro youths with undeveloped talents. Similarly adult education programs must be expanded and geared to the needs of citizens lacking the basic literary and technical skills.

Employment: A planned effort to place *qualified* Negroes in all categories of employment, at all levels of responsibility. This would mean that employers would consciously seek to hire qualified Negro citizens and would intensify apprenticeship and training programs to prepare new Negro employes and upgrade those already employed. Labor unions, too, must make a conscientious effort to include Negroes in their membership and training programs.

Further, where Negroes have not been employed in the

past at all levels, it is essential that there be conscious preferment to help them catch up. This does not mean the establishment of a quota system—an idea shunned by responsible Negro organizations and leaders. But, because we are faced with the hypocrisy of "tokenism," where the presence of two or three Negro employes is passed off as integration, we are forced, during the transitional stages, to discuss numbers and categories. We demand, in all fairness, that the Negro not be expected to bear the brunt of unemployment.

Housing: Racial ghettos eliminated by providing genuine housing opportunities on the basis of need and financial ability. Programs of redevelopment and relocation, planned to provide both low-income housing and a racial diversity, are needed throughout our communities. This will require the active participation of real estate brokers as well as homeowners.

Health and Welfare: Public and private agencies seeking to provide the best personnel and facilities in low-income neighborhoods, and increased counseling services to troubled families. Here, particularly, the churches and schools must combine efforts to help Negro families develop a deeper sense of parental and community responsibility.

Finally, qualified Negro citizens should be sought and named to public and private boards and commissions, particularly those which shape employment, housing, education, and health and welfare policies. In achieving this objective, we would develop strong, responsible leadership within the Negro community. Also, we would prompt private foundations, business and government to reassess the extent and aims of their financial contributions to established Negro leadership and organizations.

The program outlined here has a simple, practical aim: to provide the Negro citizen with the leadership, education, jobs and motivation that will permit him to help himself. It is not a plea to exempt him from the independence and initiative demanded by our free, competitive society. It makes practical economic sense

(Continued on Page 131)

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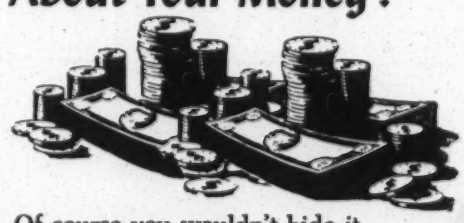

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(Continued from Page 129)

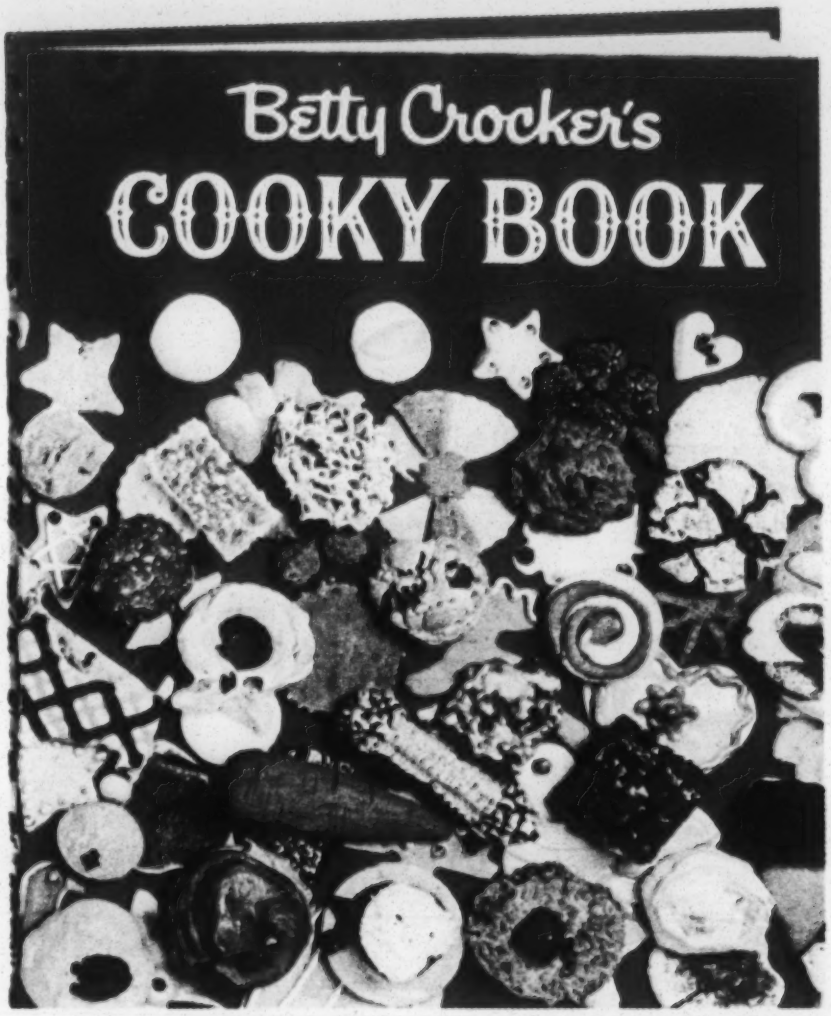
as a measure to reduce unemployment and welfare costs and to increase our productivity and national income by including Negro citizens in the benefits of our rich society. President Kennedy's economic advisers estimate that our gross national product could be raised 2.5 per cent, were the Negro worker's earnings commensurate with the nation's average.

This program makes historical sense as a rehabilitation of the damage inflicted upon the Negro by generations of injustice and neglect. He, too, has given his blood, sweat and tears to the building of our country; yet, where the labor and initiative of other minority groups have been rewarded by assimilation within the society, the black American has been isolated and rejected.

The domestic Marshall Plan has profound moral and reli-

gious justification. Our country is in dire jeopardy as long as it has within its body politic a socially and economically deprived group of citizens, whether they be actually enslaved or denied the full benefits of equality and freedom by an insidious economic and psychological slavery. In this sense, the crash programs that we propose are not an effort to impose the guilt and sins of a past generation on our present white community. This is an appeal for all Americans, working together, to rid present-day America of its sickening disease and its moral shame.

THE Negro is in revolt today, not to change the fabric of our society or to seek a special place in it, but to enter into partnership in that society. It is a revolt with which every American should sympathize. Already a few educational and business institutions are working with intensified effort, special consideration, if you will, in solving this problem. We have the material and spiritual resources as a country to meet the challenge and accomplish the urgent task ahead. All we need is the will to act and the spirit of decency and sacrifice which abounds in our land.



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BY THOMAS B. MORGAN

THIS IS A STORY of 13 months in the sixties—July, 1962-August, 1963—13 months of struggle over the substance of American democracy. In this period, a concerted effort was launched which, if successful, could destroy the power and authority of the Government of the United States. The immediate goal is a constitutional convention to propose three amendments to the Federal Constitution that would destroy democracy here as we know it. These are the critical revisions:

Amendment I: State legislatures would win the power to amend the Constitution undeterred by the Congress.

Amendment II: State courts could get full and final jurisdiction over the apportionment of state legislative districts.

Amendment III: A court, composed of the 50 states' chief justices, would get the authority to overrule certain decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

How did these radical amendments come to be the spearheads of a dead-serious political movement? How would they affect our way of life? Will they succeed? The answers to these questions are urgent because, surprisingly, the legislatures of 17 states of the Union now endorse one, two, or all three of these amendments. Here, month by month, is the story:

JULY, 1962 The amendment movement began in Biloxi, Miss., at a routine conference of Southern state officials and legislators organized by the Council of State Governments. The Council is a highly respected joint agency sponsored by the 50 states.

When the conference met, the talk ranged over the Kennedys, desegregation and Cuba, but the chief topic was *Baker v. Carr*, the historic case decided by the U. S. Supreme Court four months earlier.

In a stunning leap beyond previous decisions, the Court held that apportionment of state legislative districts could be scrutinized by Federal courts. Clearly, many rural legislators, long dominant in state governments, would be reapportioned out of their seats. Even

continued

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Against odds, Southerners first asked Congress to curb the power of Federal courts

as the Southerners talked, courts in Florida, Oklahoma, Michigan, Wisconsin and Georgia pressed the *Baker v. Carr* point.

Politicians in many states rumbled that the Supreme Court had gone too far. In Biloxi, the conferees determined to *do* something about it. And, as it happened, the Florida delegation, with William Chappell, Jr., as its leader, came forward to help guide them.

Chappell is no red-neck. He lives in Ocala, a small town in the mossy, horse-breeding (Needles and Carry Back) country of central Florida. He is fortyish and handsome, a dashing lawyer with offices one flight up on Magnolia Street and a Cessna that he flies to Cape Canaveral and all points, according to clients' needs. He is a ranking Democratic member of his state's legislature; at the last session, he served as Speaker of the House. He considers himself a Goldwater man because "his philosophy comes closest to mine."

"The real issue," Chappell says, "is whether... the states have a function or whether they are political subdivisions of the Federal Government. . . . As a student of the Constitution, I was taught that it was a dual-sovereignty instrument in its inception, that the states were sole depositories of governmental powers and that from the states came the power of the Federal Government." Chappell insists that the Supreme Court has, by "judicial edict and judicial usurpation," unconstitutionally arrogated powers to the Federal Government.

What Chappell calls "usurpation," Justice Arthur J. Goldberg of the Supreme Court calls "judicial review," the authority of the Court to reappraise the constitutionality of laws. "Judicial review," Goldberg told LOOK, "has been a fundamental part of our constitutional construction and interpretation since 1803. The Court isn't immune to criticism—we are in a democracy. But it *is* the final arbiter of the Constitution, and its decisions must be obeyed unless they are changed by the orderly method prescribed by the Constitution."

To this last, Chappell says amen. Which is why, in July, 1962, in Biloxi, he took the lead in an effort to change the law of the land. Urged on by Chappell and the Floridians, the Biloxi conference produced resolutions asking Congress to prepare two constitutional amendments limiting the jurisdiction of Federal courts. Congress, of course, was not expected to pay much attention. The Southerners knew the odds against amending the Constitution. Since 1789, 5,392 amendments have been proposed in Congress; only 23 succeeded. Yet the conferees were undeterred. Some observers saw the proposals as a step toward winning Northern support in the civil-rights struggle. To Chappell, they were a means of grappling with "the real issue."

AUGUST, 1962 Fresh from Biloxi, Chappell appointed two Florida legislative committees, one to study apportionment, the other "dual sovereignty." He wanted more information before the next meeting of state leaders: the 15th annual National Legislative Conference to be held in Phoenix, Ariz., during September under the auspices of the Council of State Governments. Along with other Florida states' rightists, Chappell felt that "something should be visualized that would be brought to the attention of all the 50 states, at the same time, the same hour, to awaken the country."

SEPTEMBER, 1962 About 750 delegates from 46 states gathered for the Phoenix National Legislative Conference. They came from the industrial North as well as the South. They came from the religious prairies and the rightist mountain country. Among them were aggrieved men with power back home—united for "states' rights." They were against integration, the ban on school prayers, reapportionment or the welfare state—but most of all, against the power exercised by the Supreme Court.

The conference chairman was W. Stuart Helm, Republican Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Helm is in his fifties, a small-town, self-made man who works between legislative

continued

A new strategy was developed to "awaken" the American people and alter the Constitution

sessions as an executive of the Sun Oil Co. He describes his politics as "conservative." Under his gavel, delegate after delegate took the floor to denounce *Baker v. Carr*. Many had copies of the Biloxi resolutions. Others had come with their own ideas about amending the Constitution. One was Rep. Warren Wood, four times Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives and a GOP veteran of 28 years in state politics. His idea was to set up, constitutionally, a Court of the Union composed of chief justices from the 50 states and empowered, upon demand of the legislatures of at least five states, to review decisions of the Supreme Court in cases relating to the rights reserved to the states or to the people.

Then Chappell of Florida stood up and offered his vision of something "to awaken the country." Until he spoke, the conference had seemed inclined to follow the usual procedure—assign a committee to study the situation and report at the next annual meeting in Honolulu, August, 1963. Now, it decided to act.

The conference's Federal-State Relations Committee would draft amendments and plan strategy for calling a constitutional convention. Results would be submitted for action by the biennial General Assembly of the States. The Assembly, sponsored by the Council of State Governments, was scheduled for December in Chicago. Its endorsement might lead directly to official action by the 50 states.

Helm picked the Federal-State Relations Committee. He selected Lloyd Lowrey of California as chairman, plus Chappell, Wood and five other sympathetic legislators. Recently, Helm told LOOK, "I wanted to make sure the committee wasn't stacked solidly against [the Supreme Court]." So, in addition, he named Frank King, minority leader of the Ohio State Senate. Short, fiery and redheaded, King is a former bricklayer who makes part of his living as a vocational teacher in Toledo. He was surprised by the appointment. In his view, "*Baker v. Carr* is our first chance for democracy in the states."

OCTOBER, 1962 The constitutional-convention idea approved in Phoenix was presented to the Southern Governors' Conference in Hollywood, Fla. The governors knew that the nation had not had a constitutional convention since 1787. Article V of the U. S. Constitution, which was written then, provides for such amending conventions, but this mechanism has

continued

LOOK 12-3-63 JOSEPH MIRACHI

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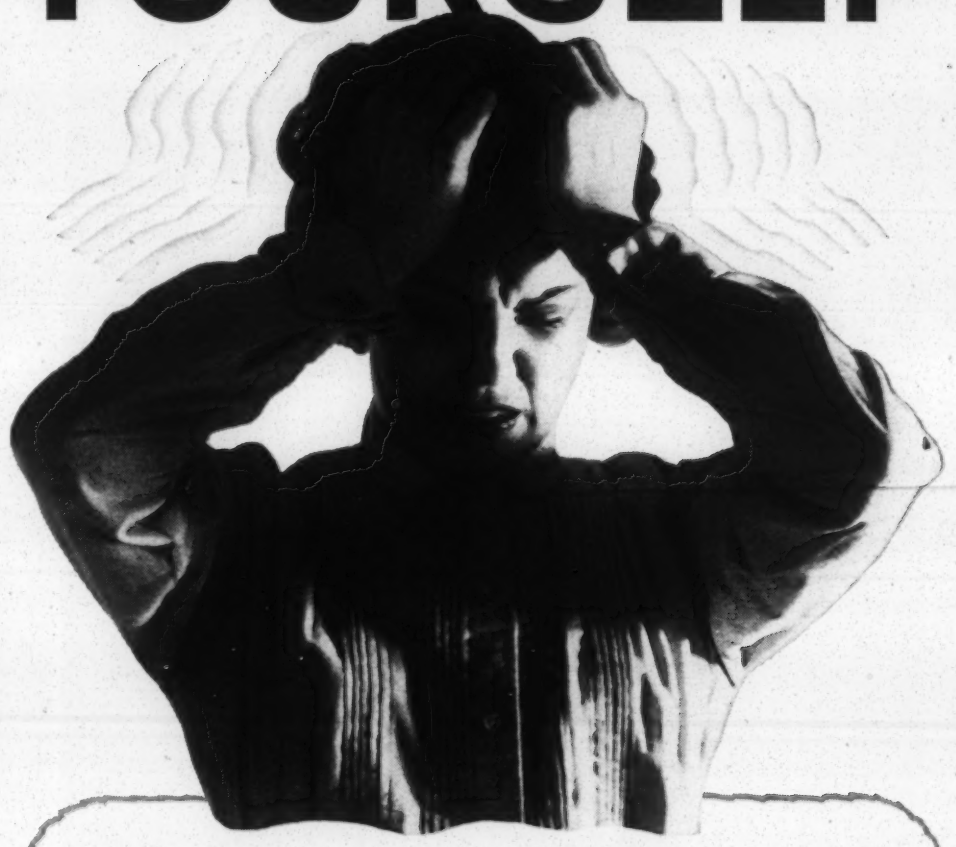

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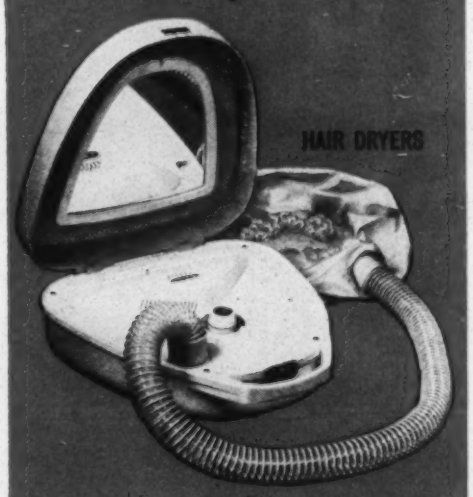

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America slept through the "day of awakening," but the amendments began to move

never been used. Thus, perhaps assuming the futility of the Phoenix idea, the Southern governors adopted a noncommittal resolution.

NOVEMBER, 1962 The Phoenix Federal-State Relations Committee gathered with the Council of State Governments staff and advisers at Council headquarters in Chicago. Among those present was a dismayed and angry Senator King. "I sat there," he told LOOK, "and listened to what they wanted to do to the Constitution, and I couldn't believe I was in America." Speaker Wood was there, too, for his Court of the Union. In a recent interview, he explained his point of view: "I've taken an oath 19 times to uphold the Constitution," he said, "but I think [centralizing] government means the enslavement of us all."

DECEMBER, 1962 The General Assembly of the States met in Chicago. On hand were 300 delegates, mostly top legislators from 47 states. After less than two hours of debate, they approved the package prepared by the Phoenix Committee and the staff of the Council of State Governments.

They endorsed three proposed amendments to the Constitution:

The first rewrites Article V to create a new amending mechanism —if two thirds of the states submit identical texts of a proposed amendment, Congress need not be consulted, and the amendment is forthwith offered to the states for ratification.

The second prohibits any Federal court from hearing state apportionment cases and provides that "in the apportionment of representation in its legislature," no state can be limited by the United States Constitution.

The third creates machinery for a Court of the Union.

The Assembly strongly supported proposals I and II. It upheld III by a margin of one vote. It also approved the Phoenix Committee's battle plan: All legislatures would "cause themselves" to be in session on Wednesday, January 16, 1963, "for the specific purpose of introducing joint resolutions," memorializing the Congress to call a constitutional convention. These would be adopted "by every state legislature *without change*," so that the proposed amendments would leave "no question as to the intent of the several states." It was Chappell's dream come true.

JANUARY, 1963 As a scheme "to awaken the country," the day for resolutions was a bust. The New York newspapers were on strike. Elsewhere, most papers buried this story or, like TV and the news magazines, ignored it.

Chappell, Wood and a few others got together a Volunteer Committee on Dual Sovereignty for promotional purposes, with Stuart Helm in Harrisburg, Pa., as chairman and a one-man publicity office in Tallahassee, Fla. The money, what there was, came from interested states and a few individual donors. "It wasn't much," recalls Chappell. Opponents contend that the committee was organized to "sneak" the proposals through the legislatures. But, as Robert Haase, Wisconsin's GOP Speaker of the Assembly and one of the members, said, "What we really want most is to attract attention."

The amendment effort would turn out to be a horse race, but without publicity, legislators could afford to take up the proposals at their own slow gait. Still, Oklahoma acted swiftly. Its resolutions were the first to be passed and filed with Congress. And in New Jersey, Amendments I and II swept through the legislature.

FEBRUARY, 1963 At the first turn, the movement was running nicely. Chappell and Rep. Mallory Horne of Tallahassee led a drive for all three amendments in the Florida legislature. Alabama endorsed the court plan, but took no action on I and II. In Washington, South Carolina's U.S. Sen. Strom

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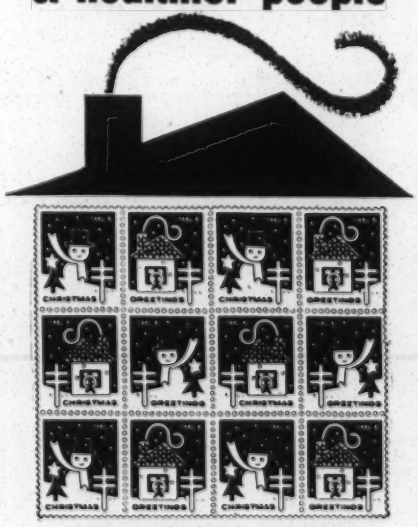

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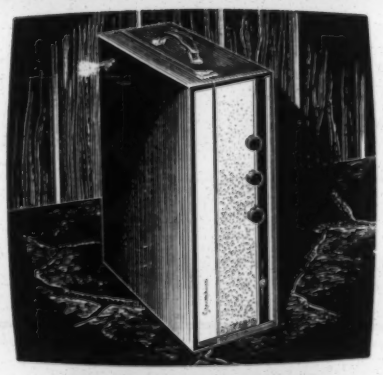

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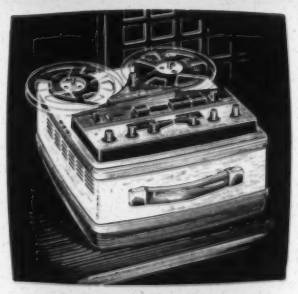

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Against the hard-driving amenders, a lone Texan fired a protest

Thurmond, Democrat, tossed I and III into the Senate hopper. "I was not going to introduce the one on reapportionment [II]," Thurmond says, "because I didn't want to acknowledge the Supreme Court."

MARCH, 1963 The movement put on a burst of speed. Idaho, Illinois and Montana filed resolutions with Congress on behalf of I or II or both. Wyoming filed for all three.

APRIL, 1963 "Frankly," says Alabama's Rep. George Grant, Democrat, a 25-year-man in Washington, "50 judges would be unwieldy, but [their] discussions would be interesting. . . ." He introduced I and III. The bills went to committee.

The movement was gaining, yet April was a cruel month. A Yale Law School professor, Charles Black, Jr., a Texan and a member of the New York State Bar, published the first closely reasoned attack on the amendments. Writing in the *Yale Law Journal*, he hit with humor (III), disdain (II) and anger (I). The Court of the Union idea, he said, "is so patently absurd that it will probably sink without trace." The reapportionment proposal "concerns a special subject" and does not affect "the whole shape of the Union." But, said Black, the suggested innovation in the amending procedure would change "the distribution of ultimate power" in America. It would be a change "of a higher order of importance than any since 1787." The rewrite of Article V would create an amending mechanism that Congress could not control. It would enable "three fourths of the state legislatures, without the consent of any other body," to "change the presidency to a committee of three, hobble the treaty power, make the Federal judiciary elective, repeal the Fourth Amendment, make Catholics ineligible for public office and move the national capital to Topeka. . . ." Three fourths of the legislatures, representing our least populous states, Black said, could give ultimate power to a minority. Assuming the present rural control of most legislatures (and an improbable coalition of the 38 least populous states), "if the proposed Article V were in force, the income tax could be abolished, by repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment, if about 15 percent of the American people were represented by legislators who desired that result."

Black's essay appeared as the newspaper strike ended in New York. It was not long before the New York *Times*'s Supreme Court corre-

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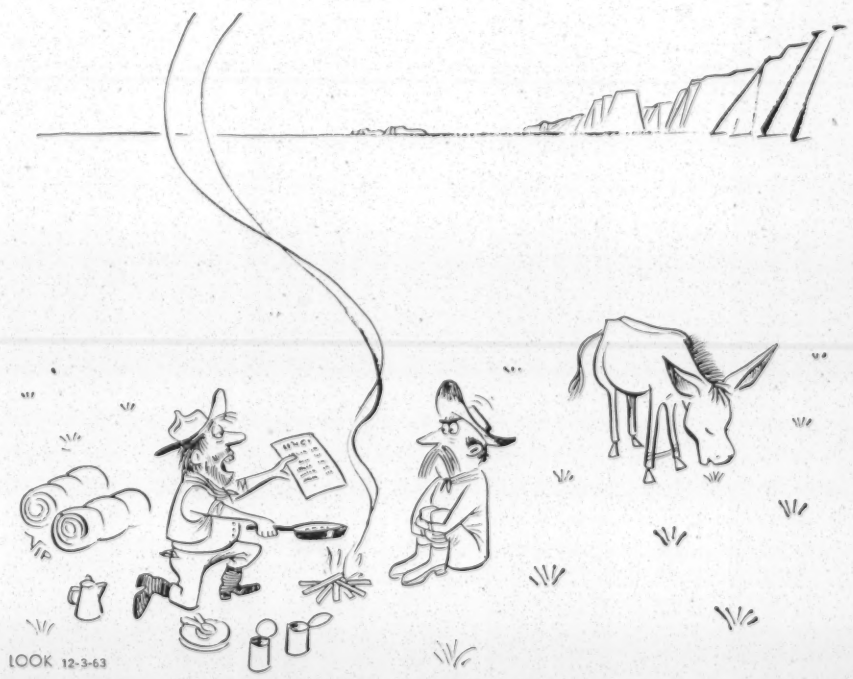

"Care to look at the menu?"

The movement faltered after Chief Justice Earl Warren called for a national debate

spondent, Anthony Lewis, showed the influence of Black's ideas in a story on the proposals, published April 14. In fact, later counter-attacks depended heavily upon Black's essay. Lewis's story meant trouble for the proposed amendments. In the megalopolis between Boston and Washington, and in California, both served by the *Times*, many people read about I, II, and III for the first time. What the *Times* did was to make the story fit to print.

"The constitutional lawyers, deans of law schools, and federals in general are waking from a long sleep," wrote Alistair Cooke in the Manchester *Guardian Weekly*. "All hell will [soon] break loose."

MAY, 1963 All hell failed to break loose. Chief Justice Earl Warren had to speak out, not on the merits of the proposals but on the absence of controversy about them. (He had already spoken on the subject late in April at Duke University, but his remarks had gone almost unreported.) On May 22, addressing the American Law Institute in Washington, Justice Warren said:

"There is a development which . . . could make profound changes in the . . . Constitution." He noted the widespread activity among the states on behalf of the proposals "accomplished with little or no debate and with practically no recognition by the Bar of America."

Warren said that he had been able to find only one article on the subject—by Professor Black in the *Yale Law Journal*. "If proposals of this magnitude had been made in the early days of the Republic," he declared, "the voices of lawyers . . . would have been heard from one end of our land to the other. . . . Surely the Constitution should be as precious to us now as it was then. If lawyers are not to be the watchmen for the Constitution, on whom are we to rely?"

Meanwhile, Sen. Frank King fought the "toughest battle of my political life" and received credit for blocking the amendments in Ohio. The Toledo *Blade*, Dayton *Journal-Herald*, Canton *Repository* and Cleveland *Plain Dealer* assailed the amenders. "If it had not been for the press," King told LOOK, "we would have been snowed under."

JUNE, 1963 In the aftermath of the Warren alarm, the amending drive flagged. In New Jersey, U.S. Sen. Clifford Case, Republican, intervened, and the state Senate rescinded its earlier approval of the proposals.

And in Pennsylvania, U.S. Sen. Joseph Clark, Democrat, wrote a letter to every member of the legislature asking them to oppose the amendments. Even with Stuart Helm, chairman of the Volunteer Committee on Dual Sovereignty, as Speaker of the House, only one came out of committee, and there was no floor action on that.

JULY, 1963 Hardly a week passed without a federalist assault on the states' righters. The New York City Bar issued a scathing paper charging that the proposals would "revolutionize our form of government and turn the clock back to the Articles of Confederation of 1777."

Republican Sen. Jacob K. Javits of New York read the Bar's report into the Congressional Record and was "joined in his remarks" by Republican Sen. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts. New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller announced he was opposed, too.

AUGUST, 1963 Almost all the news was bad for the proposed amendments. In Chicago, the American Bar Association voted negative on all three propositions. In Honolulu, the National Legislative Conference, meeting again, failed to endorse the proposals. After that, Brevard Crihfield, executive director of the Council of State Governments and a supporter of I and II, told LOOK: "Now, I don't see how there can be any strong push. I don't see how we can do any more."

Anyone writing to Sen. Barry Goldwater seeking his views on the

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"We died, we bled to get this off the ground. Now, I'm not going to do another thing."

movement received a form letter in which, sympathetically, he turned thumbs down on I and III. He favored II, he said, to "restore the situation under which the constitutional authorities, the states, which initially set up the system of representative government, determine the base of apportionment." (Later, Goldwater would say he opposed II as well.) Without Goldwater, most objective observers agreed, the proposed amendments might never win.

At the end of the month, this was the position: 17 states had voted to change the American Federal system.

Proposal I, on the amending process, cleared 12 legislatures: Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas and Wyoming.

Proposal II, on apportionment, passed 13 states: Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

Proposal III, on the Court of the Union, succeeded in five: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina and Wyoming.

A few legislatures are in session this fall, many more convene next year, and most will reassemble in 1965 after the elections. But in each, victory would require an effort that hardly seems possible now. Even the men involved seem to have lost their taste for this particular race. Recently, LOOK interviewed four of them.

Wisconsin's Robert Haase said, "No one expected any of these things to come to pass. We wanted to generate concern. . . . No, I don't think much more will come of this."

Illinois's Warren Wood, father of the Court of the Union idea, said. "We died, we bled to get this thing off the ground. Now, I'm not going to do another thing."

Pennsylvania's Stuart Helm said, "We wanted to awaken the country, that's all. There was no conspiracy, no effort to sneak anything, no element of surprise. . . . But, frankly, I was suprised. I never had any idea my picture would ever appear in *Time* magazine alongside Earl Warren's."

And Florida's William Chappell said, "I only want to play a part in alerting the people. . . . I'm not concerned with these specific amendments. I have absolutely one interest—how we handle and perpetuate what we have received from the Almighty."

So be it.

BUTCH

LOOK 12-3-63 LARRY REYNOLDS

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I SAW A CITY DIE

BIRMINGHAM:

BY CHARLES MORGAN, JR., AS TOLD TO THOMAS B. MORGAN

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Last September 15, Cynthia Wesley, 14, Denise McNair, 11, Carol Robertson, 14, and Addie Mae Collins, 14, died in a bomb blast at Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church. A white Birmingham lawyer, Charles Morgan, Jr., 33, (above) spoke out the next day. He condemned not only the bombing, but also the negligence of so-called nice people that encourages terrorists. Birmingham, he said, was dead. Here is his post-mortem—and his program for the rebirth of the city.*

WHO KILLED BIRMINGHAM? We all did. Not only the hate-filled, demented murderers of four Negro Sunday-school girls, but we "nice people" who did nothing to save our city from race hatred.

Today, Birmingham retains surface manifestations of life. Down in the valley, below iron-rich Red Mountain, traffic moves, shops are open, and our medical center grows. Stubbornly, children go off to school. Men talk of 'Bama football and the Auburn game. And on most days, white and rust-colored plumes of smoke tell the sky that the hearths in our steel mills are fired.

As a Southern city, Birmingham offers neither the easy pleasures of New Orleans nor the healthy bustle of Atlanta. Its downtown is drab, and its air is often heavy with soot. Yet Birmingham inspires love-of-home in most of its 700,000 black and white metropolitan residents.

In many of us, there is an almost fierce loyalty to the city, a sort of noncritical provincialism that says to those who would change things, "You don't like it here. Why don't you leave?" Birmingham is simply "home" to almost everyone who lives there, and a wall of civic conformity protects it from a world with which it does not agree.

But Birmingham steadily contradicts itself. The same people who say, "This race trouble is distorting our image," also say, "I don't care what they think about us in New York (or Paris or Africa)." The same people who want to bring in new industry also want to keep out social changes of the industrial age.

If change is a sign of life, then we in Birmingham have not been very healthy for the 18 years since the end of World War II. The conditions that are producing massive opposition to law and morality today existed in 1945. The only difference is that now they are virtually intractable.

For a time following World War II, hopes were high that

continued

The nice people of Birmingham are safe-as long as

Birmingham would recapture the promise of its early years, when it was optimistically called "The Magic City." But Birmingham's rate of economic growth has fallen below the nation's in recent years. Now the harsh fact must be faced: Birmingham is dead. Even if steel-mill sparks still light the sky, the community's life spark has been snuffed out by fear and violence. What has happened here is a timely warning of what can happen anywhere if men and women who say they believe in America's ideals—the good people—will not stand up for their convictions.

Can Birmingham—a New Birmingham—be born again? As one who loves his hometown, his friends and neighbors, I go on hoping this will happen. With help, Birmingham could revive—but past events make possible only the most pessimistic view of the city's future.

Birmingham has done little to save itself. This year, 3½ months went by between the desegregation demonstrations of May and the opening of schools in September. No Negro policemen were hired; no major, and few minor, changes were made. Birmingham dealt with all sorts of civic problems, but hardly discussed the big one, race. Thus, the stage was, and remains, set for racial violence and bloodshed.

Birmingham is a tough city, even in daylight. Any man, white or black, who speaks against segregation lives in fear—fear for himself, for his business and social position and, in some cases, for the safety of his wife and children. The man who never speaks out can say he has never been afraid. And, of course, such a man has nothing to fear—as long as he keeps silent.

Birmingham is no place for the nonconformist. Opinions that run counter to segregationist sentiment can lead to phone calls in the night.

"*Is the mortician there yet?*" a voice asks me. I say that I don't know any morticians. "*Well, you will,*" the voice says, "*when the bodies are all over your front yard.*" A morbid crank? Perhaps. But friends tell me to "be careful." Others *are* careful: The names of private citizens who contributed reward money for the capture of the Sunday-school bombers were not published in the papers.

In Birmingham, fear and cowardice have in effect suspended the First Amendment.

THE LAW in Birmingham is white. Even though roughly one third of our people are Negroes, we have had no Negro law officers, no Negro policemen, no Negro sheriff's deputies. Few Negroes serve on juries. Few vote, few practice law, few play a role in the administration of justice.

In the 18 years since World War II, the Birmingham police have failed to solve some 50 anti-Negro bombings and innumerable acts of racist violence. They failed to prevent the Freedom Ride beatings on Mother's Day, 1961, though the riot occurred not far from police headquarters. But they used police dogs and fire hoses on Negro demonstrators in the spring of 1963.

Education in Birmingham prepares our kids for life in a segregated world. That world will be gone by the time tomorrow comes. But our underpaid teachers are bound (as we all are) to a South that never was and never can be.

Birmingham's economy was born of steelmaking. But steel in Birmingham has grown sick with Northern competition, automation and obsolescence. Population is up somewhat. Yet according to Sheldon Schaffer, head of the Industrial Economic Section of Southern Research Institute, our *rate* of population increase is going down. Employment has declined 10 percent since 1957. And among 53 Southern metropolitan areas checked for manufacturing growth rate, Birmingham ranks 46th. Birmingham must create 8,000 to 10,000 new jobs every year just to keep pace with the rest of America. "Obviously," Schaffer says, "objectives such as these are going to require industrial development efforts that are far more aggressive or imaginative than anything Birmingham or Alabama has ever seen. . . ."

Where are Birmingham's long-promised new plants and industries going to come from? Our business leaders search for new industry—futilely. How many prospects have been frightened away? Ten? Twenty? A hundred? But Birmingham, worried about its "image," is still not concerned enough to do anything about its reality.

The wealth of Birmingham lives in bedroom communities away from the city, away from its smoke, noise and 20th-century problems. To residents of Mountain Brook, Homewood and Vestavia Hills, Birmingham is a burden to be endured eight hours a day, five days a week—but not at night and never on weekends. These people, who earn their livelihoods in Birmingham, are more concerned with "over the mountain" society, country clubs, debutante balls and cocktail parties than with the desperate problems facing the central city.

When, finally, "over the mountain" people became alarmed about the mounting racial crisis, it was too late. The situation was out of hand. The vacuum left by our complacent suburbanites had been filled by extremists. Too late, our "nice people" learned that the whirlwinds of race hate do not stop at suburban boundaries.

The white Christian religion in Birmingham boasts more than 400 churches. Our ministers talked of love—in general terms. But they also waited too long to speak against hate. Their sermons have dealt with symptoms, but rarely with *the* issue—how to inject the doctrine of the brotherhood of man into the stream of everyday life. Not many have taken equality for their text. Few have said clearly and unmistakably that prejudice is wrong, bigotry is evil, and the Christian religion has something to do with Christianity.

Under the pressure of events, culture retreats in Birmingham. The city has a civic symphony, civic-theater groups, an art museum, a botanical garden and a zoo. But the Broadway road shows are not coming to Birmingham. And our Music Club season of evening concerts almost failed this year because of ticket cancellations. Many people in Birmingham are afraid to go out after dark.

Professional hatemongers feel at home in Birmingham. Many of them live here. It follows that ours is a city in which armed guards protected temple doors and patrolled temple grounds on a 24-hour watch during recent Jewish services.

For generations, politics in our city has been firmly dominated by hard-line segregationists. We produced former Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor and former Mayor Art Hanes, who adheres to a simple thesis: Desegregation is Communist-inspired. Meanwhile, Atlanta kept electing Mayor William B. Hartsfield, who said his city was "too busy to hate," and elsewhere across the new South, moderates captured many city halls.

This year, Birmingham turned out its Connor-influenced government in favor of Mayor Albert Boutwell and a "moderate" city council. But the defeated are still politically potent, and the new city administration has proven hesitant and faltering on the race issue.

Birmingham's mass media have fallen victim to the city's plague of intolerance. There are always excuses, but few TV shows dealing with the race crisis have been seen in Birmingham. On at least one occasion, community leaders were called to view ABC's *Walk in My Shoes* privately. Similarly, in one of our newspapers, we read Harry Ashmore's series on the Negro in the North. But his articles on the Negro in the South were not run. The Birmingham *News* has been bitterly attacked whenever it urged a counsel of reason in dealing with the city's festering race problem. An iron curtain has descended, aimed at keeping out information that might upset the racial status quo. How could the people be expected to face their problems? Many of them are only now beginning to find out what the problems are.

HATE AND FEAR have helped bring death to the spirit of Birmingham. Yet certain other motives in the short, unhappy history of Birmingham have perhaps been even more crucial. The town was born in 1871 and grew fitfully, a rough and bawdy mining town where the few might grow wealthy on the sweat of the many.

Outside interests moved in after the turn of the century, permanently removing control of Birmingham's most important single industry—steel—to the North. Birmingham made good its boast that it had the cheapest labor supply in the country, but only by fighting a pitched battle with organized labor and by manipulating the "nigger menace" to prevent union organization. To this day, although local union leadership is generally rather liberal, the unions themselves have taken few progressive steps in the field of race. The leaders are afraid to risk defeat on the race question. And some, in the craft unions, have consistently backed Bull Connor and other segregationists.

Ironically, Birmingham today remains dependent on the very "outside" Northern interests it holds in contempt. The truth is that were it not for "outsiders" and "Yankees," there would never have been a modern Birmingham. The city was a child of Reconstruction, came late to America's industrial expansion and still is, in 1963, a poor relation of businesses concentrated in the North. Thus, it is possible to understand Birmingham, if not to absolve it, for its principal failing: the inability of its people to accept responsibility for its present condition. They have yet to embrace the credo of another Southerner, Thomas Jefferson, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights.

In Birmingham, we blame the Kennedys, Khrushchev, Martin Luther King, "outside agitators," the press—everyone except ourselves.

Who else should be blamed? Politicians whose mishandling of the race issue has been a major factor in the breakdown of law and order. Every Northerner who ever let a friend from Birmingham absolve himself of guilt by agreeing with him about "the niggers." Every Negro maid who ever lied to her white employer, telling her how happy she was with segregation. Every businessman and labor leader, North and South, who has failed to use all his influence in Birmingham,

they keep silent

among employees, associates and friends, to safeguard the rights of other Americans.

None of us in Birmingham has done as much as we could. But it should not be forgotten that we are ourselves subject to the foreboding power of a state administration totally dedicated to the maintenance of segregation "today . . . tomorrow . . . and forever." To countervail this power, there is, of course, the Federal Government. But in today's Birmingham, resentment runs deep against Washington. And little help has come from private sources, from labor and banking and industry—from the corporate conscience of the country.

Birmingham did not get into this fix alone, and it will not get out of it alone. The city's two daily newspapers are owned by Northern-oriented publishers—the Scripps-Howard and the Newhouse chains. Our two television stations are similarly owned, one by Newhouse, one by Taft Broadcasting, based in Cincinnati. Our biggest employer, Tennessee Coal & Iron, is owned lock, stock and mill by U.S. Steel. Any solution for Birmingham must be national as well as local.

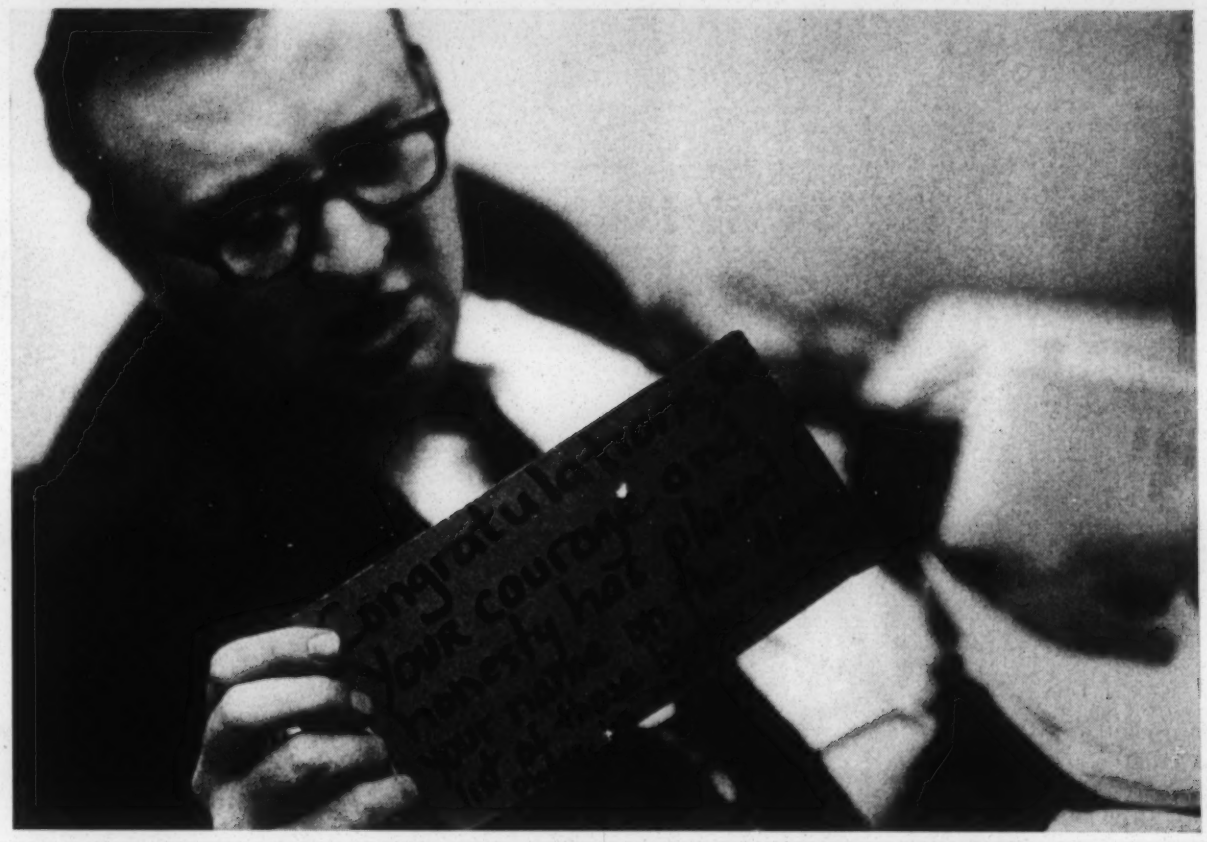
Consider the steel industry. It has extracted great wealth from Birmingham. What is its responsibility in our community's struggle with bigotry and hatred? U.S. Steel has opened up more and more jobs to Negroes. But is that enough? Is the steel industry exerting its influence to bring about a solution to Birmingham's race problem?

And what could Scripps-Howard do about the Birmingham *Post-Herald*'s role in helping solve our racial problems? Properly, most newspaper chains allow great latitude in local control of their properties. Yet our *Post-Herald* seems to follow Scripps-Howard's general editorial line on such issues as taxation, national leadership and foreign relations. Our paper goes along—until it comes to the race issue. Here, the *Post-Herald* for many years maintained a strong segregationist position. That point of view certainly has a right to be heard. But what is the responsibility of the officers of Scripps-Howard in New York? Must they allow one of their papers to label want ads "colored" and "white"? limit coverage of Negro community life to little more than a once-a-week column? operate in a town with a quarter of a million Negroes but not have a single full-time Negro on the editorial staff? and editorially endorse segregation?

For example, during the critical early stage of biracial meetings to end last spring's Negro demonstrations, the *Post-Herald*'s contribution was an editorial implying that Dr. King was reaping profits from race turmoil. No doubt the city's racist intransigents were pleased with the editorial, but it could not possibly have helped mediators in their difficult assignment. Next day, the paper said it "intended no such inference," but the incident did nothing to close our racial breach.

Moderates in the North as well as the South have stood by while Birmingham has been torn apart. Like the "over the mountain" people in Birmingham, they are concerned about order, but not about law. The South had an ordered society for 200 years; now that order conflicts with law. What do the moderates do about it? Isn't it time that they concerned themselves with the local policies of their companies, especially when these policies give aid and comfort to the enemies of our system of justice?

What happens next in Birmingham? The present course may result in more riot, violence and tragedy. But it is not beyond the realm of possibility that something can be done to revive the city. If ten men from around the country could sit down at a table to consider our problems, they could do wonders for Birmingham. They could reaffirm facts Birmingham itself has never faced: that desegregation is the law of the land, and that the life of a city depends on its citizens' respect for law. These men could then bring together a powerful team—of the press, of communications, of steel, of electric power, gas, construction, the banks, organized labor and the Federal Government—to resuscitate Birmingham.



After his "Birmingham is dead" speech, Charles Morgan, Jr., received a card from a local man, summing up the sentiment of most letter writers—but some were crudely abusive.

NOTHING SHORT of a total national effort can help Birmingham now. Only the concern of the American people—and those American business leaders whose decisions shape our city's economy—can revive Birmingham. Only "outsiders"—not those interested merely in the wealth of our soil, but those who care about the moral well-being of our people—can strike the spark of life. Birmingham is dead—but can America afford not to breathe new life into the city?

Given outside help, what can we do to recreate Birmingham? I know that we need at least the following program:

1. We need biracial committees to work on common solutions for common community problems—from air-pollution control to medical care for the poor and aged. Such committees would provide avenues for peaceful desegregation of many areas of public life.

2. We need a desegregated interfaith alliance of ministers, priests and rabbis backed and coordinated by state and national church organizations, bishops and others in the hierarchical chain. They could pledge to each other and to their faiths that they will preach for and organize the removal of racial restrictions from the life of the community and the church.

3. We need an alliance of businessmen representing our major locally and nationally owned enterprises. With their influence, they, too, can open channels of communication. And with policies that favor desegregation and encourage employees to participate in the desegregation movement, they can set an example for the city.

4. We need to open the editorial pages of Birmingham's newspapers to columnists who favor and discuss desegregation, to provide employment opportunities for Negro reporters and to desegregate every aspect of newspaper life.

5. We need to schedule TV programs that present the problem of race in Birmingham and the nation to our people so that they may know the aspirations of Negroes and learn about solutions.

6. We need public-school courses on democracy, the fundamentals of law, and the facts of the race problem—in an attempt to bring forward an unprejudiced younger generation.

7. We need adult-education programs sponsored by labor organizations. We need apprentice programs and private employment opportunities open to Negroes and whites alike.

8. We need to remove barriers to Negro employment and other discriminations against Negroes by municipal and county government. We need to hire Negroes for the Birmingham police force and the Jefferson County Sheriff's Department. We need to restore the confidence of the Negro community in the desire and ability of the city to enforce the law with fairness and impartiality.

9. We need renewed voter-registration efforts in order to provide Birmingham's Negro population with its proportionate voice in the political life of the community.

10. By legislative action or otherwise, we need to merge suburban residential communities into the City of Birmingham so that, economically, suburbanites will belong to their city.

11. We need self-imposed restraint on the race question by reasonable men in the political arena. Politicians and lawyers must face up to their responsibilities and seek solutions to problems before new crises develop. Similarly, businessmen in their search for new industry must worry less about the city's "image" and more about its ability to answer the needs of all its people. Let them lead and industry will follow.

These things we need. Birmingham can't live without them. END

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RK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1964.

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New CORE Tactic on the Coast Shifts Goods on Stores' Shelves

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 27—A group of demonstrators for the Congress of Racial Equality introduced a new protest tactic to the San Francisco Bay area today.

Successively nine persons entered two Berkeley establishments of Lucky Stores, Inc., and performed what Lew Mascola, one store manager, described as "a cross-filing job."

This meant, he said, that they shifted items about on the shelves and counters, putting soap, for example, with fresh vegetables.

This followed a daily "shop in" at San Francisco and Berkeley stores, a tactic that was called off in San Francisco after more than a week of operation had produced strong differences of opinion within the Negro community.

It worked in this way:

Demonstrators entered a Lucky Store, took armloads of food from shelves, placed it in carts and went to the checkout counters.

There the checkers computed the cost and placed the groceries and meat in bags. The demonstrators walked off, leaving behind the filled bags and paying no money.

In Berkeley, students of the University of California who take exception to the tactic have been following the "purchasers" to the checkout counters, collecting bags and replacing the goods on the shelves.

This method also was followed by students of the University of San Francisco during some of the "shop in" demonstrations here.

Stores Accused

The tactic was introduced to call attention to what CORE charged was the failure of Lucky Stores to live up to an agreement on hiring practices.

Mayor John F. Shelley of San Francisco tried last night to achieve a solution of the dispute and promised further sessions.

The San Francisco protests, James Farmer, national director of CORE, said today in Sacramento, have served their purpose: with Lucky Stores on Negro hiring.

William Bradley, chairman of the San Francisco CORE, had announced termination of the demonstrations here at a meeting with officials of the Baptist Ministers Union, who had criticized the "shop-ins" as "more destructive than constructive."

"We recognize," Mr. Bradley sad, "that the shop-in has not been an overly popular tactic and that well-meaning citizens might oppose it. But it didn't create any ill will in the community that didn't already exist."

Mr. Bradley asserted that four months ago Lucky Stores had agreed to hire more Negroes. Since then, he said, of 320 new clerks hired, only 18 have been Negroes. The corporation has denied discriminatory practices.

'Socrates of the Civil Rights Movement'

by Nat Hentoff

Within a recent ten-day period, Bayard Rustin, a tall, crisp, prodigiously energetic civil rights activist, was on a characteristic round of assignments. He spoke at Middlebury College in Vermont to a group of students interested in starting a "direct action" group, lectured at a meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society in Boston, met with Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers from Mississippi, spent two days at Lincoln University to help co-ordinate planning for demonstrations in southern Pennsylvania, appeared at a symposium on poverty at Howard University with Michael Harrington and Leon Keyserling, worked out a strategy for presentation to the major civil rights groups for counter-demonstrations against the Senate filibuster underway at the time, and conferred in New York with units of CORE, the NAACP and the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools to devise additional ways of pressuring the Board of Education to respond to their demands.

Despite his formidable range of activities, Rustin cannot be accurately categorized as a "Negro leader" in the traditional sense of that term. He is not a member of or otherwise officially affiliated with any of the civil rights organizations or any political party. Accordingly, he has no visible base of power.

And yet, within "the movement," Rustin's influence is strong and rising. He is, for example, consulted on nearly every major project planned by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("Snick," as its members call it). Dr. Martin Luther King, for whom Rustin was a principal adviser from 1955 to 1960, describes him as the "architect" of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and continues to call on Rustin for counsel on strategy. In addition, Rustin is particularly close to A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and beyond question the single most respected figure among all sections of "the movement." It was because he had Randolph's support that Rustin was able to fuse all the major civil rights organizations into last August's March on Washington—the idea for which Rustin had himself initiated.

Yet another area in which Rustin has considerable influence is among the younger, second-echelon leadership of CORE and the NAACP. The established civil rights leaders—James Farmer, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young—have ambivalent feelings about Rustin because he is continually prodding them into directions for which they are not always prepared. They also share intermittent annoyance, and perhaps a degree of envy, at a man who, unlike themselves, is not bound by the responsibilities and the conflicting internal pressures to which leaders or organizations are subject. Rustin is under no one's discipline but his own.

Rustin, moreover, is a different order of man from Wilkins, Farmer or Young—more daring and far-ranging in his strategy, more radically analytical and more personally charismatic. Few civil rights leaders, Martin Luther King excepted, can equal Rustin's fiery forensic skills at public meetings and his compelling persuasiveness at small gatherings of militant actionists.

"Although they're never quite sure what to make of him, they do listen to him," a young official of CORE told me not long ago as he assessed Rustin's relationship with the major civil rights leaders. "At crucial times in the history of the movement he's been the only man capable of maneuvering all the major groups into presenting a unified image. He did it for the March on Washington. He did it in 1958 for the first Youth March on Washington for integrated schools. The NAACP was hostile to the idea but Bayard convinced A. Philip Randolph it would work and eventually the NAACP came into line.

"In 1960," the CORE executive continued, "when there was tremendous pressure on the leadership not to do anything at either major party convention, Bayard forced them to call what turned out to be one of the biggest civil rights demonstrations in the North up to that time—8,000 pickets at the Democratic convention in Los Angeles and 10,000 at the Republican convention in Chicago. But while he does play that kind of unifying role, Bayard is also of great tactical assistance to the most militant of the younger activists, to those of us who want to push faster and deeper than the established leadership is ready to. I mean in terms of nonviolent action. He's been very helpful to many of us in analyzing the flexibility and potentialities of nonviolent techniques."

Rustin is scornful of talk of violence in any form as a realistic tactic in the civil rights struggle. Last September, for example, he was among the speakers at a meeting called at New York's Community Church on East 35th Street both to analyze the future of the civil rights campaign and to protest the deaths by bombing of four Negro children in Birmingham. Among those in the packed auditorium were Muslims and representatives of other black nationalist groups as well as young members of CORE and the NAACP. There was an almost palpable undercurrent of anger and frustra-

tion. As Rustin, in his clipped, quasi-British accent, began to focus on the need for his listeners to go beyond civil rights into "a struggle for a new political, social and economic order in this country," he suddenly pointed a long finger at the audience and shouted, "If there is anyone here who advocates violence as a solution, *let him stand up!*" No one rose to the challenge. "Let him stand up," Rustin added bitingly, "and I will show you someone who proposes to do *nothing*."

Rustin's own commitment to nonviolent direct action for social change goes back through a long apprenticeship in peace and civil rights work, preceded by a brief, utterly disillusioning detour into the Young Communist League. Born in 1910 in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Rustin was raised by his grandfather. At West Chester high school, he was an outstanding athlete, particularly in track, football and tennis. Also on the scholastic honor roll, Rustin went on to attend a series of colleges. Among them were Wilberforce University in Ohio, the state teachers' college at Cheyney, Pennsylvania, the City College of New York and the London School of Economics. (In London, Rustin's accent, already shaped by his West Indian heritage, took on additional British cadences.) He never stayed long enough at any one place to receive a degree, preferring instead to move wherever his developing interests led him.

From 1936 to 1941, Rustin was a member of the Young Communist League. As a Quaker in search of collective action, he had joined because he thought the Communists were opposed to war and discrimination. "By 1941," Rustin recalls, "it was inescapably clear that I had been wrong." In that year, he went to work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a non-denominational pacifist organization. There he functioned first as a field secretary and then as race relations secretary. In the latter capacity, Rustin helped organize chapters throughout the country of the Congress of Racial Equality, which had been formed in 1942 by a group including several staff members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In 1947, Rustin helped organize and participated in the first "freedom ride" into the South—an integrated "journey of reconciliation" which resulted in Rustin serving 22 days on a North Carolina chain gang for violating bus seating laws in that state. Since then, Rustin has been arrested 22 times in civil rights demonstrations—most recently on the opening day of the World's Fair during a sit-in with James Farmer of CORE and others before the New York City Pavillion. He also spent 28 months in a Federal penitentiary during the Second World War because as an absolutist pacifist, he would neither go into the armed forces nor engage in alternative service.

By 1953, Rustin had become executive secretary of the War Resisters League, a pacifist group whose membership encompasses non-religious as well as religious objectors to war. He has spent the past decade racing between peace and civil rights assignments. In his role as peace agitator, Rustin helped organize the first Aldermaston March in England in 1955, was a leader of an Afro-European team protesting French atomic testing in the Sahara in 1960; and in the following year he functioned as an advance man in Europe for the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk. His peace projects have also taken him to India where he studied the Gandhi movement for a year and a half.

In this country, as a civil rights strategist, in addition to advising Martin Luther King during the Montgomery bus boycott and in the years immediately afterwards, Rustin has been pervasively active in organizing direct action projects and in lecturing at institutes on nonviolent resistance. He was also secretary of a committee set up by A. Philip Randolph to protest discrimination in the armed forces, and it was largely pressure by the committee that resulted in the Truman executive order of 1949 barring such discrimination.

Although Rustin's time in recent years has been increasingly consumed by civil rights activities—he is currently on an extended leave of absence from his regular position at the War Resisters League—Rustin does remain a leading tactician in the peace movement, internationally as well as nationally. This past January, just before beginning intensive organization of the first New York City public school boycott, Rustin attended a two-day conference in Tyringe, Sweden, of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, a unit formed last year as a counter-force to the Communist-influence World Peace Council. At the conference, Rustin—along with Homer Jack, Executive Director of SANE—was elected to the 15-man governing council of the International Confederation.

Rustin's scope of activity—geographic as well as ideological—obviously requires unusual resources of energy. The only visible effects of the unremitting burden of his schedule are the nearly constant presence of a Pall Mall in his hand and occasional gusts of asperity. Rustin is an imposing figure. A little over six feet, his flaring thicket of greying black hair makes him appear taller. His eyes drill into a questioner, and his brisk speech and penchant for incisive analysis leave little room for small talk—except among friends, with whom he is a skillful, slicingly witty raconteur.

". . . Bayard Rustin is not officially affiliated with any of the civil rights organizations or any political party. Yet within 'the movement' his influence is strong and rising . . ."

Although committed to nonviolence as a way of life as well as a tactic, Rustin does not mute verbal aggressiveness when annoyed in the middle of a project. During the March on Washington, an emissary of CBS News officiously broke into a conversation Rustin was having with his aides and proclaimed, "Our cameras are ready for you, Mr. Rustin, if you'll step this way." Rustin frowned and, his accent more clipped than usual, snapped, "I simply have no time for this sort of diversion. If CBS wants me, they'll have to come to me." CBS came.

A few months ago, a Harlem street rally which Rustin had organized began to be disrupted as several mounted policemen suddenly appeared. Some members of the crowd, anticipating being charged on, started to panic. Rustin stepped into the middle of the street, raised his hand, *(Continued on next page)*

'Socrates of the Civil Rights Movement'

(Continued from page 7) and shouted, "Get off those damn horses. You're only making things worse." The first two horsemen, possibly stunned by the authoritative thrust of Rustin's command, did dismount, and the situation became much calmer.

Even in a state of relative repose, Rustin projects a crackling energy and buoyancy which implement his self-description as a "pragmatic optimist." Recently, Rustin's optimism was tested when he was asked to analyze the increasingly diffuse state of Negro leadership in New York City. A picture in the morning papers had shown Reverend Milton Galamison, Malcolm X and Adam Clayton Powell in apparent con-

cord if not in a firm alliance. Powell, moreover, had denounced the leaders of CORE, the NAACP and the Urban League for having "sold out" the city's Negroes.

"There was a vacuum," Rustin began, "into which such new leaders as Galamison and Jesse Gray, the rent strike organizer, moved. The great 'liberation' date seemed to have been 1954, but ten years after the Supreme Court's school decision, there are more segregated schools and housing and more Negro unemployment. And that leads to fantastic frustration. In New York, the established leadership of CORE and the NAACP did not develop a program for the masses of Negroes on a day-to-day basis nor did it organize them block by block to deal with their most concrete problems. But Jesse Gray did strike deeply into those masses because he was working on the basic level of the filth and rats with which they live. Galamison touched the masses through their children. Malcolm X, on the other hand, is generating a great deal of interest but the real extent of his influence depends on whether he develops a realistic program. On his record so far, I doubt that he's capable of it, but you never can tell."

Although Rustin had collaborated with Reverend Galamison on the first school boycott, he did not participate in the second. "The nature of Galamison's leadership," Rustin said, "made it difficult for most other groups to join him because he insisted on arriving at decisions without consultation, and in many other respects he behaves erratically. Yet he does have great tenacity and he is largely responsible for the intensity of focus which now exists on the school problem.

"You see," Rustin lit a cigarette, "there are two kinds of leadership. One is for the pull up—dynamic, vigorous, uncompromising. During that stage, for instance, that kind of leader demands *every* school in the city be integrated by such-and-such a date. Eventually, however, you reach a point at which it's necessary to drop sloganism and negotiate seriously with a serious plan. For this second stage, the leadership has to be capable of exercising great care. At present, we are in between those two stages, and that's another reason for the confusion."

Rustin has particular confidence that the rising young potential leaders in CORE, the NAACP and SNCC will ultimately bring a great deal more unity to Negro action for change. "In the North as well as in the South," he points out, "we are now getting more and more young activists, many of them off the streets of the ghetto rather than from the middle-class, who are more advanced than the established leadership in terms of strategic concepts and in terms of their awareness of the fundamental problems in making equality meaningful. These young people are our major hope, and that's why I've always kept myself surrounded with them. I throw a great deal of responsibility on them, sometimes more than they're fully capable of handling, so that they can experience the problems of the leadership which is going to be theirs. When they come to me with their own plans, I do try to show them their errors but I am very careful not, as the Quakers put it, to 'sit on the spirit.' They can only learn from their mistakes."

East River CORE is a New York group which has presented Rustin with its designs for demonstrations before making final decisions. Tina Lawrence, a former secretary of Rustin who became active in East River CORE, describes Rustin as the "Socrates of the movement." When plans are outlined to him, Miss Lawrence explains, "Bayard throws out the most disturbing questions. If our arguments aren't sound, he blows holes in them. There's no one else in the movement who is as relentless as he is in making us think for ourselves."

There are times, however, when Rustin's Socratic advice is not heeded. "When East River CORE," Rustin observes, "decided to tie up traffic on Triborough Bridge, I felt it was a tactical mistake to demonstrate for better schools at a bridge. Most of the people you're trying to reach simply can't make that kind of connection and they get more confused. But I didn't tell them not to do it. And they learned some things. They learned that if you don't want people to throw garbage at you—as some of the motorists did—you shouldn't bring it with you. They also learned that they should have left some passage open for those who might have been taken ill or for a woman who might have been about to have a baby. There is no reason to create unnecessary antagonism in a demonstration.

"On the other hand," Rustin emphasizes, "I've learned that there are times when *I'm* wrong. Each generation has its own insights. When the sit-in movement began to spread a few years ago, I had very serious questions as to whether it *could* spread fast and I thought at first that it would have been wiser in any case to move more slowly and stay longer in each locality to build local organizations. Yet the sit-ins did spread rapidly, and as a result, they created a much more intense national consciousness of the problem than would have been possible if the youngsters had taken my advice.

Rustin was wrong more recently when he anticipated that the May 18 March for Democratic Schools which he organized for the NAACP and CORE would bring out more than 15,000 supporters for the day's climax in front of City Hall. In March of this year, some 15,000 members of PAT (Parents and Taxpayers), who oppose the civil rights groups' plans to integrate the public school system, had converged on City Hall; and accordingly, Rustin conceded before May 18 that if the NAACP-CORE demonstration did not attract at least 15,000 "plus one," it would be a failure. Less than 5,000 came.

"There is no way of denying it was a failure," Rustin said a few days after the March for Democratic Schools. "What that failure revealed was that many had come to the point at which they felt marching in the streets could not get them what they wanted in that area. And that is why political action must be the next major step. I don't mean the formation of a new party, but rather the creation of a great consensus on basic economic issues—a consensus on which candidates can be elected. And here again, it is the young who will provide the thrust toward political action in 'the movement.'"

"As these young people continue to gain experience and power," Rustin asserts, "they will attract more and more of the grass roots kind of support which Reverend Galamison and Jesse Gray have already begun to draw on. East River CORE, for instance, not only demonstrates on Triborough Bridge but is also organizing the people in its area on a block-by-block basis for action on housing, education and employment. And it is this kind of young leadership which will be much more effective than that of Galamison and Gray because it will be more knowledgeable about the broader political and economic changes that are essential. Youngsters like those in East River CORE are learning, for example, that for Negroes to get jobs, the economy must be expanded so that there are also jobs for the white unemployed.

"Meanwhile," Rustin adds, "the pressure from these young organizers as well as from the Galamisons and Grays will force the NAACP, CORE and the Urban League to take more radical positions. By 'radical' I mean getting at the root of things. As this happens on a greater and greater scale, there will *then* be stability and unity among the civil rights forces."

As Rustin envisions the future, there will be little place for such figures as Adam Clayton Powell. "The Powell-type," Rustin insists, "is a product of the ghetto, as were the Italian and Irish machine politicians before him. When the people in the ghetto really begin to organize for radical action, they will reject his leadership because he does not understand the degree of change—in our *values* as well as in our economy—that must come if this revolution is to be finished."

Rustin on some other leaders of 'the movement':

Adam Clayton Powell . . . "is a product of the ghetto. When the people of the ghetto organize for radical action, they will reject him."

Milton Galamison . . . "touched the masses through their children. He is largely responsible for the intensity of focus on the school problem."

Jesse Gray . . . "struck deeply into the masses of Negroes because he was working on the basic level of filth and rats with which they live."

Malcolm X. . . . "The real extent of his influence depends on whether he develops a realistic program. On his record so far, I doubt that he's capable of it, but you can never tell."

In what may turn out to be his most influential activity so far in "the movement," Rustin has been persuading young militants throughout the country to learn more than just techniques for nonviolent direct action. "Study," he told a SNCC conference in Washington last fall. "Read. Formulate an over-all social and political reform program that will not only help Negroes but that will help all Americans." Rustin was instrumental in setting up a series of weekend leadership training institutes this winter at Nyack, New York, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. There, from 20 to 30 young members of CORE along with a few from HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited) were instructed by volunteer professors and labor officials in basic economic theory, American political and social history and the history of the labor movement. Similar institutes are being planned *(Continued on page 57)*

PAGE (s) MISSING

NOTES FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF APRIL:

BY GREGORY CORSO

I will try to relate to the best of my memory all my occasions of the Negro, the American Negro. My memory of him is not an entirely painful one. There were times of pleasantness, of joy. It doesn't take much to recall the pleasant and ordinary, but to tell of what was surely my *saison en enfer* . . . it means going back to the pain, tears, fears, and anger of that terrible year.

THE YEAR THAT WAS THE WHOLE WORLD'S HELL

It was the year of 1943, and 1943 was a bad year for the whole world. I was thirteen years old, my father in the Navy, my mother long since gone; I was homeless, and lived with the alley cats in the wild and wonderful New York City streets. I was arrested for kicking in a neighborhood tailor-shop window and helping myself to a couple of suits many sizes too big for me; I sold one, and wore the other, cuffs rolled up. It wasn't much of a coincidence the tailor spotted me wearing the crime. I was sitting on a Lower East Side stoop talking about Batman when I *saw* him see me; God how he sweated and how his eyes popped! He knew the suit (I don't know if I had taste or not at that age, but I doubt I would have picked out a maroon suit had I the grace of purchasing instead of stealing one); anyway, even though I knew he detected me, I didn't run from that stoop; I sat there, and was still talking about Batman when he zoomed back with two fat cops. The tailor pressed charges against me—thus my first involvement with the law, and it started off a time of shuffling back and forth, between the Youth House (a detention home for juvenile delinquents) to the courts, to one day of freedom (I asked the judge to send me back to my foster parents, he complied, but they declined me), and back again to the Youth House. Bad boys of sixteen or less were sent there. It was a busy place in 1943.

It was the beginning of the New York City juvenile-gang era, when city children warred against each other while their fathers and elders fought on a real front thousands of miles away. Both fronts were dangerous. They were mostly Negro gangs; there were the Comanches, the Apaches, the Lucky Gents. Membership ranged from men in their fifties, called Seniors, down to boys in their early teens, called Tiny Tims. Even girls belonged and called themselves Debs. The youngest of these gangs, the Tiny Tims, inevitably ended up, at some time or another, in the Youth House; not just one or two at a time, but ten or twenty at a time. They were wild and crazy and fearless; indeed they were the most feared—and it was that part of the gang I encountered there.

Up to that time I knew only those Negroes of my childhood who gave me sodas and didn't mind my reading their comics or eating their cakes (as you will soon see)—or those drunken Negroes I used to see on the Bowery, or the caricature of him eating watermelon, or that Willie Something-or-other of the movies always trembling like an autumn leaf when ghosts appeared. How different the Youth House Negroes! I now roomed with fifty of them, and all of them Tiny Tims, each boasting God knows how many stomps and rumbles. That's all they ever did, they boasted about how many foes they cut up or zip-gunned, and when they weren't boasting they were threatening, and planning war councils. But there were two whites to twenty Negroes in that place, and when a Tiny Tim threatened you, he threatened you with his twenty pairs of fists and feet. From them I learned, beside anguish and fear, a new language—the Negro jargon, now spoken by all hipsters, black or white. The only difference being that when they spoke it there was no wit, no depth. I didn't understand most of what they were saying. There was very little we had in common.

Neither was I affiliated with any gang (which they kept insisting that I was . . . I think it was the Italian Sabres . . . because I was silly enough to say I was Italian). Nor did I much relish violence, though I lived in a violent atmosphere, preferring pigeons (I had about two hundred on one of the highest roofs on the Lower East Side) and stamps, and Benjamin Franklin. At thirteen I thought Ben Franklin to be maybe one of the greatest people that ever lived. I hardly ever talked at the Youth House, but regardless of my reticence, I got involved in terrible fights. Not the kind I was accustomed to in school—one against one. Here you had to fight for your life; and when I went down, that's when the feet started to fly—like a flock of blackbirds. It wasn't Gregory they were fighting though—it was White Boy.

The only time of peace came at night, sleeping time. I slept in a room with another white boy, and the door to the room had a lock; but the second month I was put in a room without a lock—and that was the worst time of all—they'd come in, about two or three in the morning, and jump on us and pummel us with heavy angry fists. God how they must have hated the white.

I think there is only one place other than Harlem that a Negro is in the majority in New York City and that is in jail. I had to get out of there. And somehow I found a way how to. Even the guard was Negro in that Youth House, but I was less scared of him, so one early morning, when even the most violent of human souls must give in to sleep, I snuck up to that guard and stole the master key. I was on the top floor, so the best way out was up, via the roof.

I let five Negroes in on my plan, and for some odd Freudian reason two of the five were my worst antagonists (I guess that was my only way of getting to them). Once on the roof, all we had to do was scramble down the fire hose coiled on the stairway wall—freedom was three stories down to an adjacent roof.

But once we were out there under the early Sunday morning sky I got so elated, so happy to be leading this expedition and working with my tormentors, that I offered to hold the hose for them because there was nowhere to attach it. I watched them make their escape—fast they went, out and back into that white world where, and I actually thought this: they couldn't be as tough any more. Suddenly I found myself holding the hose. I looked about on the roof for a place to tie it to; there was no place. Three stories down wasn't so bad, but if you didn't jump right you could go all the way. So I sat there literally half the day, looking down at my shoes on the roof below, where I'd thrown them to give me encouragement. . . . I was all alone, and what with all that sky and just me, I felt very all alone and scared—and it was Sunday, and Sunday was always the quietest and loneliest and scariest time of life—so I just sat there, and cried. They took me back downstairs finally, back down to more beatings and woe. One day I just flipped, putting both hands through a huge windowpane when a bunch of Comanches began to attack me. They all backed away, and there I stood, screaming at them with my skinny arms bleeding galore. That "mad" act got me sent to the Children's Observation Ward at Bellevue Hospital.

If it weren't for the Negro I would never have seen the most awful human misery imaginable. At the Children's Observation Ward there were old men. Calm yet unhealthy old men. But I was young and playful and mischievous, so one day I balled a piece of white bread the size of a pea, and flipped it into the air. It

WITH NEGRO EYES, WITH WHITE

FOUR MOMENTS FROM A POET'S LIFE, WHEN THE WORLD WAS REDUCED TO BLACK AND WHITE, AND AS SWIFTLY ILLUMINATED

hit an old man on the head, and God O God the screams that ensued! It was like a time bomb set off, a chain reaction, everybody started to scream along with him, the big guards in white came rushing in, and the old man whom I struck pointed at me, a *black* old man! That did it; I was whisked off to The Mad Violent Ward of Bellevue. It was there the thirteen-year-old came of age, and quick.

Men in sheets sitting hunched in corners their skin peeling off; men in sheets squeaking like mice; men in sheets peeing on other men; "he butchered his wife and three kids" is all I can remember being told by one of them. I wrote a poem about the place, about some guy who painted portraits. It went like this: "You don't paint nice,/you paint faces on window shades,/and you don't make them look nice." He replied: "Window shades is all I got, and faces is all I got." No sadder vision do I have of myself than myself crouched on the floor on which neglected checkers are scattered about, face pressed against an inch of open window with tears streaming from my eyes, my nose, my mouth. I don't know how long I was there; that it was summer and that I was thirteen I am sure. And though I hold my heart to be grown, it holds, some twenty years later, no bitterness. But somehow I would have it known that because of the black the white has suffered too.

SWEET GREEN SODA AND CAKE

I saw my first Negro on March 26, 1935. He gave me a big bottle of green soda. He was the owner of a poolroom. On my way home from school I entered his poolroom for no particular reason. I just wandered in. I don't think that I was in the habit of just wandering in places at the age of five, but I sure was happy that I did—it was a world of thick smoke and black people with sparkling gold teeth and fat stumpy cigars and derby hats and long light-tan shoes. Everything was so round and black and shiny there, except for the owner. He was a tall thin man. He came up to me and patted me on the head and asked my age, which was all to my good because it just happened to be my fifth birthday. Maybe that's why I went in there, to get something for my birthday. I'll never forget the vast whiteness of his smile when he presented me with my present—a big bottle of delicious green soda.

I don't really think that I exercised his hospitality too much. But my thirst for green soda was insatiable, and it was always a green soda he gave me. I loved the place. I both loved it and feared it. Loved it because of the soda which I got free and because of the kindness I was given, for doing nothing, just entering and standing there. And feared it because something in me felt a difference.

Not many years later, in another neighborhood, another black angel—he was the janitor of an apartment building on the route that I took to and from Catholic Sunday School. When I'd pass the open window of his basement home I would see a big dish of cakes and a big pile of comics. Every time I passed there I'd see fresh cakes and new comics.

One Sunday, unable to resist temptation any longer, I looked in and saw that the room was empty. I went to the back entrance. The door was not locked. I entered and went straight for the cakes and comics. The sofa I sat on was huge and dusty—it swallowed me up. I must have been on my twentieth comic, about nineteen comics away from the last cake, when he arrived home. I hadn't been scared all the while eating and reading, but now, seeing him there—standing at his door, his face very black, his hair very white, and looking at me with big eyes—my mouth trembled with cake crumbs. Suddenly he smiled a big smile. It told me he wasn't angry. I smiled back. He took off his coat and went to hang it up without saying a word. I got up, said a shaky, "Sorry I ate all your cakes!" and hurried out of there. The next time I passed, there were fresh cakes and a new comic on top of a bigger pile of comics. It was just like Goldilocks and the Three Bears, but I didn't go back for more. Because when I confessed it to the priest that Saturday he mentioned something about poisoned cakes strangers leave about for little crooks.

I CAME BEARING SHADY PINK HOUSES

Somehow I got to be twenty-two years old. And it was in Florida, Fort Lauderdale, that I saw the Negro at his saddest. I was broke, and hungry and homeless, and had gotten myself a job with a building contractor. It was my job to go to Negro homes and convince them to give up their old dilapidated shacks and invest all their savings in a nice brand-new pink house. The building contractor's main salesman would drive me to "niggertown," as he called it, and there leave me to ferret house after house until nightfall when he would pick me up at a proposed time and place.

At first he showed me how to sales-talk. We'd go into a Negro home, usually swarming with kids and mangy dogs and sofas all torn with the stuffing bursting out, and with bare mattresses on the floor, and I'd be sitting with the kids, playing with them probably like no white man ever had, while he'd be talking "nigger-talk"—dumb, square, condescending biblical remarks like: "Old Jericho knew about rotten walls" and such. When we were in the car together he asked me how I could sit on that dirty sofa and play with those dirty kids, that did I really like "niggers"? I remember telling him that I had to be friendly if I expected to make a sale—but what I was really tempted to tell him was that I'd been sleeping under a palm tree for two weeks and was quite dirty myself (I never look dirty even when I am). So I figured right then and there that he must have been a prejudiced man. Because colored people are not easy to discern as dirty *or* clean for that matter.

So every day from ten in the morning to five at night I went Negro house to Negro house, and they all were nice to me and let me in; I saw the pink house that was being peddled them, and it wasn't bad; it was modern and all that. But it sure didn't seem as if any of them could afford it—I think it went for six thousand dollars. The deal would be that if I got anyone interested, I'd save him for the main salesman, and he, with his pitch, would try to finish the deal. My share was three hundred dollars.

I made one sale. It was to two of the sweetest elderly people. The old man was proud and upright, a hard worker on the railroad all his life, and his wife was all smiles all the time, and their house was quite large and in good condition, and it seemed to fit them, it had a porch and lots of other things the modern pink concrete house didn't have—in fact the modern pink house didn't seem to fit them at all—but they had lots of money saved and just didn't know what to do with it, and I guess it was like buying a brand-new car. Anyway it was my first and last sell. The money went quick. And I ended up *(Continued on page 110)*

BLAZE STARR IN NIGHTTOWN

(Continued from page 62) a woman shouted from the banquette: "Hey, Blaze! How did old Earl look laid out in his casket?" The music stopped. "Shame on you," Blaze said and finished her act. She returned to the dressing room, but Debbie Starr and Faye Harlow found the woman, dragged her from the banquette, and gave her a beating. "Down here in Baltimore," Blaze said, "I'm not lying, they call us the Dalton Sisters. You know, we thought this woman would sue—and two weeks later, she did come in demanding to see me. I was waiting for her. I was going to, like, bust her in the mouth. But do you know, she apologized and honestly cried. She was really touching."

The afternoon was gone. Blaze said it was time for work and she had to stop at a florist's for fresh roses. She called a cab and we waited for it at the end of her long driveway. We might have driven one of her cars, she said, but her Jaguar was in a repair shop and she had loaned her white Cadillac to a friend. She wondered where the hell the friend was—he had promised to return the car days ago. Then she heaved a terrible sigh. She said she had fallen in love again, this time with a man closer to her own age. "Hard as I've worked," she swore, "I'd quit stripping for him." But the romance had faltered; she was sure his friends were talking against her because she was a stripper. "They think there's something wrong with it, I guess," she said. "That's the way it is in my business. You get used, abused, reused, and de-used. I sure hate to get used, but it always winds up that way. Am I a born loser?" ✠

NOTES FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF APRIL: WITH NEGRO EYES, WITH WHITE

(Continued from page 87) ferreting these impoverished Negro streets, broke again.

Once I thought I had another sale made; she was an ancient lady, with high shoes, and she smoked a pipe, and she kept on saying how much she'd like to have such a house. She looked exactly like Li'l Abner's mother, but colored. God, she was strange! She'd tell me all about the deacon who was also the undertaker and how he owed her (I forgot for what reason) a huge sum of money and that I was to go to him and see to it that she got her brand-new pink house. I spent days with her and it ended up with the deacon first of all declaring that he was no undertaker, and secondly that the ancient lady was daffy, and lastly, he didn't owe her a damned cent.

On Friday nights, pay night, I was kept out late. And it was a wild Friday night in Negrotown in Fort Lauderdale. Lots of drinking and fighting and knifings and patrol cars. It was then I first saw the white man's inhumanity to the colored man. Two big cops billy-clubbing a poor helpless drunken Negro, blood all over. A terrible sight. I told the salesman that I couldn't make it on Friday nights because most all the homes were crowded with visitors and were festive, that it was no time for a salesman. I think I was just plain scared—mine being the only white face around. But those Negroes of Fort Lauderdale, they were not the Negroes of the Youth House. They were a whipped people.

—They were getting bugged with me at the building contractors because I was doing lousy.

—And I kept borrowing a dollar or more, on account, everyday to eat.

—I was warned that if I didn't do better I'd have to call it quits.

Then indeed a bad piece of luck came to me—without a cent, and no money to pay the week's rent, something right out of Dostoyevsky happened. I knocked on the door of a Negro home and a little girl opened the door and said, "Wait a minute"—and she came back with three ten-dollar bills, saying something about her mother telling her to give the collector man the sum. The poor girl! Who else could I have been but that damned white money-collector?! I thanked her and fled before the real white man came.

That was my farewell to the Negrotown of Fort Lauderdale, to Florida and the South. The money got me a Greyhound bus ticket as far as Pittsburgh. That little girl was a godsend. But I was her devil and to this day I regret the whipping she must have gotten on my account. That was the only time I ever did a Negro wrong.

BEFORE THE BIRD WAS ON THE WING

I knew Charlie Parker, the great jazz innovator, off and on. My first encounter with him was in the Open Door, a wonderful jazz spot in the Old Village days, the early Fifties, not only because of the great music they began there but because of the people who went there: the first and real and great hipsters. And Parker knew this—unlike all the other musicians who "played it cool" which meant being disdainful, indifferent to the atmosphere around you, looking down your nose at the audience—O not Parker. He loved talking with those early hipsters, he knew that they spoke in language what he played in music. I felt right then and there that he had that rare thing in creative people: unity. He was a unified being, not just some swinging jazzman.

I remember on that first occasion going up to him after he finished his set and telling him, "Wouldn't it be great when everybody is jumping and screaming as you blow wilder and wilder that you end up by crashing your horn on the piano BANG CRASH BOOM to climax the song, the set, the whole thing once and for all?" He said, "Great! but horns are many . . . like to really do the thing I should go crash my mouth on the piano, like bust my mouth all up. *That* would do it."

The next time I met him was in an Italian restaurant in the Village. He remembered me. He asked me what was I doing in the restaurant; I asked him what was he doing in the restaurant. He said he came there because he liked the Italian pickles, so we sat down and he ordered a big plate of pickles. We talked about lots of things: jail, squares, violence and poetry. He gave me a real gentle look when I spoke about poetry, as if to say he liked that I was a poet, and even though the pickles were very sour (which Italian pickles can be), no look of sourness ever came upon his good face during the whole conversation. Usually when I get to feel that a person is with me in heart and in intelligence all the way, I become very honest with them, even if it means saying things that will hurt them. I told him about some of my experiences with the Negroes in jail when I was a kid, and he said something like: "They weren't Negroes, they were kids—you were a kid."

"Right!" I exclaimed. "You're right!"

The next time I saw him was about three months before his death. He was playing in some Village nightclub, I forget the name. It was our third meeting. Again he recognized me, only this time he seemed real happy to see me. He seemed to be bugged with the atmosphere of the joint he was playing in. He put his arm around me and said, "Let's take a walk." We walked down the dark, empty Village streets smoking a stick of tea. We got delightfully high speaking about all kinds of madly profound things. We talked about Heisenberg, a German philosopher-scientist, and his wild theory that when you discover something it immediately changes its appearance.

Parker took that to mean that you can never find out the real goods on anything "nohow."

I disagreed with him there—I felt that one could get the real goods on things somehow—else what future was there in poetry for me? But it all depends how one looks at a thing, and with what eyes. He saw with Negro eyes, and I with white. And there is the difference. ✠

THE LONELINESS OF THE MISSILE ATTENDANT

(Continued from page 53) ren A.F.B. in Wyoming, undergraduate work in general engineering and business; and Whiteman in Missouri, masters' in Business Administration.

Malmstrom's original student body was drawn from fifty-one schools in thirty-seven states. Nearly a third were graduates of Annapolis, West Point or the Air Force Academy, with naval-academy officers, oddly, predominating in this midcontinental, underground service. The average age of the Missilemen is twenty-seven, with Academy graduates running younger, the former S.A.C. pilots older. Only a third of the Missile Combat Crew officers are fliers. Their common denominator is the baccalaureate degree.

"We pulled them out of the pot," said Colonel Max W. Henney, wing vice commander, "and what you get from a pot is potpourri. We have weathermen, radar men, civil engineers, pilots. We didn't know when we started and we don't know yet what are the components of the ideal missile crewman. We have the specs for an air crew; we've learned what types will fit together best for a flying team. But the situation in a cockpit is altogether different from that in a capsule. There is no direct confrontation underground."

Henney is a rangy moose of a man, so big that in his fighter-pilot days a ground crew member once said to him, "You don't get into that P-39, sir, you put it on." In recent years his assignments have indicated that the Air Force considers him an excellent innovator, a man with a flair for solving unusual problems.

"We've had an image of the air officer, an image with a streak of the romantic to it," Henney mused. "He was expected to have a touch of 'Kick the tire, light the fire, first in the air is leader.' But that's hardly what is needed for duty here. We're not looking for some wild-ass who wants to be doing slow rolls at Mach 2. It may be that what we want are older, more experienced men.

"We don't know all the qualities we seek, but certainly a key one is a sense of responsibility." Henney paused and shook his head. "Responsibility is not the precise word," he said. Someone took a Roget's *Thesaurus* from the colonel's desk, thumbed it, and suggested, "Motivation? Intelligence? Maturity? Stability?" Henney frowned at each suggestion. "Maybe there isn't just one word," he said.

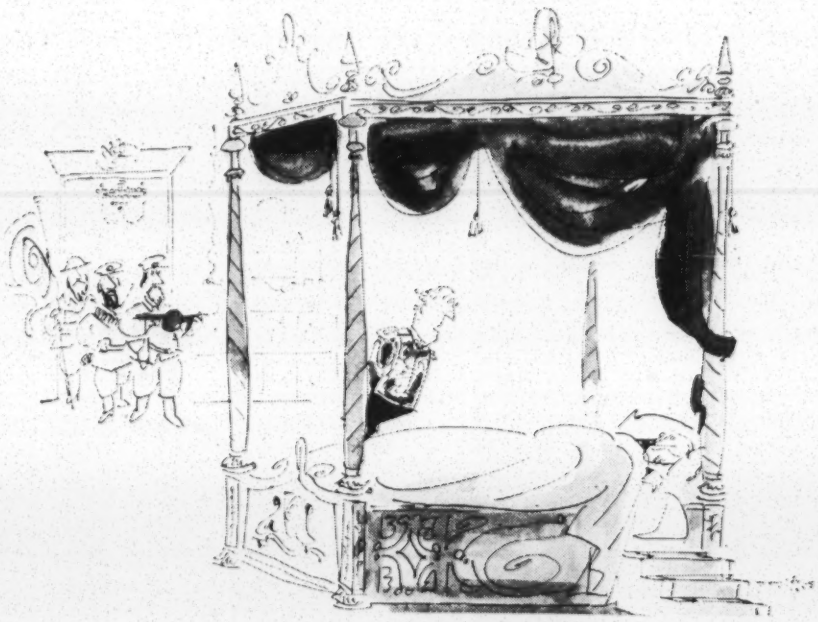
"Being chosen for missile-crew duty means being chosen to sit for long periods of time in a capsule, doing rather menial chores, pushing buttons at the proper time, reporting the status of what is happening to the missiles in their sites.

"The combat crew lives in an artificial environment—strict, tight, closely controlled. They face rigorous examinations regularly on which they have to make perfect scores, and yet the tests are not really challenging, just demanding.

"Some of the men can't do it. A few have simply resigned their commissions and left the Air Force. There is an element of truth to the complaint some make that they are just Glorified Switchboard Operators.

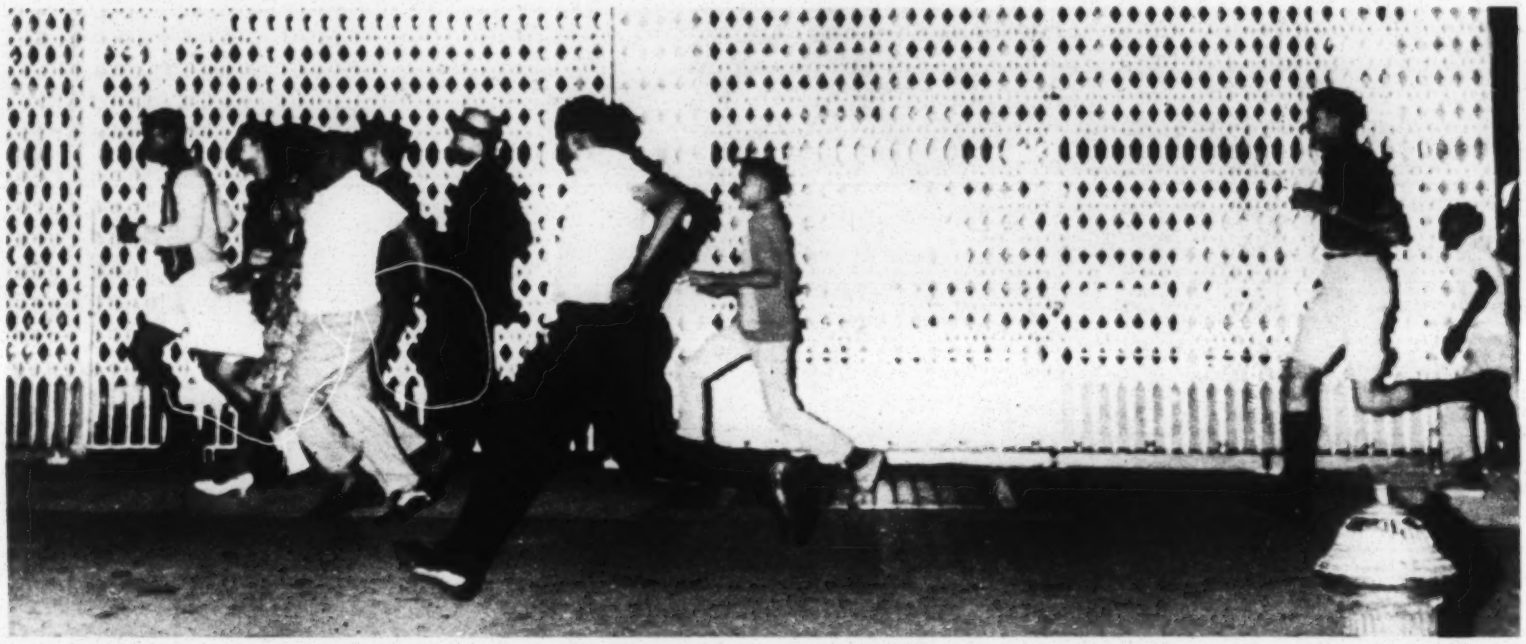
"Yet peeking over the shoulder of every man here, and every man in every launch-control center, is the awesome, sobering, terrible sense of knowing that he is directly, unequivocably responsible for a very significant part of the overall national defense plan.

"In the history of warfare, in the history of the world, no junior officers have ever before been called on to take such responsibility." ✠



"Some . . . er . . . Republicans to see you, Your Majesty!"

TWO WAYS—A nonviolent civil-rights demonstration in Tallahassee, Fla., above, and an explosive moment during the riots that occurred in New York's Harlem last month, below. "Violence," says the author, "does little good either as a catharsis or as a corrective for social ills."



What Now?—One Negro Leader's Answer

Observance of a 'moratorium' on actions that may bring violence, he argues, is essential to forestall the growth of a white reaction—at the polls.

By ROY WILKINS

THERE can be absolutely no understanding of the recent rioting in Northern Negro ghettos, or any realistic analysis of its impact upon the civil-rights movement and the nation, without the primary realization that Negro citizens have just, pressing and long-neglected grievances. We do not erupt simply for exercise. We do not curse imaginary obstacles, practices and procedures. Our resentments are not the product of a momentary flare-up, but of years of postponement, insult and denial.

We are told to prepare, but we see half-prepared whites getting ahead. We are told to learn, but our children are carefully, technically and administratively shunted to certain schools. We are told to be diligent on the job, but we are denied promotion.

We are urged to be upstanding, proud, cleanly, orderly and decent home-owning citizens, but we are shut out—except for a courageous or fortunate few—from all homes except those in the slums. A white prostitute, dope handler, jewel thief, procurer, gambling lord, confidence man or call-house madam can buy or rent a home or an apartment anywhere, but not a law-abiding, God-fearing Negro family.

So, for jobs, for schools, for housing and for a chance to enjoy the rudimentary Americanisms, the Negro explodes now and then, not only because all roads seems to be blocked, but because a club or gun is brandished to reinforce the existing barricades. Therefore, a bow must be made to the bitter assertion by the proponents of the Negro "strike-back" philosophy that only when Negroes "break loose" does the majority community act to meet Negro grievances.

Yet basically, and always, there stands the incontrovertible fact that the Negro population, nationwide, is a 10 per cent minority; economically and politically the race exerts far less influence than even this 10 per cent figure would seem to warrant. Negroes simply do not have the economic, political or physical power to achieve their goals against an entrenched and powerful 90 per cent majority.

IN light of these hard facts, the prime, continuing racial policy looking toward eradication of inequities must be one of winning friends and influencing people among the white majority. The policy would have to be the same if the majority were Chinese or East Indian or Malaysian.

Riotous action, resulting in deaths, injuries, property destruction and looting, does not persuade a majority toward any but the barest and most reluctant concessions — the minimum required to halt depredation. More often than not, despite sober advice to the contrary, it moves authorities to the employment of repression and rigid control.

Resort to such tactics hurts the nation, especially a nation attempting to exemplify the egalitarian society. Our country is hurt far more in 1964 than it would have been in 1924 because the world struggle between controlled and free societies is now in a crucial phase.

In 1955-56 the nation received the first dramatic notice of peaceful, nonviolent protest demonstrations. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led the Montgomery bus boycott and forced the world to focus on the Negro's condition in the American South. All King demonstrations since then have been under the banner of nonviolence. Even in the prolonged Birmingham, Ala., upheaval of 1963, looting occurred on only one occasion.

This type of demonstration acts as a powerful per- (*Continued on Page* 15)

ROY WILKINS is the Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., the largest and oldest interracial civil rights organization in the country.

One Negro Leader's Answer

(Continued from Page 11)

suasive upon the national conscience, especially so in race relations where the merest schoolboy knows the Negro has been grievously mistreated. It exhibits a courage in the face of psychological and physical threats, a willingness to suffer to attain a goal. It is not arrogant. It is peaceful and resolutely righteous. It is a moral and spiritual crusade as disturbingly relentless in its quiet pressure as any bomb or brick.

BECAUSE of the King pattern and of the traditional nonviolent philosophy of the N.A.A.C.P., the disruptive, yet still nonviolent, demonstrations on New York City's Triborough Bridge and at the opening of the New York World's Fair alarmed the city and the nation. The projected "stall-in" of automobiles to block access to the fair and to create a monster traffic tie-up fizzled in April. Yet it was argued by its sponsors, as it is by the overt and subtle inciters to violence, that only through such distasteful, shocking, unorthodox and disruptive tactics can the majority be made to realize the plight of the minority and the depth of feeling over that plight.

"These motorists," said a demonstrator, "are delayed maybe 20 minutes on their trips, but we have been delayed for years and years in rat-infested tenements!"

This is true, and it sounds wonderful to a crowd of aroused sufferers. The flaw is that the overwhelming majority of the inconvenienced ones, like the potential victims of the fair stall-in, have little or no power to do anything about tenements or about jobs in the building-trades unions. The further and more damaging flaw is that this tactic is likely to antagonize not only the man caught in the squeeze, but a substantial section of the public that resents the shotgun technique.

Whether violence grows out of an honestly spontaneous eruption of emotion or whether it is drummed into life by incantation or other incitement, it does little good, either as a catharsis or as a corrective for social ills. It brings on looting and grand thievery, thus branding both the general society, whose exclusions and denials nurtured this method of protest, and many members of the minority group, who helplessly shrug it off.

All the "hard" talk to the contrary, the Negro as a group is nonviolent in the pursuit of civil rights. He follows nonviolent leadership, either Dr. King's "pure," love-your-enemy variety, or the tactically diluted N.A.A.C.P. brand, or the tightrope - walking kind of CORE and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Of late years Malcolm X and others have sought to give a cult halo to blackness in much the same manner that the Kipling-Klan school tried to give a halo to whiteness. There is no quarrel with the effort to teach *pride* in blackness and this had been preached long before the emergence of Malcolm; there is, however, a quarrel with the force-feeding of racism under the cloak of race pride.

RACISM, black or white, and regardless of the monuments it may rear up temporarily, is not the answer to the yearnings of the plain people of the world. With it we may have panoply, pronouncements and power of an uneasy sort, but we are sure to have, also, suspicion, intrigue, hatred and conflict.

The leadership that recognizes the American Negro as an American who has been on this continent for 345 years and must, therefore, attain his heritage as an American is the leadership in tune with reality. As uncertain and despairing as that reality may seem at times under the ministrations of the majority and the interpretations of the black prophets of gloom and desperation, it is nevertheless the only feasible way now discernible.

The 210,000 Negro and white Americans who marched to Washington last Aug. 28 were petitioning their government to be admitted into, not to be excluded from, American democracy. This was the emphatic answer to the racial separatists, black and white.

The ministers of the racial-pride appeal (Malcolm X and sundry other black nationalists together with some white seg-

(Continued on Following Page)

Roy Wilkins in the office of the N.A.A.C.P.

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regationists) commit the common error of equating the desire for equality with the desire to be white. One can be fiercely proud of being black and still demand equality in the world of men, whatever their color. In fact, the demand for equality is in reality the truest expression of racial pride. The determination to require for one's race the same treatment accorded other races, is the determination of a people too proud to accept discrimination.

THE course for the Negro is clear: He cannot abandon at this stage, even if he wished to do so, his march toward equal nondiscriminatory citizenship. There would be nowhere for him to go; the Asians have Asia and the Africans nearly all of Africa. North America must be for North Americans, whatever their racial origins.

The American Negro must press his case intelligently and persistently, remaining flexible enough in method and in weapons to exploit every opening, expand every gain. Neither in the North or in the South can he risk being wedded to one approach; demonstrations have a function, but a limited one, in the far-flung contest for dignity and opportunity for a whole race.

In the South, the struggle in many areas is still for the basic rights taken for granted by all whites and enjoyed for decades by many Negroes outside the South. In Mississippi, the goal is still freedom to register and vote. In the South, a still-vast segregated and inferior public- school system exists, despite court rulings and token compliance. Here the Negro must use court action, moral suasion, consumer buying influence, his slowly-growing voting strength, and nonviolent demonstrations.

WHILE opposition in the South is more openly declared, more emotionally incited and more crudely executed, increasing numbers of Southern white people are recognizing in one fashion or another that change is inevitable. One could hazard the guess that eventually the South will make greater substantive, as well as relative, strides toward equality than the North.

In the North, Negroes have a weapon which too many of them have neglected to use effectively: the ballot. They know about it and they use it, but not as effectively as the Irish, the Poles, the Italians and the Jews have used it. Negroes, as Gunnar Myrdal points out in "An American Dilemma," have not got out of politics what other minorities have managed to get.

The Negro has today the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the result of a long, dedicated, persistent and skillful effort over the past 40 years. He has this legislative affirmation of his citizenship rights as a result of bipartisan votes in both houses and a powerful assist from a President born in Texas.

But he could have had such an act years ago if he had registered and voted to his full potential in the non-Southern states. The ballot is no cure-all, but it is a tool in a democratic society that no group, disadvantaged socially and economically, can afford to ignore.

Southern white society, flat on its back after the Civil War, made a holy profession of politics. It acquired its detailed knowledge of every political stratagem, every rule, procedure and pressure and then schemed and fought its way to such a balance of power that its racial policy was forced upon the nation for 100 years.

THOSE Northern Negroes who sneer at the ballot box in favor of ego-satisfying (and too often ephemeral) "direct action" are overlooking a potent weapon. Negroes also have a barely scratched potential in directed consumer buying campaigns. This is a legitimate weapon for a minority, made up largely of consumers, to employ to secure employment and promotion opportunities. Of course, continued use will have to be made of litigation, legislation, persuasion and nonviolent demonstrations.

Violence, however, has to be ruled out as a tactic. The tongue-in-cheek apologists for it must be suspect. Repeated recitation of grievances, coupled with predictions of violence as "the only alternative," or predictions that "hell will break loose," even when these are true, are strong suggestions, if not open invitations, to eruption. Police intimidation in the form of iron-fisted suppression under the excuse of preserving "law and order" also adds fuel to the smoldering fire.

It is hard to imagine a period in our recent history when racial-protest demonstrations, with their always possible violent incidents, could have a more damaging role in the Negro's — and the nation's—affairs. It seems clear that the three outbreaks in New York State and the one in New Jersey have hurt the Negro's cause and that more of the same will injure it still further.

THE Civil Rights Act has just been enacted and every indication is that with intelligent and persistent effort its implementation can be carried forward on a wide scale. It is the most comprehensive act of its kind ever made law and will bring new benefits to millions of Negro citizens and will ratify the benefits now enjoyed by other millions.

But one of the six Republican Senators (out of 33) who voted against the civil rights bill, Senator Goldwater, has been nominated for the Presidency. His party's platform omits any pledge of the use of Federal powers to protect civil rights,

(Continued on Page 18)

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(Continued from Page 16)

although reference is made to enforcement of the Civil Rights Act.

This Republican convention had fewer Negro delegates than any since the enfranchisement of the Negro, with none from four Southern states where the Goldwater faction has taken over the party machinery. Senator Goldwater's acceptance speech justified extremism for the purpose of installing ultraconservative government, the kind he calls "constitutional."

Pointedly, the Senator declared, "There is violence in our streets . . . ," just as an earlier convention speaker referred to criminals with "switchblade knives." No mention was made of violence and death on the back roads of Mississippi.

AFTER the convention, Senator Goldwater, already supported by the John Birch Society, was endorsed by the Georgia Ku Klux Klan, but the Senator rejected the K. K. K. support Aug. 6 despite the prior acceptance of it by Dean Burch, the new national chairman, and William E. Miller, the Vice Presidential candidate. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, while withdrawing from the Presidential race, has given his approval to the Goldwater program.

Since the convention, also, the Goldwater forces have played upon the fear of white Americans that racial violence will be rampant. Deceitfully, they charge that the present Administration has not intervened promptly and effectively in the recent riots, even though their own states' rights platform stands flatly against any such intervention.

Thus, they are bringing racism into the campaign on the lowest level—that of physical fear.

Such a foe, unashamed and unmasked, would seem to call for every possible counterstep by those whose basic rights are threatened. This involves the temporary and voluntary giving up of tactics that foment hostility while the challenge of the chief menace to the freedom of all Americans is dealt with.

THE vast majority of Negro citizens sees this clearly and has responded to the "moratorium" appeal of some national leaders issued July 29. But some organized groups and some individual civil-rights entrepreneurs are hesitant or openly hostile to a moratorium. For most of these, demonstrations are their only stock in trade. They rarely admit this. They cry "capitulation," "sell-out to the Democrats," "Only demonstrations get attention," "We can't be guided by the alarms of white people," and, most far-fetched, "There can be no moratorium on constitutional rights."

Yet each one of these groups and individuals would be summarily suppressed under the kind of fanaticism a Goldwater regime could bring about. And each would help to bring the fanatics to power if it held street demonstrations culminating in violence, for these would validate the fears harped on by the Goldwater campaigners.

IN this crisis, where steps must be taken to avert a national disaster, the menace is a creed, a cult, bordering on hysteria in millions of its adherents, organized into a dedicated political machine, directed with calculated precision and financed with plentiful funds. This menace is not only pledged to ignore Negro political and economic demands and to allow the Mississippi type of *apartheid* to proceed unchecked, but to suppress by force all pro-civil-rights demonstrations.

Nothing could be more important at the moment in the Negro civil - rights struggle than refraining from any action that aids Goldwaterism. The response to the moratorium plea will be the measure of the maturity of the Negro community. No sacrifice of principle is involved, only an alteration — temporarily — in tactics. Those Negroes who mistake tactics for principles are miscast in the struggle for the race's freedom.

Never before has the Negro been placed directly in such a key role in the struggle to preserve the nation's tradition of freedom for the individual. What rides here is democracy for white and black alike, for Northerner and Southerner, for rich and for poor.

Responsible Negro leadership has recognized the peril to its people and to the country and has made a recommendation to its own followers. Leadership in the white community must be responsible. It must make prompt, effective and meaningful efforts, on more than a token scale, to redress old and festering conditions.

For the best answer to Goldwaterism is a democracy in which all the people have a stake of such size and value that no blitzkrieg will be able to take over a free land and a free people.

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Analysis of the 'White Backlash'

As manifested in one city of the North, reaction to the demands of Negroes for full citizenship runs deep and takes some unexpected forms.

By WILLIAM LEE MILLER

WHEREVER there are large groups of white citizens of immigrant extraction, one argument against the civil rights movement (or rather, against its moving "too fast") recurs incessantly: "Nobody helped us." "We Italians had to work our own way up — why can't they?" A workingman of Irish background said to me, after New Haven adopted a strong city equal opportunities bill: "Equal opportunities, eh? They didn't have that when I was startin' out."

In New Haven's recent struggles over discrimination in jobs and housing and — especially — "racial imbalance" in the schools, this one argument must have been used, by conservative estimate, 87,000 times. I have come to think of one version of it as the Comparative Grandfathers theme: it begins: "Now, when *my* grandfather came over from the old country . . ." and it ends with some form of the idea that this most recent wave of immigrants — the Negro from the South — is receiving a special help that an earlier "my grandfather" wave —Italian, Jewish, Irish, Polish—did not receive. This argument is so pervasive and spontaneous as to represent an unmistakable reality of popular feeling; it is, of course, one major theme in the so-called "white backlash;" it doubtless lay behind the President's insistence, when he signed the Civil Rights Act, that it gives no special favors but only assures equality and it helps to give emotional force to the idea of "inverse discrimination" that is condemned in the Goldwater Republican platform.

HAVING argued against it, as an alderman in New Haven, I want to make two points: first, it is wrong; but second, it is understandable. It is not necessarily morally reprehensible. Not everybody who advances it is a racist—not by a long shot. I think that *some* of the "backlash" deserves more empathy and understanding than militant civil-rights leaders are sometimes willing to grant (understandably of course, on their part, too).

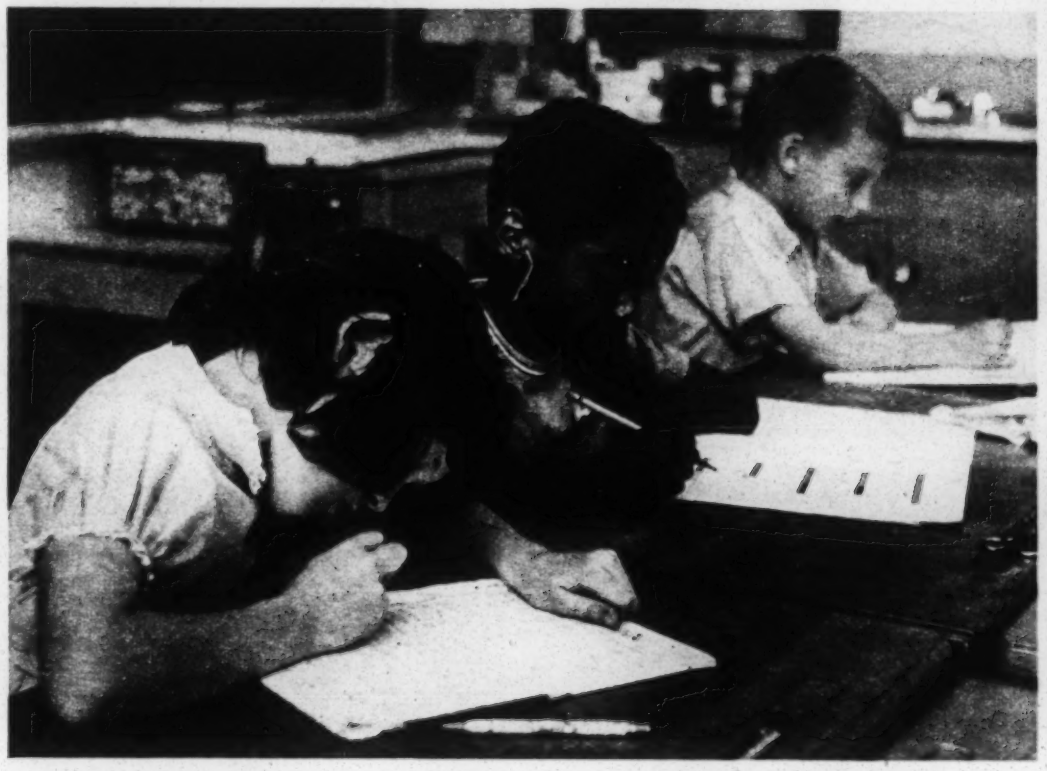
I don't mean that the "nobody helped us" ethnic analogy is a legitimate argument against the civil-rights movement. Of course it is not. As one tries to say to that Irish workingman, who said he hadn't had "equal opportunities": the Irishman can lose his brogue but the Negro can't change his color; the Irishman can move up and out (a great-grandson becoming President) but the Negro is blocked by multiple rings of discrimination; and as to the game of Comparative Grandfathers (whose had it worse?) the Negro always wins that: his grandfather was a slave. He was forcibly brought here, bought and sold; his children never had a start. And, as one does *not* say in that argument, there is something more lurking in the background that any reference to intermarriage and sex relations would quickly make clear: there is still a terrible life-blighting, humiliating notion of the Negro as a fundamentally different kind of being — in short, of *race*.

The Negro has been blocked by reinforcing rings of racial discrimination, in housing, employment, education, health and public accommodations, and then stereotyped by the prejudice that discrimination helps to reinforce. This in turn causes more discrimination — in a brutal circular social pattern that goes far beyond what any white ethnic groups experienced. Even if it were not so, "two wrongs do not make a right." But because it is built on the visible fact of racial appearance, and grows out of slavery and is structured into the society in cruel stereotypes and patterns of unequal *racial* treatment, the "wrong" to the Negro is qualitatively worse than that meted out to the European immigrant, bad as the latter often was.

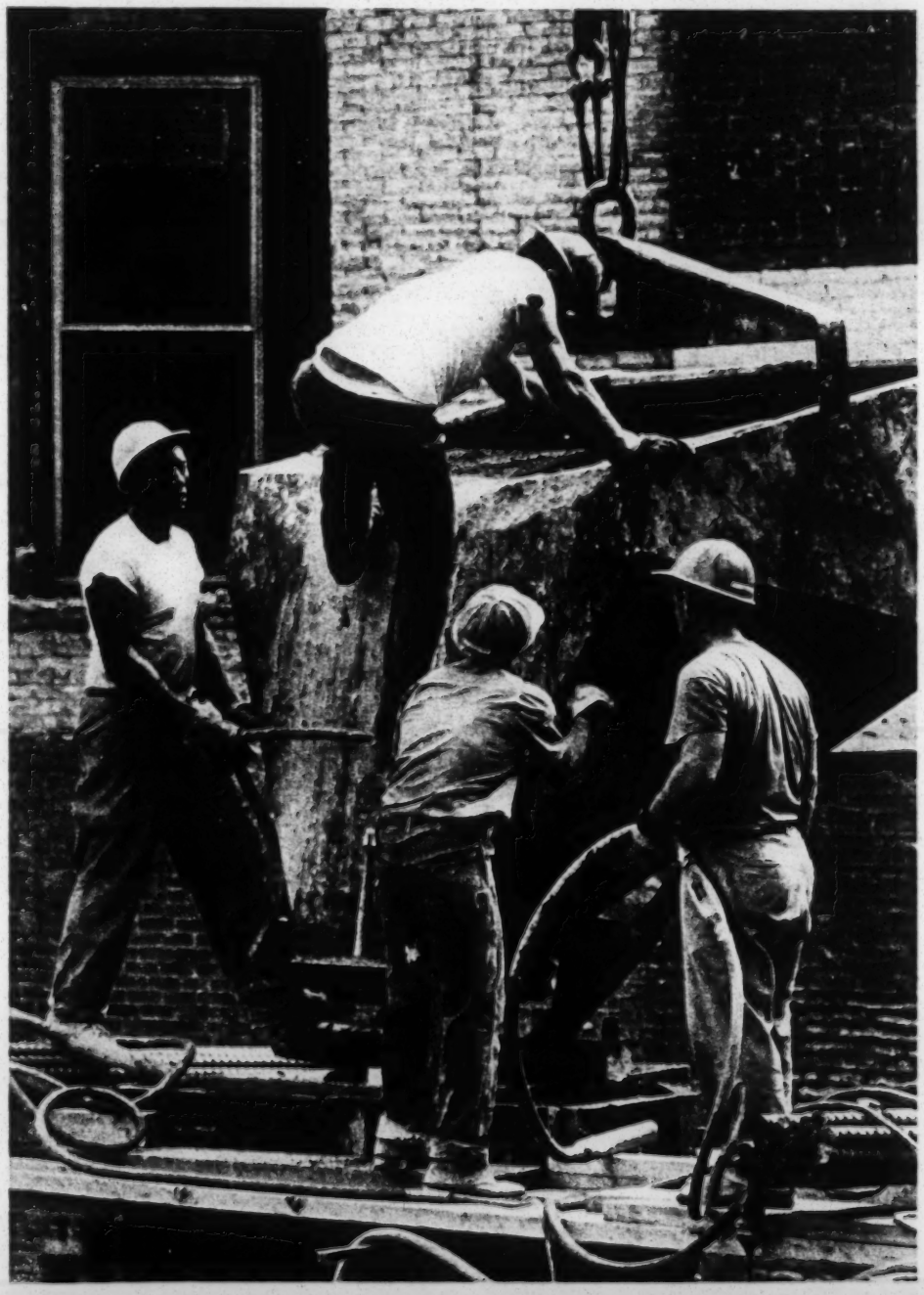
ANYONE who has been in the college or liberal or church circles in which "race relations" has been the number one "social problem" for at least 20 years, could give these answers easily. And such a person may be exasperated — having heard it so many times himself—to discover people who don't get it. But there are plenty of Northern whites who have not been raised on "The Races of Mankind," Gunnar Myrdal and the "vicious circle" theory, and for whom the problem of the Negro, requiring civil-rights acts, open occupancy laws, school redistricting and "busing," is not all that obvious.

That "vicious circle" theory after all, is not as easy for the ordinary white man to grasp as civil-rights lecturers sometimes assume; in worlds in which a strong civil-rights position is not an accepted social convention, it takes either an extraordinary compassion, or else a certain ability to deal with abstractions, to grasp it. One must be able to picture how a complicated social and psychological pattern works, to produce the conditions one observes in Negro neighborhoods. That takes some learning; to reverse the meaning of the too often quoted song from "South Pacific," "You have to be carefully taught."

AT one point in New Haven's heated hearings on proposals to end "racial imbalance" in the schools the militant young leader of the local CORE ("We DEMAND, yes, DEMAND . . .") said that bringing white kids into the Negro "ghetto" schools would have the added benefit of "showing the whites how Negroes live." Well, unfortunately, even if a school plan were adopted with this rather far-reaching intention, it might not have the desired results. For children from homes that are secure, intelligent, and compassionate, *(Continued on Page 87)*



SCHOOLING AND JOBS represent two chief points of resistance to the civil-rights movement, especially among new members of the middle class and descendants of immigrants. They argue: "Equal opportunities? We didn't have that when I was starting out."



WILLIAM LEE MILLER, author of the book "Piety Along the Potomac," is an associate professor of Social Ethics at Yale University and alderman of the 15th Ward in New Haven.

Analysis of the 'White Backlash'

(Continued from Page 27)

knowing more about how impoverished Negroes really live could increase sympathy or liberalism or guilt or determination to "do something."

But what about the others? A fair-minded man of Irish background, for one very common example, tried earnestly to persuade me that my support for strong civil-rights laws was wrong, exactly by citing examples of conditions that he had encountered in making his calls in slum Negro neighborhoods. He *knew* "how Negroes live" — and that was the main reason he opposed these civil-rights laws.

A CIVIL-RIGHTS advocate may explode at this, and say that such a man is obviously a "bigot" and not "fair-minded" if he blames the conditions of poverty-stricken people, without a chance or a hope, on race. I quite agree that slum conditions do not come from race but from poverty and hopelessness, and that the mass of Negroes have been *forced* to be poor and hopeless, and that it is doubly galling and unjust to have racial stereotypes built on conditions thus forcibly created by racial discrimination. I would suggest only that the ordinary white workingman is not necessarily morally reprehensible for not having figured all that out. All we can say about him is that he is lacking in compassionate social imagination—but then, aren't we all?

The "backlasher" feels that it is he, and not the well-fixed white civil-rights advocate, who must bear the disadvantages of the correction of this national injustice to the Negro —an injustice that he does not, himself, perceive too clearly, partly because a threat to him personally interferes with his perception. "You don't think it's right for a Negro to take Sam's job, do you, Bill?" The great point is that he feels directly caught and involved. His feeling may in many cases be groundless or exaggerated, projected out of fear or prejudice far beyond the fact but still there often is a kernel of truth in it.

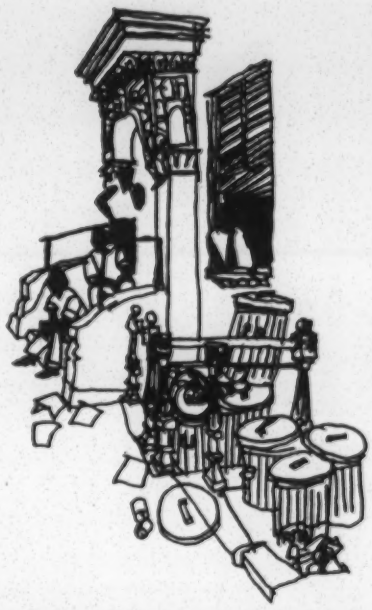
The sad and terrible fact, that Negroes en masse are linked to ills of poverty, should be the occasion for extraordinary efforts to break that link; for many an ordinary struggling white man, however (no ideologue or hero, he), that fact is rather the basis of a not altogether unrealistic personal fear. If schools are to be "racially balanced," for example, some white kids will have to be sent to the Negro "ghetto" schools. Whose will they be? Quite possibly his. The opponents said that the New Haven school proposals would take their children away from the neighborhood school and abruptly send them to a different and (at least they think) worse school in a (they certainly do think) worse part of town, away from the school, perhaps, that was the reason for buying a house in a particular district. When they are given general lectures in race relations, they turn with some ferocity on the proposal's white proponents.

THIS antagonism could be seen with clarity during the hearings on school proposals this June in New Haven. The city has, along with its very thin remaining layer of old "Yankees," a large slice of Enlightenment; we have a progressive city administration and a remarkable urban renewal program, full of able administrators, and a notable Ford - Foundation - sponsored "human renewal" program, full of social workers; we have an enlightened school board and, of course, one of the world's great universities, presumably dispensing Lux and Veritas.

At the same time New Haven has an even larger slice of citizens of relatively recent immigrant background; it is sometimes said to have the largest proportionate population of Italian extraction of any city in the country. And many of the latter struck back angrily.

To put the general point rudely, it seemed that well-fixed private-school liberals, with good jobs and big houses in lily-white suburbs or in fancy parts of town, are bravely summoning the public-school workingmen on two-family-house streets, please to face the moral crisis of our time. One woman in New Haven told the old joke about the pig's comment to the chicken on the subject of the ham-and-eggs breakfast: "For you, it is a contribution; for me, it is a sacrifice."

This attack is, of course, in many *individual* cases quite inaccurate and unfair; it was difficult for wrought-up opponents of the school proposals, for example, to admit that there really were those — all honor to them — whose own children were immediately involved but who were nevertheless supporting the proposals. In *group* terms, however, the opponents' angry attack has a kind of rough and primitive justice in it. The Yale and college-educated liberal communities do have, broadly speaking, a privileged sanctuary, and often seem to see only the disabilities of the Negro; the ethnic backlash people, on the other hand, see



a series of groups — Irish, Polish, Jewish, Italian — in which the Negro is yet another one, now on the bottom, to whom should apply the same counsels and possibilities as applied to the others: group solidarity and mutual help, upward mobility through hard work and education.

"There are plenty of Negroes who have made something of themselves," an Italian lady said to me, all innocence at the fallacies implied in her use of this true statement; and again and again reference was made to having "them" make "their own schools" better, as an alternative to correcting racial

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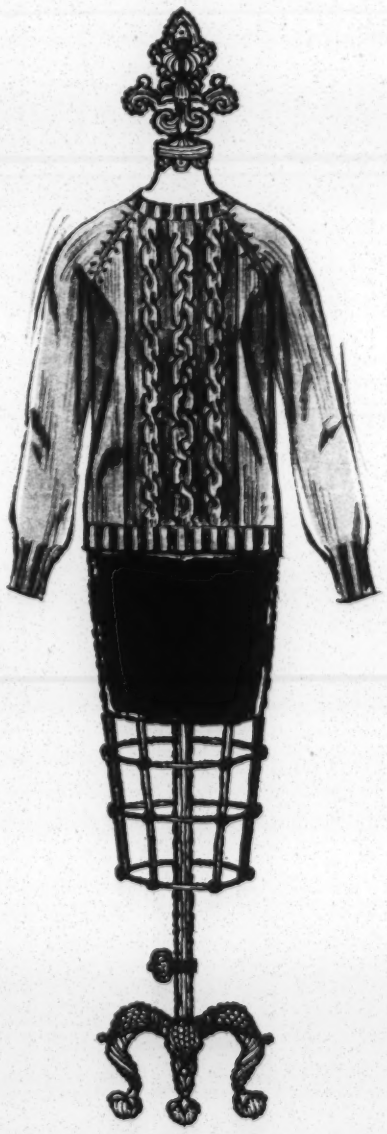

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imbalance. The error in this point-of-view is large, but it is not surprising that the view should be held.

One of the ways the error can be indicated is by reference to the different effects of the passage of time on the different ethnic groups; for the white groups, the generations more or less steadily advanced; for the Negro, however, blocked by discrimination, while automation eliminates jobs, the situation may become steadily worse. But to grasp that fact, and to see why it is true, and to see why it is not the "fault" of the group in question, requires ability to deal with abstract social ideas and/or extraordinary compassion and/or personal economic security.

Much depends, of course, on what you are expected to believe in your circle (most of us don't think these things out from scratch by ourselves). In many Northern college-educated and "sophisticated" circles, at least a kind of superficial antiracism is the norm, but this may not be true in the world of most urban ethnic groups.

Even in the one group of which it *is* true — the Jewish community — there may be difficulties among those personally involved.

The Jewish community has a liberal ethos on "intergroup relations" that the other white ethnic groups, by and large, do not; at the same time, however, it also has a deep and passionate devotion to education, going well beyond that, by and large, of the others. The original New Haven school proposals brought these two themes, in a predominately Jewish section, into a sharp emotional and really rather poignant conflict.

I DO not conclude that there should be any less strong action for civil rights. On the contrary, these thoughts reinforce one of the secondary reasons for a rapid breaking down of discrimination — so that the average white man, who has his own difficulties, knows Negroes from his school and boys' club, and even more so that the mass of Negroes he encounters (from which encounter, rather than from race - relations lectures, he learns his lesson) is not identical with the urban proletariat; so that the Negro does not appear to be ineluctably linked to the ills of poverty, and an ethnic group that hasn't, as the others have, "lifted itself;" so that there are more and more middle and upper-class, white-collar business and professional Negroes around to break stereotypes (that is a secondary reason, obviously; the primary reason is the justice of equal opportunities in its own right).

But at the same time I

think we should be wary of a single-minded concentration on civil rights that is inattentive to the broad social setting, and separated from measures of general economic and social improvement. We should avoid, I think, the attitude that absolutely separates problems of race from problems of class, and that is highly moralistic about race but conservative or uninterested about social and economic welfare.

DIRECT coercive governmental action to break racial discrimination is, of course, inescapably necessary, but unless it is set in the frame of generally improving conditions in employment and housing and education it will certainly become explosive and it may even some day become unfair.

It makes me uneasy to notice that, on the national scene, while civil rights has a tremendous head of steam, Federal aid to education (money for urban schools) and even the antipoverty program have nothing comparable.

I think we should be very cautious about the moral disapproval, and sometimes even the social disdain, with which this issue is filled: "It's quite clear cut," a cultivated type may say, after one of the heated meetings; "it's the responsible people against the rednecks." A sweet, well-fixed liberal wife may be made "positively ill" by the speeches against the school proposals, which "are so illiterate." There may be an element of contempt in the picture of the ethnic backlasher—true enough, perhaps, in its way, but it is important in what tone of voice it is said — that these are "people who have just made it themselves and are insecure."

And as to the repeated insistence that the whole thing is a "moral issue," that's true enough, too, but it doesn't mean that the full "moral" conviction that attaches to racial equality attaches also to every particular civil-rights move. It certainly doesn't mean that all of us who favor strong civil-rights action are thereby morally superior to all those who resist. It depends upon what our own alternatives are, and in the working out of this thing we will need more of Lincoln than of reconstructionist righteousness.

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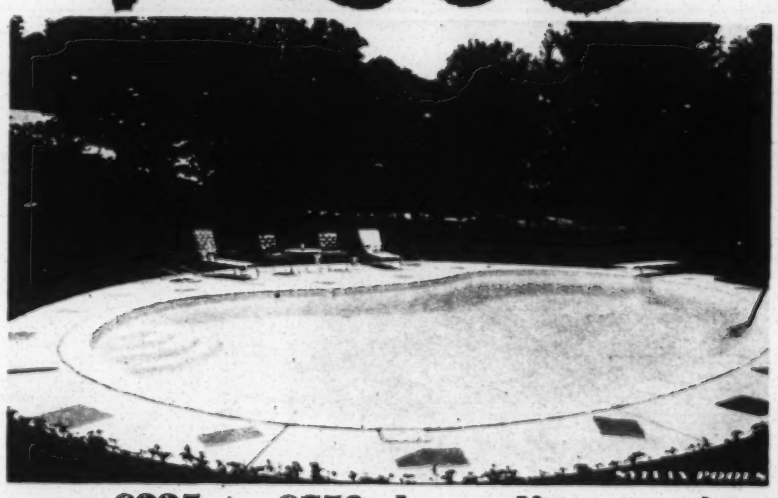

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THE NATIONAL OBSERVER 8-31-64

Parties Stake Out Policies

How the Platforms Compare on Key Points

◆ With the publication of the Democratic Party platform last week, the public could compare that document with the platform issued by the Republicans in San Francisco. The excerpts that follow show how each party stands on the most prominent issues.

Policy for Peace

Democrats: Peace should be the first concern of all governments as it is the prayer of all men.

At the start of the third decade of the nuclear age, the preservation of peace requires the strength to wage war and the wisdom to avoid it.

Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the highest elected official in the country—the President of the United States.

The complications and dangers in our restless, constantly changing world require of us consummate understanding and experience. One rash act, one thoughtless decision, one unchecked reaction—and cities could become smoldering ruins and farms parched wastelands.

Republicans: Our nation's leadership must be judged—indeed, American independence and survival are dependent on—the stand it takes toward communism. That stand must be: Victory for freedom. There can be no peace, there can be no security, until this goal is won.

A dynamic strategy aimed at victory . . . reduces the risk of nuclear war. It is a nation's vacillation, not firmness, that tempts an aggressor into war.

Republicans will make clear to all Communists now supporting or planning to support guerrilla and subversive activities, that henceforth there will be no privileged sanctuaries to protect those who disrupt the peace of the world.

We will take the Cold War offensive on all fronts. . . .

Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty

Democrats: In the nuclear test-ban treaty, signed now by over 100 nations, we have written our commitments to limitations on the arms race, consistent with our security. We are determined to continue all-out efforts through fully enforceable measures to halt and reverse the arms race and bring to an end the era of nuclear terror.

Republicans: We will fully implement such safeguards as our security requires under the limited nuclear test-ban treaty. We will conduct advanced tests in permissible areas, maintain facilities to test elsewhere in case of violations, and develop to the fullest our ability to detect Communist transgressions. We shall also provide sensible, continuing reviews of the treaty itself.

We will demand that any arms-reduction plan worthy of consideration guarantee reliable inspection.

Vietnam and Berlin

Democrats: We pledge unflagging devotion to our commitments to freedom from Berlin to South Vietnam.

We will oppose aggression and the use of force or the threat of force against any nation.

Republicans: We will move decisively to assure victory in South Vietnam.

We will demand that the Berlin Wall be taken down prior to the resumption of any negotiations with the Soviet Union on the status of forces in, or treaties affecting, Germany.

Cuba

Democrats: We will move actively to carry out the resolution of the Organization of American States to further isolate Castroism and speed the restoration of freedom and responsibility in Cuba.

Republicans: We Republicans will recognize a Cuban government in exile; we will support its efforts to regain the independence of its homeland; we will assist Cuban freedom fighters in carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Communist regime.

Captive Nations

Democrats: We will encourage by all peaceful means the growing independence of the captive peoples living under communism and hasten the day that . . . (they) will achieve full freedom and self-determination.

Republicans: Republicans reaffirm their longstanding commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

The Atlantic Alliance

Democrats: In every possible way we will work to strengthen our ties and increase our co-operation, building always more firmly on the sure foundation of the NATO treaty.

Republicans: Republicans regard NATO as indispensable for the prevention of war and the protection of freedom. It is a keystone of Republican foreign policy to revitalize the Alliance.

United Nations

Democrats: We will maintain our solemn commitment to the United Nations, with its constituent agencies, working to strengthen it as a more effective instrument for peace, for preventing or resolving international disputes, and for building free nations through economic, technical, and cultural development.

Republicans: Republicans support the United Nations. However, we will never rest in our efforts to revitalize its original purpose. We will press for a change in the method of voting in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies that will reflect population disparities among the member states and recognize differing abilities and willingness to meet the obligations of the charter. We urge the calling of an amending convention of the United Nations by the year 1967.

Federal Spending

Democrats: Every penny of Federal spending must be accounted for in terms of the strictest economy, efficiency, and integrity. We pledge to continue a frugal Government, getting a dollar's value for a dollar spent, and a Government worthy of our citizens' confidence. Our goal is a balanced budget in a balanced economy.

Republicans: We pledge a reduction of not less than $5 billion in the present level of Federal spending; an end to chronic deficit financing, proudly reaffirming our belief in a balanced budget; further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored; repayments on the public debt.

Reapportionment

Democrats: No plank.

Republicans: We pledge support of a Constitutional amendment, as well as legislation, enabling states having bicameral legislatures to apportion one house on bases of their choosing, including factors other than population.

Extremism

Democrats: We condemn extremism, whether from the right or left, including the extreme tactics of such organizations as the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society.

Republicans: No plank.

Medical Care

Democrats: We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the Social Security program and have insured adequate assistance to those elderly people suffering from mental illness and mental retardation.

Republicans: We pledge full coverage of all medical and hospital costs for the needy elderly people, financed by general revenues through broader implementation of Federal-state plans, rather than the compulsory Democratic scheme covering only a small percentage of such costs for everyone regardless of need.

Social Security

Democrats: The Social Security program . . . contributes greatly to the strength of the nation. We must insure that those who have contributed to the system shall share in the steady increase in our standard of living by adjusting benefit levels.

Republicans: We pledge a strong, sound system of Social Security, with improved benefits to our people.

War on Poverty

Democrats: We will carry the war on poverty forward as a total war against the causes of human want.

Republicans: We pledge to continue Republican sponsorship of practical Federal-state-local programs which will effectively treat the needs of the poor, while resisting direct Federal hand-outs that erode away individual self-reliance and self-respect and perpetuate dependency.

Civil Rights

Democrats: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 deserves and requires full observance by every American and fair, effective enforcement if there is any default.

Republicans: We pledge full implementation and faithful execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and all other civil-rights statutes, to assure equal rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen.

that lawyers have much to answer for. Scheduled for passage by the House of Delegates this week at the association's annual convention in Manhattan is a stern new canon of ethics:

"It is the duty of a lawyer engaged either in the prosecution or the defense of a person accused of a crime to refrain from any action which might interfere with the right of either the accused or the prosecuting governmental entity to a fair trial. To that end it is improper and professionally reprehensible for a lawyer so engaged to express to the public or in any manner extrajudicially any opinion or prediction as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, the weight of the evidence against him or the likelihood that he will be either convicted or acquitted."

Reward from a Robbery Rap

In what may be the year's prize legal oddment, a canny convicted robber has just used Britain's stern libel laws to win a $45,000 judgment against no less a personage than the detective who sent him to jail eleven years ago.

Alfred George Hinds, universally known as Alfie, was convicted of a $100,000 safecracking job in 1953, after being arrested by Herbert Sparks, former chief superintendent of Scotland Yard's ace flying squad. Passionately attached to liberty, Alfie tried to shorten his twelve-year sentence by escaping from jail three times, lost 13 appeals to the highest courts in the land. All this moved Sleuth Sparks, when he retired in 1962, to write a series of articles in the London Sunday Pictorial poohpoohing Alfie's claims of innocence.

Alfie sued Sparks for libel—in effect demanding that Sparks prove that the original conviction was correct. Sparks tried, but a London jury was unconvinced. It found in Alfie's favor—thus casting Alfie's robbery rap in doubt. "Now," he says happily, "I shall press for my conviction to be quashed."

P.A. REUTERS

HINDS & WIFE
A rare legal puzzle.

At first glance, Alfie seems to be asking too much. The doctrine of *res judicata* (the thing is decided) holds that a fully adjudicated conviction is final. But that doctrine applies only to the original parties—in Alfie's robbery case, that means *the Crown* v. *Hinds*. The libel suit involved different parties: *Hinds* v. *Sparks*, and only by coincidence was the robbery the key issue. Since it was the issue, however, Alfie managed to have himself found "innocent" in what laymen at least could view as a retrial. Whether he now deserves a pardon is up to Home Secretary Henry Brooke, who has a rare legal puzzle to solve.

COURTS

The Law's Delay

The biggest traffic jam in U.S. courts comes from personal-injury cases, usually growing out of automobile accidents. Such cases now take an average 17.6 months to reach jury trial in the nation's principal courts of general jurisdiction,* reports New York University's Institute of Judicial Administration. Although this year's delay is less than last year's (18.7 months), and is actually down to two months in Spokane, Wash., things still look grim in the heavily populated urban areas that handle most of the cases. The country's 13 slowest jurisdictions:

Cook County (Chicago), Ill.	57.6 months
Suffolk County (Long Island), N.Y.	52.6
Kings County (Brooklyn), N.Y.	51.3
Westchester County, N.Y.	51.0
Nassau County (Long Island), N.Y.	48.6
Philadelphia County, Pa.	48.4
Bronx County, N.Y.	44.6
Queens County, N.Y.	42.4
Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio	37.2
Washington, D.C.	37.0
Fairfield County, Conn.	32.3
Wayne County (Detroit), Mich.	32.0
Suffolk County (Boston), Mass.	32.0

CIVIL RIGHTS

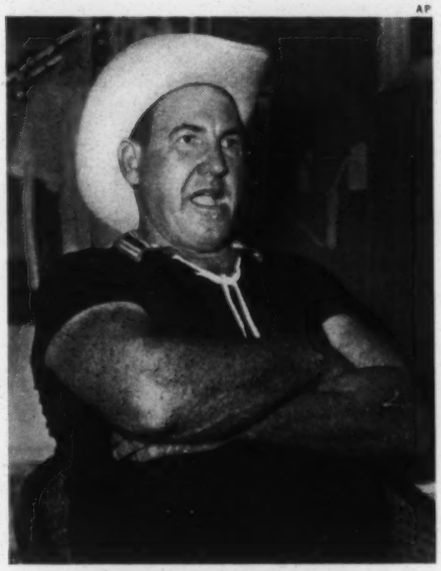
Hoss Unhorsed

In St. Augustine, Fla., most of the previously white-only motels and restaurants began serving Negroes as soon as the Civil Rights Act became law. The owners wanted peace; racial violence already had cut the tourist trade by 50%. Yet a few days later, most places were resegregated. An army of white racists, the owners said, had forced them to lock out Negroes once more on pain of assault or worse.

In a precedent-setting case under the new law, St. Augustine Negroes asked U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson in Jacksonville to order compliance by 15 motels and restaurants in their city. Going to the key issue of enforcement, the plaintiffs sought an injunction against the owners' alleged coercers—a troop of white toughs headed by Hol-

* County courts with a variety of names, such as superior court, supreme court, circuit court and court of common pleas.

AP



DEFENDANT "HOSS" MANUCY
A case of law v. pride.

sted ("Hoss") Manucy, a convicted moonshiner of Majorcan descent. Manucy, who runs something called the Ancient City Hunting Club, denies membership in the Ku Klux Klan but calls it "a wonderful organization."

At the trial last week, Judge Simpson let the motel and restaurant owners convict Manucy & Co. The owners told of being picketed by whites carrying such intimidating signs as "Niggers Eat Here. Would You?" Many reported anonymous phone calls: "You're not gonna make it home if you keep serving them." Eddy Mussallem of the Caravan Motel said he called everybody from the sheriff to the state police, only to be told that the pickets were doing nothing illegal. With unwitting irony, Tom Xynidis of the Sea Fair Restaurant told Judge Simpson that he was afraid of obeying the law on his own: "If I'm the only one, how can I face my fellow citizens with pride?"

Ordered to take the stand, Hoss Manucy parried one question after another with the same evasive words: "I'm not gonna answer that at this time." Manucy refused to admit not only that he had ever threatened anyone, but also that he even knew his own sons, five of them being his co-defendants. "You don't mean you don't know the people at this time," snapped Judge Simpson, "just that you don't want to answer at this time." Said Manucy meekly: "Yes, Your Honor."

That was enough for Judge Simpson, a Florida aristocrat whose grandfathers fought on both sides in the Civil War. Ordering the restaurant doors opened to Negroes, Simpson enjoined the Manucys and "each member" (about 1,500) of the Ancient City Hunting Club from molesting the owners or Negro customers in any way. James Brock, whose Monson Motor Lodge was set afire, still had a point. For the Civil Rights Act to work in St. Augustine, he testified, "we will need very strong law enforcement for a long time."

THURSDAY

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27

FEB. 1964

March 5th
Clark College, Kresge Hall
9:30 pm
Dr. W. Astor Kirk
"The Role of the Church in the Desegregation Process"

58 - THURSDAY, FEB. 27 - 308

FRIDAY

FEBRUARY						
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28

FEB. 1964

Labor Unions
AFL-CIO pamphlet 22 p.
Equal Rights for All — The AFL-CIO Position
Pub. #133
815 16th St. NW
Washington 6, D.C.

59 - FRIDAY, FEB. 28 - 307

MONDAY

MARCH						
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9

MAR. 1964

Schools
add: Ga's Divided Edn

Cales
Morland

N.S. articles?
after 1959 (Nov.)

69 - MONDAY, MAR. 9 - 297

Memo

from **ED ALLBRIGHT**

N.Y. Times
12-21-63
11-member Pres. Commission
Report on Registration + Voting Participation
Ans

100
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Dr. Charles Hardwell
Coll. of Arts & Sciences
Carroll, Iowa.

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R. D.
Mrs. Sandmon (from Wisconsin 6 mos ago)
Dr 4-4219

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television
fairy tale image - tongue-in-cheek
communication —

YMCA
YWCA
creative crafts

Sr. Citizens — work w/ colored li
Alice Shaw
Ebner center Decatur

worker w/
100 N. Boy Scout

---

sells Cora Bonner shirts
colored customers friends

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Another project (riches to rags)

quiet communication -

old Mansion - delapidated

3 new teen age girls homeless children

17 - 18 unadoptible

Marry grandchildren -

husband 62 -

Dear Thelma,

In case you haven't heard yet, Jeannie had a boy - 8 lbs. 2 oz. at 6:30 a.m. Saturday, June 1st. He is right plump and very cute. Everyone is happy, and they've named him Kirk Wayne (or Dwayne) Ayers. Jerry & Jeannie have bought a small house in a new subdivision and will have other young couples as neighbors.

Donna graduated Friday night. She now wears size 16 and looks so much better - even has a waist-line! Aleta has lost some

weight too.

Dick (Joe's brother) and Barbara are planning to adopt a little girl between now and Christmas.

Just think - I'm a great-aunt and you are a great-grandmother! How about that? Oh, but you already were, with Eddie III and Leigh - I forgot. Our family is really multiplying.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Women Change Minds More --And Are Promoted Less

By HARRY FERGUSON

WASHINGTON (UPI) — It's a woman's privilege to change her mind, and that is precisely the reason why she finds it hard to get ahead in business.

If she is unmarried and planning on a career, she will change her mind fast as soon as the right man asks the right question. If she is married, she will suddenly change her mind and decide to have a baby immediately instead of waiting three years. Every study made of the female work force in the United States brought complaints from employers that women were less stable than men.

The result is that women find it harder to get a job and harder to get promoted when they find one. The National Office Management Association found that one-third of the firms paid women less money than men for equivalent work and experience. A woman bank teller with five years experience, for instance, earned from $5 to $15 a week less than men tellers.

One of the most frequent complaints made by employers is that women have an emotional rather than a rational approach toward their jobs and business in general. Albert E. Schwabacher, an investment banker, finds some women actually fall in love with certain stocks:

"They are likely to develop affectionate feelings toward some of their investments. They often buy or refuse to buy for purely emotional reasons. Affections are properly bestowed upon people, they can perhaps be bestowed upon boats, but they never should be directed toward stocks and bonds."

Other objections to hiring women have been brought out in national surveys:

—Many companies are reluctant to have women supervise departments where men are employed.

—Women have substantially higher rates of absenteeism.

—Few women have the training or knowledge for high-level positions and it is too expensive to give them the needed qualifications.

Apparently employers consider the married woman with children under 18 as the best risk of all. There are 9.7 million of them holding jobs in the United States and their median age is 38. What makes them good employment risks, the U.S. Women's Bureau says is that they need the money: "Many families cannot manage without the mother's earnings."

Those earnings are likely to be small compared with male salaries. About one-third of all earn less than $3,000 a year. Only six per cent of them earn better than $7,000.

An education, of course, helps a woman find work, but it has to be the right kind of education. In their book "Educated American Women," Eli Ginzberg and Alice M. Yohalen quote Miss Noreen Nadler on what happened to her after she received a master's degree from Columbia University:

"I spent the next five months seeking employment, but there were no opportunities to continue teaching in New York. Personnel officers could see no relation between my background in classics and the specialized work they offered.

"My teaching experience (part time) was never considered favorably in any job interview. From the point of view of personnel management, no matter what the job, only the specialist is qualified to fill it . . . liberal training was held in small regard and a background in ancient classics still counts for nothing.

"I finally took a job as an invoice clerk with a large chemical firm in New York at a starting salary of $42 a week. This was the only position offered me after many months of searching. I am still working for the same organization, but I am not employed in electronic data processing after having been given the opportunity to take courses in programming and systems analysis. I earn about $130 a week."

Miss Nadler's point is that she had to educate herself twice in order to work her way up to a substantial salary.

Boards of education seem to think women are suited to teach in the elementary schools, but beyond that there are difficulties. There are some 860,000 women teaching in elementary schools, but when you move up to secondary schools the number drops to 243,000.

The professions are the toughest of all for women workers. Figures compiled by the U.S. Women's Bureau show that the percentage of women is as follows:

Scientists, 8 per cent; physicians, 6 per cent; lawyers, 3 per cent; engineers, 1 per cent.

NYT 3/28/67

SEX DISCRIMINATION

'NOW' WOMEN'S UNIT, ASKS EQUAL RIGHTS

CHICAGO (UPI) — Full equality for women means, among other things, the right to help pay the rent.

This was the proclamation of NOW, a new organization dedicated to achieving civil rights for women — "to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women."

Betty Friedan, who wrote "The Feminine Mystique," spread NOW's gospel at the organization's first Midwest news conference.

Miss Friedan said that NOW rejected the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of support.

"A true partnership between the sexes demands an equitable sharing of the responsibilities of home and children and the economic burdens of their support," she asserted.

Miss Friedan said there was no civil rights movement to speak for women "as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination."

NOW, she said, has vowed to press for full enforcement of laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex. She called for a nationwide network of child-care centers and "other social innovations" to enable women to work while rearing a family.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

U.S. Sex-Bias Law Difficult to Enforce

3/27/67

By ALEXANDER R. HAMMER

Enforcement of a Federal law banning job discrimination because of sex has been difficult and frequently impossible, a Federal civil-rights official said yesterday.

Russell Spector, a lawyer for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, made the statement at a conference here conducted by the Commerce and Industry Association.

The conference focused on the latest developments in enforcing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in employment because of sex, as well as on other Federal and state anti-discrimination laws.

Representatives of about 30 companies in New York and New Jersey were present at the discussion as well as state and city civil-rights officials.

Mr. Spector told the meeting that among the major problems

Continued on Page 41, Column 4

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

U.S. SEX-BIAS LAW HARD TO ENFORCE

Continued From Page 36

in enforcing Title VII were conflicts with state laws.

He added that the commission had received about 13,000 complaints since the Civil Rights Act went into effect in September, 1965. More than a third of the total pertained to Title VII, he said.

He advised employers to "obey the state law and wait until the court says you're wrong." He added that it may also be to the employers' advantage to seek court determination of the law.

Very few "real situations" have occurred, he noted, except in the modeling and entertainment fields, where the employer' need might dictate a restriction against employing a particular sex.

Most Complainants Women

However, he said, "compliance in the case of restrictive jobs is becoming more flexible and manageable."

Henry Spitz, general counsel for the New York State Commission for Human Rights, said his office had received 214 formal complaints of discrimination because of sex as of April 30. Of that total 165 were filed by women.

He said some employers felt women should not be hired for certain jobs. "I would say that these employers, under the discrimination law, have a difficult time proving this contention."

Thomas D. Sharkey, manager of employment compliance administration of the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, said industry could not invest indefinitely in hiring and training women for jobs, and then lose them when they got married and became pregnant.

New York State and city laws against discrimination and the Federal Civil Rights Act prohibit discrimination in employment because of sex unless based on a bona fide occupational qualification.

Rec'd 2/2/67

ESCRU

TO: KEY PERSONS

FROM: SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

RE: CONFERENCE ON AIMS OF CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE
(or something like that) JAN 10 - 13

This conference evolved over a period of eight months. We started talking about it when it was apparent that "black power" was to be the slogan; that the federal government's interest was on the wane; that the day of the grand demonstration was over; that organization was the thing over against just reaction to crisis; and that white, middle class religious types or "liberals" would have to do some re-evaluating.

No person or group was excluded. Keeping the group small was the biggest factor in determining who would come. Present were: The Rev'd Jack Thompson, Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd Mobile; Mr. and Mrs. James Wood, Mr. Wood is with the Southern Regional Council; Mr. George Crenshaw, Mr. Liddel Perry, communicants of Good Shepherd in Mobile; The Rev'd Layton Zimmer, "Church and Race Man" for the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania; The Rev'd Warren McKenna, formerly with the Delta Ministry; The Rev'd Kim Driesbach, Ass't Director of Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; The Rev'd David Nickerson, Southern Field Representative for E.S.C.R.U.; Mr. and Mrs. John Beecher, Mr. Beecher is a poet, a Roman Catholic, they live in Birmingham; an Episcopal priest from Alabama; two Lutheran clergymen from Alabama, one bringing his wife.

A resume of the conference is being compiled from notes. If you would like a copy let us know.

You contributors and supporters of the Project made this conference possible. Thank you. Those of us who attended found it more than worth it.

'The Negroes Just Couldn't Believe It'

How Desegregation Worked Out at Bryce

BY ROBIN REISIG

TUSCALOOSA -- "Mental illness levels people. Alcoholism, schizophrenia, or whatever aren't the province of one race," said Mrs. Barbara Price, a former employee at Bryce Hospital.

Mrs. Price was working at Bryce last April when 30 Negro patients desegregated the all-white mental hospital.

At the same time, 30 white patients desegregated all-Negro Searcy Hospital in Mt. Vernon, near Mobile. About a month later, Governor George C. Wallace ended the experiment in desegregation by transferring the patients back to the hospitals they had come from. He said families of the white patients at Searcy had complained.

But according to Mrs. Price, the experiment worked at Bryce Hospital. She said that staff members and patients accepted desegregation. They knew it "would have meant better salaries, better treatment for everyone because we could have applied for government grants."

Another hospital employee agreed. Mrs. Virginia Dobbins, director of the patient activities department, said that the desegregation was "very successful."

Mrs. Price worked in the patient activities section. The patients, wearing sports clothes, gather together in the department's central room to watch television, play ping pong, read the latest magazines, and chat.

Before the Negroes came to Bryce, Mrs. Price recalled, "A lot of white people had said, 'Oh, I'll never sit with a Negro.' But there was this thing they were all aware of: they were mentally ill; they were all in this situation, and were no longer special."

Then the Negro patients--mostly young boys--showed up. And instead of ignoring them, the white patients were friendly.

"There was a great deal of warmth and understanding expressed from one patient to another," Mrs. Price said. "The Negroes just couldn't believe it; they were bewildered. Then bingo, everyone was moved out."

"I'm sure the Negroes who integrated Bryce thought it was a dream. So maybe it was logic to them that they were deprived of it," she said.

The Negro patients in Alabama's mental hospitals have been deprived of a lot of things that the white patients have. But it didn't begin that way. Bryce Hospital, founded during the Civil War, was integrated until Searcy was built in 1902.

BRYCE MENTAL HOSPITAL IN TUSCALOOSA

Today, both hospitals are made up of large, handsome buildings with spacious grounds which the patients help keep. But--according to Alabama's new governor, Mrs. Lurleen Wallace--both hospitals are "overcrowded and understaffed."

Yet the shortages are not divided equally between the hospitals. Bryce has about 5,000 patients (including close to 400 Negroes, segregated in buildings far away from the main hospital), twice as many as Searcy's 2,500.

But Bryce has 4 1/2 times as many doctors, six times as many psychologists, six times as many social workers, and 7 1/2 times as many registered nurses.

Bryce has 21 medical doctors; Searcy has five. Bryce Rapid Treatment Center No. 2--the hospital's main Negro section--has one. Five of the M.D.'s at Bryce are certified psychiatrists; none of Searcy's psychiatrists are certified. Bryce has six psychologists with Ph.D.'s; Searcy has one. Bryce has 18 social workers; Searcy has three. Bryce has 30 registered nurses; Searcy has four.

The hospitals are roughly even only in number of chaplains--Bryce has three, Searcy has one.

The jobs are not equally divided. None of the doctors, psychiatrists, social workers, or registered nurses at either hospital is Negro. Before the Alabama Department of Mental Health went on the state merit system this fall, nurses' aides and attendants were separated into four groups for salaries, ranging down from "white men," the best paid, through "white women," "colored men," and "colored women."

A man who has worked closely with the hospitals said that the money for patients isn't shared evenly either. Although the state says it spends $3.20 per patient each day, the man said, Searcy actually gets about $2 a day for each patient, while Bryce gets more than $4.

The statistics make it look like Alabama cares more about its white mental patients than its Negro ones. But Robert G. Harris, director of information and public relations for the state's mental institutions, said the figures don't tell the whole story.

Harris said Searcy's patients get psychiatric care even though the hospital has no certified psychiatrist. "All of our M.D.'s are psychiatrists because they're all practicing psychiatry--like if a doctor takes your appendix out, he's a surgeon," the public relations director explained.

He said Bryce has a larger staff than Searcy partly to serve the rapid treatment center for Negroes. (But he admitted that the center has only one doctor, to the hospital's 21.)

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)

SOUL-SEARCHING AT BAYTREAT

'Will We Go On Playing Mr. Charlie?'

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

FAIRHOPE--A group of ministers and civil rights workers sat around a roaring fire for three days early this month and tried to figure out where the movement has gone and whether the Christian church should go there too.

The group of about 15 Negro and white people was called together by the Rev. Francis X. Walter, director of the Selma Interreligious Project. It included ministers and laymen who have worked for civil rights up North and down South, not-so-recent events in civil rights.

"Was Selma just three weeks of 'pop race'?" asked Walter. "Or was it a preview of things to come?" No one gave a direct answer.

But nearly everyone welcomed the push for black power. And most people felt that the integrated civil rights movement of the early 1960's was dead.

"We've gone through the social and political phase of the civil rights movement," said Warren McKenna, who used to work with the Delta Ministry in Mississippi. "We're now in the economic phase of the revolution and, baby, that's when

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In the peace and quiet of Baytreat camp, the members of the group sorted out their ideas and feelings about recent and not-so-recent events in civil rights.

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"We've gone through the social and political phase of the civil rights movement," said Warren McKenna, who used to work with the Delta Ministry in Mississippi. "We're now in the economic phase of the revolution and, baby, that's when the white man closes the door."

Kim Dreisbach, associate director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, said that black power doesn't mean Negroes and whites can't work for the same ends.

"Coalitions may consist of whites working with whites, and blacks with blacks--attacking a common problem from different flanks rather than always working side by side," he suggested.

Then the group puzzled over the role of white Christians in getting black power. Several white ministers remarked that the churches themselves had done little or nothing to end racism and discrimination.

The institutional church is "one of the central nerves in the system of white America," a minister noted.

"When push comes to shove--when the revolution comes -- even if it's another riot, will we go on playing Mr. Charlie or will we be out there throwing a brick too?" asked another man.

Everybody at the conference agreed that the church wasn't doing the job it should be doing. But different people had different ideas about how to get it back on the right track.

"We start by telling people that their historical, cultural, and economic gods are dead!" one man proposed. Someone objected that people look to the church for stability in a fast-moving society.

"We've got to change that," was the reply. "You've got to tell the middle class that change is coming, and tell the poor that they're going to do it!"

TIME OUT FOR FISHING AT BAYTREAT CAMP

One minister had another question: "I didn't ask for a middle-class, white congregation, so I'm asking, 'What can I do?'"

"Make sure you don't teach any more of them to be Christians like that," came the answer.

The conference didn't come up with any specific plan for revolutionizing the church. But several people agreed in a statement that went like this:

"We are white middle-class, and members of the church; therefore we should do everything possible to expose racism in the church--not by 'study groups,' etc., but by direct action. We should adapt the tools of the movement -- demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins--to 'God's frozen people.'"

TALKING ABOUT THE CHURCH AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Church Called 'Society Of Little Old Ladies'

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

FAIRHOPE--"You can bend history," a teacher from the Ecumenical Institute of Chicago told an unusual, week-long course here early this month.

The students, laymen and clergymen from the Mobile and Gulf area, gathered in separate groups at Baytreat to hear some rapid-fire lectures on the Ecumenical Institute's proposal for a new kind of church.

Joseph Mathews, head of the Institute, has explained it like this:

"In the past, we thought the church was the place where you make gentlemen's agreements to like each other. . . which anybody with one ounce of raw, red, human blood knew was for the birds.

"The church became a society of little old ladies of both sexes. The clerics became the kept woman.... If we kept our nose clean, they would send us to Palestine once in a lifetime. Or if we were a Negro, they would give us a Cadillac."

The new church, according to the Ecumenical Institute, must be dedicated to action to improve the world. Then it can lead the way in all kinds of revolutionary movements, including the civil rights movement.

But first, the Institute aimed to let people know just what kind of a world they were living in. The teachers gave lessons on the modern "revolutions" in religion, science, and city living.

The teachers also tried to "unglue" their students from old ways of looking at the world--and to convince them that they could change things for the better.

One way to do that, explained David Scott, a teacher from the Institute, is to give people a new idea of themselves. "We shouted 'Hallelujah' when black power came along," he said, because it fitted right in with the Institute's teachings about self-respect.

The Institute course also stressed the importance of groups of people committed to working together to change things.

"You have to have some way to hold people accountable for doing a job without using the feeling of guilt for not getting the job done," Scott said. "Our image is that one person will do his job. If he's supposed to register 50 voters and comes back without having done it, we're not interested in his excuses. We want to know what his battle plans are for getting them registered tomorrow."

Scott said that this kind of forward - looking discipline could change the course of the whole civil rights movement in big cities like Chicago.

"Groups like SCLC haven't grasped the. . . need for disciplined structure, except in emergency situations," he said. "If SCLC had worked for three months in Chicago like they did in Selma for three weeks, they could have cracked it open."

The people who attended the Institute course were brought together by the Rev. Bill Alerding of Prichard. Not all of them liked it. One minister from Mississippi left half-way through the course. Another complained of "brain-washing."

But those who stayed heard the Institute teachers insist that the "new" church will be responsible for future movements, and eventually, a revolution in civil rights and the whole structure of American life.

(agency) ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Palm Sunday NEWSLETTER March 19, 1967

BOARD CONSIDERS DIRECTIONAL AND FINANCIAL CRISIS

Meeting at Chicago's Ecumenical Institute in January, ESCRU's Board of Directors looked at differences in its own number on the primary role it is believed ESCRU has to play and cast an anxious eye toward the recession in giving generally felt in such organizations around the country. A complete copy of the minutes may be had on request. Officers elected for the year are: President-Malcolm Peabody, Jr.; Vice-President-The Rev. Jesse Anderson; Secretary-Miss Judith Upham; and Treasurer-Mrs. Donald Frey. In addition to the officers, the Executive Committee includes: Mrs. Aaron Oliver, Fr. Earl Neil and Fr. Robert Hood. There was some consensus that ESCRU's primary role is in working within the Church, as, for instance, in the petition effort aimed at Seattle and ways in which ESCRU could focus on clergy placement were discussed. A Special Report on this subject was assigned to Fr. Hood. In another area, the Rev. Bruce Kennedy will do a report on Community Organization, and was also appointed Chairman for planning the program for the Annual Meeting which will convene just prior to General Convention. No easy solutions to the financial crisis were found, with one viewpoint being that ESCRU would simply have to curtail operations commensurate with resources. It was suggested that ESCRU-in-the-Budget is still one of our chief resources needing support. (See budget figures elsewhere in this mailing.) The Rt. Rev. Frederick W. Putnam, Jr., of Oklahoma was elected to fill a vacancy on the Board, and Mrs. Oliver was appointed Chairman of this year's Nominating Committee. The Rev. Henri Stines was reappointed ESCRU's representative to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights .....

CIVIL RIGHTS-1967: WILL WE MOBILIZE THIS TIME?

The post-mortem for last year's civil rights legislation rightly saw much blame at the Church's door for not turning out as in 1964 & 1965. President Johnson has now gone once again to the Congress to seek vitally needed measures affecting discrimination in housing, jury composition reforms (remember the Hayneville trial of Jon Daniels'assailant), protection of persons working for racial justice, the strengthening of equal employment programs, and the work of the U.S.Civil Rights Commission. Write your Senators & Congressman! Get the diocese to speak out! Ask Executive Council's CSR Department if they're going to do the same good job that was done in rallying Churchmen in 1964!

IN MEMORIAM

Stephen and Audrey Currier

Caribbean Sea - January 18, 1967

In mid-February I represented the Episcopal Society at memorial services for this young couple at St. James' Church, New York. It was their generosity which matched the commitment of a handful of Churchmen in 1960 to launch ESCRU. Their dedication to racial unity and justice made the difference in many other similiar endeavors and reveals much about the nature of a stewardship required of all of us.

- John B. Morris

A DECLARATION AND PETITION TO GENERAL CONVENTION

Ten thousand or more Churchmen will journey to the Church's triennial conclave in September to urge a repentent spirit for our common failures regarding cultural and racial unity within the Household and a new determination to work and give for renewal. Some of these will literally go to Seattle, while the greater number will be represented by their signatures affixed to the enclosed ESCRU petition that will be delivered to the General Convention in some dramatic fashion. Originally adopted at the November Annual Meeting, the ESCRU Board at its January meeting determined that the document should be cast in such petitionary form and circulated throughout the the Church with a goal of at least 10,000 names. Bishop Myers, who laid the original statement on the Presiding Bishop's desk last fall, is the Honorary Chairman for the petition drive. Every ESCRU member is asked to gather as many signatures as possible. Additional petition forms may be secured from Atlanta. Several Bishops have already indicated they are endorsing the drive. THE LIVING CHURCH has editorially commended it (see page 5). In some areas a special Sunday will see a concerted drive for Churchmen to stand up and be counted, with many planning this for Whitsunday - May 14th. Every effort should be made to promote this before summer, but petitions may be sent to Atlanta as late as September 10th. Every concerned Episcopalian has the opportunity to be heard in Seattle! It is not limited to ESCRU members, but if each member gets three others to sign we'll double our initial expectation. A massive petitionary effort will serve to elevate the tenor of General Convention and counter the rumored thunder from the right which some anticipate. It will provide a basis and a climate upon which committed Deputies (and we will have quite a few ESCRU members on hand) can build for a more forthright vision and program than came out of the last General Convention.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE FOR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

As a stop-gap alleviation to the financial crisis we face, ESCRU's Executive Director proposed to the Board and has been granted a six-month non-salaried leave...allowing him, also, time for the reading and writing too lacking since ESCRU got underway seven years ago. This will start April 1st. Our Associate Director will be in charge during the interim and all communications pertaining to ESCRU operations should be directed to him. If the good level of grass roots giving is maintained, we'll break even this year and be better able to discern the future.....

1967 ESCRU BOARD ELECTIONS

Ballots will be distributed to all members prior to the Seattle Annual Meeting with Nominations to the ESCRU Board of Directors. Lay Directors are to be elected this year from Provinces 1,2,3 & 7; with clerical Directors from Provinces 4,5,6 & 8. Send suggestions for nominations to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee: Mrs. Aaron Oliver, 2151 Emerald, San Diego, California 92109. July 17th is the deadline for receipt of suggestions. For a copy of Associate Director Dreisbach's detailed memo on Board Elections this year, write the Atlanta office.

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE TO SHARE OFFICES

Under an arrangement beneficial to both, the Chicago-based Cooperative League of the U.S.A. will use space in the ESCRU offices beginning April 1st for their new Southern program to be staffed by Merlin Miller. The recently retired President of the League was Jerry Voorhis, a former Congressman from California and an active Churchman.

GTS STUDENTS CANCEL GRANT TO SEGREGATED HOME

Upon learning that St. Michael's Farm for Boys at Picayune, Mississippi, is segregated and has no intentions of changing, the Missionary Society of the General Theological Seminary in New York voted 131 to 56 to rescind the grant they had intended giving from offerings this year. Independently of the GTS action, ESCRU investigated the situation and learned that other authorities are questioning the competence of St. Michael's to pursue their role of rehabilitating delinquent boys on grounds other than race. St. Michael's declares itself to be non-sectarian, but maintains a thoroughly Anglican form in the Chapel. The Diocese of Mississippi is giving full consideration to all these factors in an exploration not yet concluded. ESCRU suggests that Churchmen who have supported St. Michael's write to express their concern, and then in the fall contact the Diocese of Mississippi and the national CSR Department for advice on whether to continue support.

HIGH COURT TO RULE ON PRIESTS' SUIT

Arguments were heard before the Supreme Court in January in the case of Pierson vs. Ray, the suit in which four clergy from the ESCRU-sponsored "Prayer Pilgrimage" of 1961 charged Jackson, Miss., police with unlawful arrest, deprivation of civil rights, etc. Unusual constitutional issues arose and the expense now is being shared by the ACLU and the Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund, formerly associated with CORE, with Carl Rachlin remaining as counsel to the plaintifs. Watch the N. Y. TIMES for a detailed report on how the Court rules.

WITHDRAW U.S. TRACKING STATIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

The ESCRU office has written numerous government officials in support of the American Committee on Africa's effort to focus attention on segregation at U. S. tracking stations in South Africa. Several Congressmen have expressed the hope that our General Convention reinforce their own efforts in this direction by declaring itself again on Apartheid with specific reference to any and all cooperative programs between our government and South Africa.

PARISHES MERGE IN GEORGIA

In his address before Diocesan Convention, the Bishop of Atlanta reported recently that members of two Negro missions had transferred to previously all-white parishes and that, in at least one instance, Negro communicants had been elected to the Vestry. Contextually speaking, since these situations are in small Georgia communities, it would appear to outdistance much of what passes for progress in the North

Executive Council Accepts Position Paper

In spite of efforts by conservatives, the Church's Executive Council accepted - after modifications - a relatively strong document submitted by the CSR Department treating of the present needs and mood of the country and the Church vis-a-vis race. It offers valuable insights on the subject of Black Power, notwithstanding the fact that the conservatives succeeded in having this term stricken from the title. For a copy of "THE NEGRO AMERICAN AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INTERDEPENDENCE" write the Rev. Quinland Gordon, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017. Fr. Gordon, a veteran of the ESCRU "Prayer Pilgrimage" of 1961, was the chief architect of this excellent document.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT PAPERS

"A Declaration by Priests who are Negroes...." to the Presiding Bishop, treating of personnel policies in the Episcopal Church, is enclosed with this Newsletter. Sufficient copies for ESCRU members were provided by the Rev. Quintin Primo of Wilmington, Delaware, who was one of those instrumental in the drafting of this appeal & charge which the Presiding Bishop has subsequently had sent to all bishops....."The Powell Affair - A Crisis Of Morals and Faith" is a timely document on the significance of the Adam Clayton Powell situation in the Congress. A copy may be obtained by writing: The National Committee of Negro Churchmen, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 552, New York 10027.

SOUTHERN CLERGY NOW LICENSED

ESCRU's Executive Director and the Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director of the Selma Interreligious Project, have had occasion recently to write the Bishops in the dioceses in which they reside to express appreciation for being licensed, while in Florida the Rev. W. Robert Hampshire, a priest-instructor at Florida Memorial College, has been asked by the Archdeacon of the diocese to assist in supplying at a nearby congregation which is without a Vicar.

"CHANGING OF THE GUARD"

ESCRU was represented recently at a reception at Executive Council honoring the Rev. Canon Almon Pepper, retiring Director of the Department of Christian Social Relations, and his two successors, Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, now Acting Director of CSR, and the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, who has become Acting Associate Director. Another recent change saw the resignation of the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, now with Uncle Sam's Community Relations Service.

MURRAY'S PEACE: THE LOUISIANA COMPROMISE

Peace-at-all-costs carried the day. A specious harmony now reigns over the Diocese of Louisiana and stands a good chance of becoming the norm for the Church in backlash. No matter that St. Mark's Parish, Shreveport, has been a cancer in the life of the Church, harboring the worst of Episcopal right-wing racism and cunningly through the years seeking to undermine the National Council of Churches & our own Executive Council - all the while withholding funds from their support. They had to become reconciled! (Which is being interpreted, we need their money and, really now, it isn't good for us to have these sharp differences in the Church!)....So what does the Diocese of Louisiana do but appoint a Committee on Tensions. Like having a committee to renew the Church, it was all so simple. With the assistance of the Bishop Coadjutor of Alabama and a conservative Florida railroad executive who counsels the Southern Church to look-away-Dixie-to-M.R.I., the committee came up with the four page report appearing below and on the next page. We are reprinting it in full because it holds so much danger for the entire Church, like a kind of Munich in our efforts to face the crucial issues of the day. The Louisiana diocesan paper offered this insight into their dynamics of compromise: "At the fourth session, the Rt. Rev. George M. Murray, Bishop Coadjutor of Alabama, and Mr. Prime Osborn, of Jacksonville, both members of the National Executive Council, explained in some detail their involvement in Executive Council actions and the degree of success which they have had in representing the conservative approach in many matters concerning the Church of today." An illustration of this success was observed at the Executive Council session in Greenwich on February 16th where Bishop Murray played a leading role in diluting a statement on current racial tensions. Having just won with the conservatives on moderating the title of the document, Murray had to rush off to the airport. As he passed Walker Taylor, the M.R.I. coordinator, Taylor called out: "George....Good job! Good job!" ..... Peace again.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE

On the last day of the 1966 session of the Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana, a Convention delegate requested "that the Bishop appoint a committee to attempt to work out a reconciliation of all parties within the Diocese." The suggestion came as a result of the sharp cleavage which has developed within the Diocese in recent years.

In early February the Bishop, in collaboration with the Bishop Coadjutor, appointed a special committee to explore ways and means of recovering that harmony which the Diocese of Louisiana sorely needs. Three clergy and seven laymen were named. The committee has met four times, with excellent attendance and free discussion.

What is the basis of the cleavage that has sorely affected the church in the Diocese of Louisiana? The specific differences among our people can only be understood and appreciated when they are considered against the background of the enormous social, political, and economic changes we have experienced. Who among us has not been confused, perturbed or concerned?

This committee appreciates that a large number of Episcopalians of this Diocese believe that a distinction between church and state should be observed and that they have been displeased by certain pronouncements and actions of the National Council of Churches and by the Executive Council of our own Church. Protests have been made by individual parishes and missions, in resolutions of Diocesan Conventions, in debate and action at our General Conventions. The serious cleavage within our Diocese, and also within some others, springs from how such displeasure and protest should be registered and made effective. With all Christianity searching for reconciliation and understanding, it is inconceivable that we will permit this breach to widen and worsen.

Within its objective of narrowing or closing the breach, the work of our committee was concerned with four general areas:

(1) Developing an understanding of the thinking of individuals, parishes and missions which led to our present state of cleavage.

(2) Determining the extent of our present agreement which could provide a common ground on which to reunite.

(3) Establishing open communication to bring into focus areas of agreement and aid to developing alternate courses of action to resolve our difference of opinion by holding discussions within the committee itself, with other elements of the Diocese and with our Provincial representatives to the Executive Council of the Church.

(4) Providing a recommendation to the Diocese which would permit reconciliation without major sacrifice of principle or conviction.

After several meetings this committee believes that much common ground has been established, communication channels have been opened and acceptable recommendations have been developed. These actions and recommendations follow in detail.

In its first meeting, your committee sought to define and understand the viewpoints represented. We reviewed complaints made about the NCCCA and our Executive Council, discussed the mission and oneness of the Church, and had prepared a report of progress by the Diocese of Louisiana and its representatives in opposing activities of a political nature of the National Church and the National Council of Churches. The committee agreed that there existed much misunderstanding within the Diocese for various reasons. Primarily, it is a failure to understand and appreciate the position of those holding different opinions partly due to a lack of communication.

Our second meeting, in early June in Shreveport, provided an opportunity for the committee's members to meet with representatives of the Shreveport-area parishes. The committee has considered a resume of the St. Mark's memorandum on church political activity during 1965.

The third meeting of the committee, also held in June, was in New Orleans and involved the New Orleans clericus. There was a lengthy discusison of the church's role in contemporary life; of the beneficial, non-controversial work of the National Council of Churches; of our individual responsibility as Christians and Episcopalians. In executive session following this meeting, the committee began to manifest a general confidence that reconciliation could be achieved without the sacrifice of principle or conviction.

So that we might know firsthand of the work of our Executive Council of the National Church, and of its consideration of the controversial issues before the committee, an audience with members of the Council from our province was requested. Bishop George Murray of Alabama and Mr. Prime Osborn of Jacksonville, Florida met with the committee in late November in New Orleans. Their report of our Executive Council's discussions and actions was encouraging. Their advice and suggestions are incorporated in the spirit of our recommendations to this Convention.

What are our recommendations? There are three.

The committee is convinced that our differences must be reconciled before irreparable damage is done to our Church and Diocese, to our parishes and missions, to individual Episcopalians—to all Christianity. We suggest an open mind; a spirit of love, understanding and tolerance; an adherence to sound principle and belief; and a realization of how much better our talents and energies may be used as soon as this cleavage is eliminated. We ask your thoughtful consideration of our recommendations.

The committee is convinced that the Church must involve itself in life. The determination of when and how is often difficult. We believe that this Church's faith, organization and structure provide the opportunity for involvement, yet with restraint on abuses. In the

future we will again do too little, or too much, or both, at the wrong time, but we can always steady on the right course, given time and the opportunity. But at this time corrections in our course can more effectively be made from within by the persuasive influence of individuals, parishes and missions participating fully and unconditionally in the support and work of the Church at every level.

We recommend participation in, and financial support to the limit of our ability, of programs of the Diocese and of the national Protestant Episcopal Church.

The committee is convinced that certain actions and pronouncements by the NCCCA, and the Executive Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, were wrong or ill-advised, and needed to be called to the attention of all Episcopalians. We believe the Church has the right and duty to speak to its people on secular and controversial matters, but not the right to speak for its people unless so authorized. The circumstances that permitted some of what we considered abuses have been protested and some have been changed. Our Bishop voiced "his discontent"; in 1964 the Convention of this Diocese "protested and deplored" certain activities; our General Convention in 1961 and again in 1964 raised questions about the NCCCA and instructed our representatives to inform that body of our concern about some of its statements and activities and our wishes for certain changes in procedure.

That our voice, combined with others, is and has been heard, is confirmed in the heartening reports of Bishop Murray and Mr. Osborn, members of our Executive Council, on their own beliefs and activities and those of the Council. Consideration by that Council of the Church's problems are in better perspective; staff activities of our National Church and the NCCCA are being monitored more carefully; the authority, direction and guidance of the Presiding Bishop is more fully exercised. The Executive Council of the National Church has officially informed the NCCCA that it is not to speak for or in the name of the Episcopal Church, or its members, unless specifically authorized to do so by the General Convention, The House of Bishops, or the Executive Council. The committee was gratified to hear a report of discussion on this subject at the Fberuary 1966 Executive Council meeting. The Presiding Bishop "stated that it is his opinion that when our Representatives have called the attention of the General Board or of is Executive Committee (of the NCCCA), concerning any proposed action, that this Church has taken no stand thereon, and have sought, in discussion, to restrain those bodies from presenting formal proposals, they are then free, as individual Christians, to vote their convictions in the premises.

The Presiding Bishop, finally, stated his firm position against the identifying of any specific legislation as being the embodiment of "the" Christian position.

We recommend to the Convention that gratitude and support be tendered to Bishop Murray and Mr. Osborn for their assistance; that the Bishops, the clergy and lay people of this Diocese all resolve to better acquaint Louisiana Episcopalians with the work of our National Church and its Executive Council; that this Convention carefully and deliberately elect its delegates to the General Convention and Provincial Synod wih full recognition of the importance of viewpoints they will represent and of the serious nature of their deliberations, decisions and pronouncements—to the end that we may be effectively heard on issues of importance to us now and in the future.

This committee further recommends that for 1967 the Budget of the National Church and the Budget of this Diocese be considered as integral parts of our Church's work and that if any adjustments between the total program budget as proposed in September and the total program budget submitted to Convention should be necessary, then both that portion which applies to the Diocese and that portion which is asked by the National Church shall be adjusted by the same percentage so as to reflect the financial support of all our parishes and missions. This recommendation is consistent with the principle of the "partnership plan" of stewardship which will be considered at the 1967 General Convention. Under present canons, the recommendation refers only to the Program Budget or Asking. If the Diocesan Program Budget and the Convention Budget should be consolidated, the total of this unified budget would be adjusted with the budget of the National Church in the same manner.

The committee believes that adoption of this report by the Convention may provide a satisfactory solution to our differences. The scripture which Bishop Jones used to close his 1966 address to this Convention is especially meaningful. From the second chapter of the First Epistle of John:

"Brethren, I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye have had from the beginning. . . . And this is the message that ye had from the beginning, that we should love one another."

This report is respectfully submitted for adopted by this Convention.

James W. Carr
Harry B. Kelleher
A. Brown Moore
Francis W. Scott
Joseph D. Smith, Editor
Lawton T. Stevens
Foster Walker
Vernon W. Woods

Rev. Richard R. Cook
Rev. J. Lawrence Plumley, D.D.
The Very Rev. Richard W. Rowland

Rt. Rev. Girault M. Jones, D.D.
Rt. Rev. Iveson B. Noland, D.D.

EDITORIAL NOTE: "...The peace of God, it is no peace, But strife closed in the sod. Yet, brothers, pray for but one thing- The marvelous peace of God." - HYMN NO. 437

HERE AND THERE

There's been justifiable concern over OEO treatment of Mississippi's CDGM headstart program, with the fallout descending on the government-favored MAP headstart effort. Now comes KKK-type violence against MAP workers, as when they bombed the home of Mrs. Jane Schutt of Jackson whom many ESCRU members will remember from the 1965 Annual Meeting. It would appear that CDGM and MAP are equally anathema to those who are resisting change in Mississippi.....According to the February 9th DALLAS TIMES HERALD Bishop Mason of Dallas assured his people that neither he nor the diocese had any part in inviting Bishop Pike and Fr. Malcolm Boyd to address a NCC meeting which convened there recently.....Several ESCRU members were among those arrested convicted recently in a Detroit courtroom for involvement in a demonstration last fall aimed at sub-standard housing and urban renewal procedures.....And in New Rochelle, N. Y., former NYC Chapter Chairman Fr. Lorentho Wooden was among those arrested in a protest action aimed at discrimination against Negroes on construction jobs at an urban renewal site.....But in California 63% of 338 Episcopal Church women expressed themselves in a survey as being against participation by Church leaders in civil rights demonstrations that could lead to their being arrested.....In Alabama there is a parish with a 1967 Proposed Budget of $22,843.00 which has ESCRU-in-the-Budget for $100.00, a significant amount from such a source - and they've always been true to their word in what they have proposed the Society. It would be good if lots more could do the same.....And South Africa is now moving against clergy from other countries who serve there and who oppose Apartheid, including at least one ESCRU priest-member who has been required to leave recently.....While in Detroit recently Churchmen saw two front-page stories on former Michigan Suffragans doing the Lord's work: In San Francisco, Bishop Myers was installed as diocesan; and the other headline: "Bishop DeWitt Fights On as Philadelphia Seethes".....And along the Coastal South come the annual announcements of Church-sponsored garden and home tours which a few "tour-ins" would probably consign to secular auspices.

REFLECTIONS FROM ONE TAKING LEAVE - I was just looking for a space for these remarks and didn't plan it this way, but the two inserts below graphically reveal the dual focus I've always believed to be an ESCRU responsibility: Work for renewal and change within the Church, and witness without in the general community. So what's new about that! Don't we all agree? I'm not sure, although I think the preponderant committment in ESCRU is thusly directed. But now comes the disarray within the "movement" and a parallel directional crisis in ESCRU. I think we discern now a coalition of ingredients which have these past seven years been harmoniously bound together by history and the needs we've faced. It's too simple to make a dichotomy, but you have to for the sake of drawing the issue out. Essentially, in ESCRU we have been those who cared tremendously about the involvement of the Church in "the movement", but really don't care deeply about the renewal of the Church; and there are those who care tremendously about the renewal of the Church and who deeply believe that one aspect of this is involvement in the "movement" or whatever else predominates on the secular scene. Indeed, for the latter group, in which I count myself, there must necessarily always be the dual emphasis and involvement. It is of the nature of the Church. In the priorities that have to be weighed at a national office, with limited staff and finances, I lay more store by national ESCRU concentrating on the internal matters having to do with change and renewal and change in the Church - simply because there is no other free-wheeling organization able or interested in this - but at the local chapter level, obviously the sacred and secular are inseperable. There are those, though, who would have national ESCRU place internal matters secondary and presume to play some substitutionary role for all the failures of the Church in the community. Our genius has been to exert far greater influence than our resources would suggest in pressing here and there from within to cause our 3-million leviathan to move a little - albeit in what some call "churchy" matters. It is naive to think that ESCRU is capable at the national level of being some super Civil Rights organization. We are simply a voice of concern within a larger household....Moving the office North, throwing ourselves nationally into any specific panacea (e.g. - community organization) which is today's latest thing in the nearly-defunct movement, etc., all miss the mark of what ESCRU has and can do within the area in which it is competent to make a difference.....That it is so often said: "Why doesn't ESCRU do such and such...?" is testimony to our suceess in being seen as, in fact, the Church at work in Christian Social Relations concerns, but it often reveals an unrealistic concept of what we've done and can do, while at the same time it very well may be ESCRU's role to try to direct the official agencies of the Church more toward new programs and commitments. ESCRU isn't the Church, but must care deeply about renewal within that constantly moves out.-JBM

The ESCRU Petition

(THE LIVING CHURCH - February 26,1967)

With some reservations about the use in it of one word, we approve the declaration and petition to the 62d General Convention put forth by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (see page 5). We shall sign it, and urge others to sign it, for this simple and sufficient reason: the situation to which it calls attention exists in the Episcopal Church — indeed, is normal in the Church — and it is wrong; sinfully, inexcusably wrong. It is hard to see how any Churchman, arguing on Christian grounds, could take issue with this statement.

Our one semantic difficulty is with the use of the term "heretical" to describe the Church's denial in practice of what it preaches and professes about brotherhood in Christ. If the Church formally *taught* what it all too commonly practices, this would be heretical. To say that some Christians because of the color of their skin should be consigned to a special place in the Church's life, a place befitting that second-class citizenship of the kingdom of God which God wills for them, would be heretical, *i.e.* false doctrine; false, that is, if Christianity is true. Therefore we prefer to call the Church's common practice something that is worse than heretical in our books — hypocritical and sinful. (The heretic may not know any better; the hypocrite and sinner does.)

The official position of the Church touching this matter is put forth clearly enough, and with the force of law binding upon all its members, in its Canon 16, sec. 4: "Every communicant or baptized member of this Church shall be entitled to equal rights and status in any Parish or Mission thereof. He shall not be excluded from the worship or Sacraments of the Church, nor from parochial membership because of race, color, or ethnic origin."

Every single factual assertion in the ESCRU statement concerning the Church's sins of omission and commission — mostly the former — is only too true, and calls not for nit-picking argument but for sincere repentance and an honest effort toward amendment of institutional life on every level — administrative, diocesan, parochial, and personal. Perhaps we should have put "personal" first. It would be well for every Churchman looking at this ugly reality in the Church's life to begin with the prayer which the fear-ridden friends of Jesus offered when He told them that He was about to be betrayed: "Lord, is it I?"

PICKETING THE GOVERNORS WALLACE

Reverend Samuel Williams, Morehouse College professor and former head of the Atlanta NAACP and Reverend John Morris of the Episcopal Society of Culture and Racial Equality, led the picket line that greeted Alabama's Governor Lurleen Wallace and her husband, George, Tuesday at their address before the General Assembly. Slightly more than 100 pickets joined the line to express, "The Governors Wallace Do Not Speak For The South." (Lens-News Service Photo) - ATLANTA INQUIRER - March 4, 1967

A Vital Issue -

Clergy Placement:

Bishop Hallock's statement at the ordination of Father Benefee (see p. 8) is indeed timely. It calls upon all of us to come to grips with the age-old time-honored practice of assigning clergy by race. Here, as in other areas of her own life, the Church has fallen victim to the same "de facto segregation" which characterizes so much of American life, and intensifies the separation of the members of the body of Christ. Bishop Hallock's words give hope for the alleviation of one significant factor of separateness in our diocese.

The placement of Negro clergy has raised considerable dis cussion in recent years. A survey conducted by ESCRU in 1964 found that only a handful of Negro clergy were in any kind of interracial ministry. It was also revealed that candidates for holy orders had been discouraged by some bishops from entering seminary - because there was no forseeable vacancy in a "Negro parish". A delegation of Negro clergy to the House of Bishops meeting in Montana in 1965 was favorably received but to date there has been slight implementation of the bishops' subsequent resolutions.

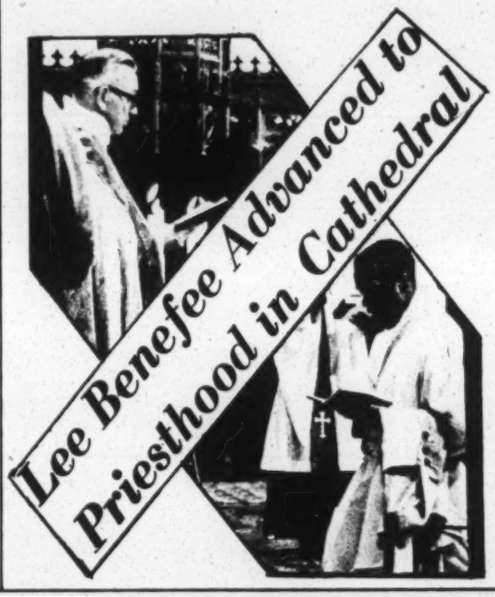
The issue of clergy placement received major attention at the annual convention of ESCRU in New York City last November. A group of approximately 20 Negro clergy, genuinely concerned with the "apathetic conscience of the Church in the midst of the American racial crisis", presented their views to the convention in a paper, part of which was incorporated in the ESCRU charge of "heresy". (see December issue of The Churchman) Convention delegates were urged to work for solutions by raising the issue of clergy placement in their home dioceses.

At the December meeting of Wisconsin ESCRU at Trinity Church, Wauwatosa, Fr. Earl Neil of Chicago spoke of ESCRU's efforts there to achieve equity for priests of Negro ancestry. He felt that this was one concrete area where an ESCRU chapter might be effecti e.

Bishop Hallock's forthright statement should prepare the way for more priests of minority group backgrounds to be called to serve the Diocese of Milwaukee.

MONTANA FOLLOW-THROUGH: Six priests from ESCRU "haunted" the 1965 meeting of the House of Bishops, supporting the adoption of a declaration by the Bishops that non-racial guidelines should prevail in the assignment & calling of clergy. One Bishop voted for the statement, but declared it wouldn't make any difference in his diocese. More faithful Shepherds have begun to extend the implications of the Montana Declaration, as in these excerpts from the diocesan papers in Milwaukee and in Chicago.....

"TAKE THOU AUTHORITY TO EXECUTE THE OFFICE OF A PRIEST.."



The ordination of the Rev. Lee Maur Benefee to the sacred order of priesthood is a joyful occasion. At the same time we are called to bear in mind that this ordination and all ordinations are occasion for solemn reflections. For us in the Diocese of Milwaukee this particular ordination calls us to reflect joyously and yet solemnly that the Church does not ordain Negro priests, nor does she ordain white priests, but only Catholic priests--priests of the whole Church of God.

Why do we feel called upon to say this, which surely seems obvious? Because it is not obvious. It is a deplorable fact that priests of Negro ancestry have been restricted in their ministry almost entirely to so called "Negro parishes." They have been considered "Negro priests".

We want it clearly understood now that Fr. Benefee is not being ordained a "Negro Priest". And we want to make it manifestly clear that Fr. Benefee is serving at St. George's parish because of the particular needs for an interracial ministry in that parish at this time and not because he cannot serve elsewhere in this diocese. We fully believe that he will be called to serve elsewhere. Furthermore we look forward to having more priests of Negro ancestry, and more interracial ministries, in our diocese in the future.

The charge is laid upon all of us, the Bishop, the Clergy, the laity, and more especially the elected representatives on vestries to seek out ways by which the lives of all of us may be enriched as we acknowledge but one family of God, containing men of every race and nation, and share together the rewards of genuine interracial living.

And so we do rejoice in the ordination of Fr. Benefee, the first priest of Negro ancestry in our diocese; and we solemnly reaffirm our intention -- as with God's help we are able -- to work for the day when ordaining a priest of Negro ancestry in the Diocese of Milwaukee will not be special news but a simple and natural part of our way of life.

Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of December, 1966, being the Feast of St. Thomas, and now formally signed as the pledge of my own intention.

The Bishop of Milwaukee

THE BISHOP OF CHICAGO'S PASTORAL LETTER ON CLERGY PLACEMENT

It is the duty of your Bishop from time to time to focus the attention of the Church in this Diocese upon matters of corporate concern and responsibility. One of these, which is well known to all of you, grows from the awakened conscience of the churches regarding racial justice. Our own Church is actively engaged with other Christians and religious bodies in attempting to arouse our society to guarantee to all people equal opportunity for decent housing, fair employment and good education.

Yet even as the Church undertakes this work, there are inequities within the life of the Church herself. In the realm of equal opportunity for racial minorities among us, our ears must burn at the sound of our Lord's query: "Why do you look at a speck of sawdust in your brother's eye, with never a thought for the great plank in your own." (S. Matthew 7:3, New English Bible)

We need constantly to examine our personal attitudes and preconditioned reactions to members of other races in terms of the Law of God revealed in the life and teaching of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Do we indeed "love our neighbors as ourselves?"

One questionable facet of the Church's life which has been uncritically assumed or ignored for many years is the placement of Negro clergy. The unfortunate fact is that we have practiced segregation at the very heart of our own church life. A priest is ordained to minister to *all* the people of God, and yet we prevent the free and full exercise of this ministry.

It is my intention to move actively to eradicate this evil within the life of the Church, and I will need the prayers, good will and cooperation of all the clergy and people of the Diocese.

From now on, Negro clergy will be nominated to any vestry or Bishop's committee of any parish or mission seeking a new rector or vicar. I am placing it on the consciences of the members of vestries and Bishop's committees to give equal consideration to any priests, Negro and white, who are so nominated.

I am asking Bishop Montgomery to place seminarians without regard to their color or race in congregations for summer work and to provide the names of Negro priests for supply and summer vacation assignments wherever such assistance may be needed.

Let us pray earnestly that our people will respond with Christian courage and love to this opportunity to witness in our corporate life to the faith that we claim is in us.

I am fully aware of the many problems this mandate may present to the local scene particularly in the matter of housing, community relations and possibly in arousing latent prejudice now quietly ignored, but this is a price the Church must pay if it is truly to proclaim the gospel of her Lord and Master both at His altars and in the world outside.

Be assured, brethren, of my complete willingness as your chief pastor and friend, to share with each and all of you, the consequences of this determination. I acknowledge my share of the sin which has too long frustrated the Church's mission to all men.

May the almighty and ever merciful God forgive each and all of us. May He give us the wisdom, courage and love to amend our personal and corporate lives. May He sustain us all in enduring the difficulties which may rise up before us. May He bring us, finally, to the enjoyment of our full and unhindered fellowship with each other in the bonds of His perfect love.

IF YOU SAW THE ARTICLE: Then, here's my Letter to the Editor - "While I do feel pessimistic about the role of the Church in the South's changing racial patterns, as suggested in Marshall Frady's perceptive 'God and Man in the South' in the January issue of ATLANTIC, I shall never cease working for a stronger Church & never would I say that I would "...just as soon see it all go down the drain", an expression not common to me. It will never be too late for the recovery of integrity within the Church, insofar as faithfulness is concerned, however irrelevant this may be to an increasingly polarized situation. I do not, in other words, partake of the "legacy of despair" Mr. Frady attributes to many Southern Churchmen, nor of any "ultimate pessimism", although I think there is ample cause for such. There will be those who will give up and withdraw - even from the Church - because of this. There are others of us who can not deny our inheritance in this family, however sick its present institutional life may be." (signed) The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, ESCRU

FIGHT - EASTMAN KODAK: ESCRU Members Urged To Act Now! - The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr.

In September of 1966 FIGHT (Freedom-Integration-God-Honor-Today), a community organization developed by Saul Alinsky and sponsored by the Rochester area Council of Churches, approached Kodak with a proposal calling for the development of a partnership program for the recruitment, selection, hiring & training of 600 hardcore, unemployed people. After several months, negotiations reached an impasse. Finally, on December 20, 1966, an agreement was signed by FIGHT and Kodak officials. Under the agreement, FIGHT's services were to be those of recruitment and maintaining a motivational counseling relationship to those accepted into the program, while Kodak pledged itself to a new training and hiring program for 600 unemployed over a 24-month period. Two and one half days later, to the complete surprise of FIGHT and the Kodak negotiating committee, Louis Eilers publicly voided the agreement. FIGHT heard this news over the 11:00 P.M. news with everyone else.

Following the voiding of the agreement, there were two meetings between FIGHT and Kodak in which FIGHT attempted to get the agreement reworded to satisfy any objections to it. A third meeting was mutually agreed upon, but Kodak stood up FIGHT. On February 21st, Kodak issued a statement that it would not consider any further meetings with FIGHT on this matter.

At stake now is the self-image of the Negro community and recognition of its organized voice and symbol. The urgency of frustration and unrest is at a near-breaking point. The nation's churches are greatly needed in this battle, for the issues being raised have implications for Negroes and poor people throughout the land. To all those of us who are appalled by racism and institutional irresponsibility toward the poor, this issue offers a concrete opportunity and a challenge.

Appropriate Actions:

1. Send letters to FIGHT, 86 Prospect Street, Rochester, N. Y. 14608, indicating your support of their actions;

2. Send telegrams or letters to Mr. Louis K. Eilers, President, Eastman Kodak Corporation, 232 State Street, Rochester, N. Y. 14614, expressing your dismay with Kodak's breaking of the agreement and refusal to face the poor;

3. Send letters to the Editors of newspapers giving the facts on the situation and expressing your concern.

4. Locate friends and institutions who own shares of Kodak stock. Notify FIGHT immediately by mail or phone (ID 6-9880) with the name, address, phone and number of shares owned. FIGHT will then contact the stockholders in an attempt to gain their proxy for the annual meeting to be held in Flemington, N. J., on April the 25th.

5. If you're a stockholder and can go, attend the Kodak meeting and let your voice be heard!

WORTH SEEING AND READING: Watch for the Rev. Bardwell L. Smith's "The Greater Heresy" in CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, treating of the ESCRU Annual Meeting last fall and other considerations of doctrine and morals in the Church.....A must: "Black Power and the American Christ", by Vincent Harding in the January 4th CHRISTIAN CENTURY...."What Happened To the Civil Rights Movement" is perceptively looked at by C. Vann Woodward in the January HARPER'S.... Powerful and aweful: "A Time for Burning", 16mm Motion Picture on efforts toward integration in an Omaha Lutheran parish (Contemporary Films, 267 W. 25th St., NYC 10001)....Write Fr. Francis Walter of the Selma Inter-religious Project about "Lay My Burden Down", an NET documentary on life in Selma after the Great March of '65. (S.I.P., 810 29thAve, Tuscaloosa, Ala.).....Note Lester Kinsolving's article in the January 23rd NATION for discussion of issues expected to come up at Seattle.

NOT SUCH HOT READING LATELY is The Episcopalian, our house organ which plays its role all too safely. Of course they do have bits and pieces about controversial matters every now and then, and there will be an occasional light-weight article about something important everyone agrees on (and they do carry Malcolm Boyd's film reviews). but it can't compare with numerous other denominational publications, including, for instance, PRESBYTERIAN SURVEY published in the South for an all-Southern denomination, and it wouldn't even be fair to compare it with various Roman Catholic periodicals such as JUBILEE, AVE MARIA, COMMONWEAL, NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER, etc., most of which, it is true, enjoy a non-establishment sponsorship. But, then, THE EPISCOPALIAN is really way out when laid alongside such innocuous sheets as the Anglican Press's OUR CHURCH TIMES - a partly-printed-parish-paper, which might just as well have been left all blank.

Photo by Bob Noble

JONATHAN DANIELS CHAPEL DEDICATION PARTICIPANTS are, left to right, the Rev. John Morris, executive director of Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; Mrs. Philip Daniels, mother of the man memorialized; the Rev. Eugene A. Monick, Jr., priest in charge of St. Clement's, Manhattan, where chapel is; the Rev. William Schneider, Episcopal chaplain at Harvard-Radcliffe, who is compiling the Daniels papers; and the Rev. Michael T. Stichweh, assistant minister, Incarnation, Manhattan, a classmate of Jonathan Daniels.

Chapel Named For Slain Seminarian

"If in Selma our baptism made us 'white niggers,' it also made us Alabama whites. We had to accept the guilt as well as the pain."

Those words, written by Jonathan Daniels a few months before his death in 1965, were read last month at St. Clement's, Manhattan, by the Rev. Michael T. Stichweh, assistant minister at Incarnation, Manhattan. The occasion was the dedication on Church and Race Sunday of the Jonathan Daniels Memorial Chapel at St. Clement's. Jonathan Daniels was the young seminarian from New Hampshire who was shot to death Aug. 20, 1965, as he was working on voter registration in Alabama. Fr. Stichweh was one of his classmates at Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.

The Rev. John Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), preached the sermon in the service preceding the dedication, and called the martyred seminarian "a contemporary saint—a holy man of God that passeth by—whose life shines like a jewel." Fr. Morris, a Virginia Seminary classmate of St. Clement's vicar, the Rev. Eugene A. Monick, Jr., worked closely with Jonathan Daniels in Ala. and accompanied his body home after his death.

WORK NOT FINISHED

"Jonathan Daniels' work will not be finished," Fr. Morris declared, "as long as our congregations gather in their 'separate but equal' churches to worship God." He scored the Church generally for raising "not an outcry" at the Daniels shooting, but rather "maintaining an embarrassed silence. After all, shooting even prospective clergy just isn't done."

ALSO TAKING PART

Also taking part in the service was Mrs. Philip Daniels, mother of the murdered young man. She was accompanied by the Rev. William J. Schneider, Episcopal chaplain at Harvard and Radcliffe, whose book, "Jonathan Daniels, His Letters and Papers," is scheduled for Sept. publication by Seabury Press.

Serving as sub-deacon with Fr. Monick was Bruce Lawrence, a student at Episcopal Theological Seminary, who represented the school. Robert Edwin, guitarist, performed the music of the folk mass for the Service of the Eucharist.

NEWS NOTES FROM CHAPTERS

Boston ESCRU sponsored showings of "A Time for Burning" and James Baldwin's "Blues for Mr. Charlie".....Houston raised $500.00 for the national office in their showing of "Nothing But a Man", but their primary target lately has been the segregated St. John's School. The Chapter promoted the adoption of a resolution at diocesan convention concerning the use of Church property for any segregated program or activity.....Youngstown ESCRU raised money for the Church & Race Fund, which other groups pushed around the country, and they have been backing 'Operation Freedom", a Cincinnati-based effort to alleviate conditions in economically-stricken Southern areas....San Diego had a very attractive booth at diocesan convention featuring Freedom Quilting Bee products (see enclosed flyer on the Bee which Fr. Walter of the Selma Interreligious Project helped to start. ESCRU handles S.I.P.'s bookkeeping as a service to this work which is following in traditions of service Jon Daniels started) .....Newark ESCRU reports a campaign to get the ESCRU petition signed, with both bishops adding their names to the list of Episcopal supporters....Philadelphia is also working on the petition (and we hope all Chapters are!).....Washington ESCRU did some good political organization work in getting strong persons elected to 11 out of 16 positions in the diocese.....Cleveland's recent programs have included such topics as "The Culture of Poverty" and "The Church School in the Inner City".....Chicago's and Milwaukee's good work in the area of clergy placement concerns is seen in statements from their Bishops with whom they have maintained a close, working relationship

THE ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP

This is a non-partisan, non-sectarian group which sponsors a six-week summer leadership training program for young men and women between the ages of 15 and 21 in Kentucky, New York and Puerto Rico.....with a thrust in the areas of human rights, poverty and international relations. For more information write Mr. Jerome Miller, Encampment for Citizenship, 2 West 64th St., New York 10023. It's one of the best opportunities for such involvement we know.

KATALLAGETE!...which is to say "Be Ye Reconciled!" and which is the name of the Committee of Southern Churchmen's periodical. ($2.00 a year. Write them at 1207 18th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212)It has lots to say to Northern churchmen as well. If you subscribe, ask for a copy of the 1966 Summer issue: "Which Way for Southern Churches?" applies to all.

HELP NEEDED IN SEATTLE! Please send us a postcard if you're going to General Convention as a Deputy, ECW delegate or visitor. We'll want to mobilize for mutual support on important issues that are to come up....and we'll welcome any volunteers at the ESCRU booth and helping at the ESCRU Dinner which Saul Alinsky will address. A number of Deputies advised us earlier: Please refresh our memory!

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

President - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr. Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris
Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd Associate Director - The Rev. Albert Dreisbach, Jr.
Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson / 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

1967

National Board of Directors

The Rev. Jesse F. Anderson
4979 Parkside Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19131

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144 Boiling Springs Avenue
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397 Vista Way
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128 Navy Road, Bldg. 31, Sec. C.
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512 Old Orchard Road
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5855 DeGiverville
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

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65 E. Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

The Rev. Earl A. Neil
6625 S. Ingleside
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Mr. Paul M. Neuhauser
914 Highwood Street
Iowa City, Iowa 52241

Mr. Karl Nordling
1400 20th Street, N. W., Apt. 714
Washington, D. C. 20036

Mrs. Aaron Oliver
2151 Emerald
San Diego, California 92109

Mr. Malcolm Peabody, Jr.
25 Chestnut Hill Road
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167

The Rt. Rev. Frederick Putnam
P. O. Box 1296
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73101

The Rev. William N. Penfield
Episcopal Metropolitan Mission
120 Sigourney Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06105

Miss Judith Upham
99 Brattle Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Mr. Clark E. Gable Ward
3313 Stalling
Houston, Texas 77018

Mr. Louis J. Willie
641 McCary Street, S. W.
Birmingham, Alabama 35211

The Rev. Hugh Saussy, Jr.
P. O. Box 411
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Budget for 1967 as Adopted at Board Meeting, 1/7/67

Personnel & Rent	$27,386.00
Telephone	2,000.00
Postage	2,400.00
Office Supplies, Etc.	1,600.00
Equipment Repairs, Etc.	600.00
Rental-Pur./Equipment	1,000.00
Audit/Accounting	500.00
Corp. Trust/State of Ga.	51.00
Books & Subscriptions	50.00
Insurance & Bonding	150.00
Printing & Mimeo	3,000.00
Advertising	200.00
Staff Travel	3,500.00
Board & Executive Com.	1,500.00
Annual Meeting	500.00
Seattle: ESCRU	1,000.00
TOTAL	$45,437.00

Personnel & Rent	
Executive Director's Salary	$4,150.00
Church Pension Fund	747.00
Housing	900.00
(Figures based on 6 mo. Leave of Absence for Executive Dir. balance of year: non-salaried)	
Assoc. Director's Salary	6,800.00
Church Pension Fund	1,224.00
Housing	1,800.00
Office Manager/Bookkeeper	5,700.00
Secretary	3,840.00
FICA Taxes on Lay Employees	425.00
Office Rent	1,800.00
	$27,386.00

NOTES:

1. The scheduled budget for 1966 was $62,670.00. We actually spent $54,212.49. Comparative income figures for 1965, 1966 and an estimated figure for 1967 appear below.
2. As indicated above in the Personnel & Rent breakdown, this budget anticipates the 6 month leave of absence requested of the Board of Directors by the Executive Director as a stop-gap remedy for the financial crisis. An underlying assumption is that ESCRU will not be able to continue to have two professional staff persons.
3. ESCRU's Southern Field Service Program, supported by a terminal grant from the Field Foundation which expires in July of 1968, is not included in this budget; nor is the Selma Interreligious Project which we service in the handling of receipts & disbursements.

INCOME:	1965	1966	1967 Estimated
Dues	$16, 691.55	$15,627.69	$15,000.00
Small Contributions	13,229.17	12,073.58	11,000.00
Large Contributions	12,263.61	14,747.84*	9,000.00
Chapters	4,763.00	2,586.16	2,500.00
Parishes/ECW, Etc.	2,019.00	3,887.65	3,500.00
Literature Sales	1,540.95	557.10	500.00
	$50,507.28	$49,480.02	$41,500.00

(* - $5,000.00 or more under Large Contributions received in 1966 was derived from sources not expected to be repeated in 1967.)

SOME CONCLUSIONS: Even on a cut-back basis, ESCRU must look toward a continued solid support by the grass-roots members, with a special push by Chapters for getting parishes to make ESCRU-in-the-Budget a permanent commitment. Substantial individual contributions form too precarious a base for long-term security. - John Morris
2/7/67

A Declaration, by Priests who are Negroes, on the Personnel Policies and Practices of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; Addressed to the Presiding Bishop, The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, and to the Members of the House of Bishops, and to the Executive Council

We, who are priests of the Episcopal Church, are filled with anguish by an unrighteous and scandalous system that has been allowed to exist within the House of God. Throughout the history of the Christian Church, our faith has been glorified by men and women who have become saints because they were committed to the proposition of the oneness of all in the family of God. To have done less than give their all to confirm this universality and equality would, to them, have been scandalous.

Yet, today, at all levels of the Church's life — in neighborhood congregations, in diocesan committees and commissions, and in the organization of the national Church there can be seen a subtle and a well-nigh systematic exclusion of laity and clergy who are Negroes from the heart of the Church's life. The personal piety of so many communicants permits them to ignore the Christian social responsibilities of the Church. Could they be resurrected, our honored saints would be appalled by the fact that such distortions of the Body of Christ should exist at all. These beatified souls would be even more shocked by the fact that large numbers of our brethren are doubtless so immured from and accustomed to these conditions in the Household of God that they have permitted them to exist unchanged for so long a time.

In today's multi-racial and fractured world, the God-desired inclusion of Negro men and women in all areas of the Church could be "living, holy and reasonable" testaments to the fact that *all men be reconciled* is the will of God. Is there any wonder that the widespread and systematic denial of participation by Negro men and women in all aspects of the faith is a source of grievous pain not only to Negro priests in the Episcopal Church, but also to many of the faithful throughout the world?

A partial recognition of the unholy nature of this exclusion is evidenced by the many "amiable" statements about the Church's becoming a truly open Church. However, no person committed deeply to the proposition *that true fulfillment for all mankind can come only at the Cross where all are one* could be other that grievously troubled by the deliberate or inadvertent exclusion of so many of the faithful from the House of God.

This grief, coupled with skepticism, has begun to increase among all Negro Churchmen, as well as among many others of the faithful who feel God's designs and desires are being thwarted within the Church. The dismay over inaction within the Church is compounded by the fact that many other major institutions in our culture appear to have made far more progress toward Christian ideals than has the Episcopal Church.

Finding this hard to reconcile, Negro Episcopal Churchmen and their sons and daughters are turning to other communions where they see fewer of such injustices.

What is this record within the Episcopal Church?

Here and there — but only with great rarity — "token" appointments of Negro priests and Negro laymen have been made to diocesan posts and to administrative or executive assignments in national offices. Bishops, with few exceptions, however, appear to have been notably slothful in making new opportunities of ministry available to Negro clergy. Their talents are not being fully used on diocesan or cathedral staffs. Nor are they normally sponsored for any work other than that which is related to Negro congregations. And only with great infrequency have Negro priests been deemed eligible for posts in the Executive Council. For example, The Executive Council has grown from six Departments with a total of three Divisions in 1948 to the present eleven Departments composed of over twenty Divisions in 1967. Each Department is administered by a Director and each Division is administrated by an Executive Secretary. This would make a total of some thirty persons in executive positions. But in nearly two decades since 1948 there have been only two Negro Executive Secretaries. One of them was the Executive Secretary of the now defunct division of "Racial Minorities." And no Negro has served as Director of a Department.

Or again, out of about seventy-eight professors and associate professors in twelve theological schools and seminaries of the Church in the United States there has been ony one full-time professor in the last two decades.

Or again, in the Joint Urban Board of the Home Department where the problem of racial minorities looms like a threatening storm over the inner-city Church there are no Negroes.

The personnel problems in the Church have been more of a spiritual matter than a shortage of trained man-power. Trained and experienced Negroes have had to stand aside and see less qualified whites given opportunities to learn the responsibilities of significant positions because the Church lacked faith in God or the spiritual maturity to appoint or elect Negroes. The exclusion of the Negro layman from diocesan committees and commissions and from national conferences of the Church seems equally systematic and tragic.

The real meaning of Christian evangelism, it has been said, is one hungry man telling another hungry man where the Bread of Life is to be found. A priest's vocation is to continue the Incarnation unto his own time. His integrity is intimately linked with the consecration of the holy bread and wine of the Eucharist. How can the Negro priest tell the people of his own generation and within his own Church where the Bread of Life is to be found in the *limitless Kingdom of God* when he is himself so severely *limited by the Episcopal Church* in the offering of his holy gifts and talents as a servant of our Saviour? Up to now, the Negro priest has been made to feel unworthy to offer unto Him any sacrifice except in all Negro or predominantly Negro circumstances.

He has been made to feel the sting of being cut off from the blessed company of all God's faithful people. He has been made to feel the chagrin of an "invisible people" within the Body of Christ as it is found in the Episcopal Church. And thus, we are compelled to ask if this is to be the cost of our discipleship as clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church.

God's boundless province can be reflected by the Church not only by fully opening its doors to all, but also by doing all things possible to rectify the inglorious past.

So, weighed down as we are by our own disappointment and by the growing disenchantment of those to whom we minister, we do strongly and respectfully urge the Presiding Bishop and the Executive Council to arrange a series of meetings as early as possible in 1967 between a representative group of Bishops of the Church and a representative group of Negro clergy of the Church so that the issues which are stated in this Declaration may begin to get the kind of careful and factual examination they deserve. This should be done

with the view that the Presiding Bishop and the Executive Council will make specific recommendations on these matters to the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies of the 1967 General Convention.

The issues are:

1. The doubt that is cast upon the integrity of the whole Church, when it accepts Negroes or anyone as postulants for the sacred ministry only if their work is to be in a limited area in contrast to the God-desired areas where there are no bounds;

2. The use of one set of criteria by the hierarchy in missions and by vestries in parishes for the placement of Negro clergy and of another set of criteria for the placement of white clergy;

3. The use of one set of criteria by Bishops and Diocesan Committees for the placement of Negro men of God in diocesan and national Church positions, and of another set of criteria for the placement of white clergy;

4. The exclusion of Christian scholars from the faculties of seminaries and private schools of the Church solely because of race. There should be the same criteria and intensive searching of our schools in seeking out Negroes for available faculty positions as is exercised in seeking out white persons for faculty positions; and,

5. The pursuit of creative means to compensate for the grievous injustices of the past. And the setting a course of Christian action implementing our noblest resolutions concerning the total integration of racial minorities in the Church.

A DECLARATION AND PETITION:

TO THE 62nd GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

September 17 – 27, 1967

Seattle, Washington

We, the undersigned members of the Episcopal Church, charge ourselves and the Church to which we belong and which we love with heretical and blasphemous distortion of the Christian doctrine of man. In our common life we have not only distorted much of the apostolic teaching, but we have permitted heretical structures to grow up in our midst.

We have created parishes that are, in practice, privileged sanctuaries serving to further suburban white segregation. We have accepted a tradition of clergy placement which treats priests of color as though they were inferior and incapable of ministering at our altars and pulpits to the whole people of God. Our efforts in Christian Education reflect an image of false dignity and human separation. We have perpetuated the economic and moral inequalities of discrimination by our Church's financial investments and its building and purchasing policies.

The result of this racism at the very heart of the Church's life is an inability to address its mission to the crucial issues in the life of the country. The Church has retreated from some aspects of the phrase "Black Power", preferring, it would seem, to continue the status quo of white power and supremacy. We have too much accepted the fact that the vast majority of our members live in segregated neighborhoods, tending to justify continued buying and selling in a segregated housing market. We have acquiesced to discriminatory practices of employment by unions and employers, condoning them by our silence.

We have done little to equalize educational opportunities. We have failed to address ourselves to the turning of our material blessings toward the establishment of full opportunity for all people. In our largely fragmented life together we continue to commit the ultimate sin – that of fostering the separation of man from man. Though intended to affirm the unity of all men, our practice of Baptism and Eucharist generally reflects the separation of men, and not their oneness in the life which is in Christ Jesus.

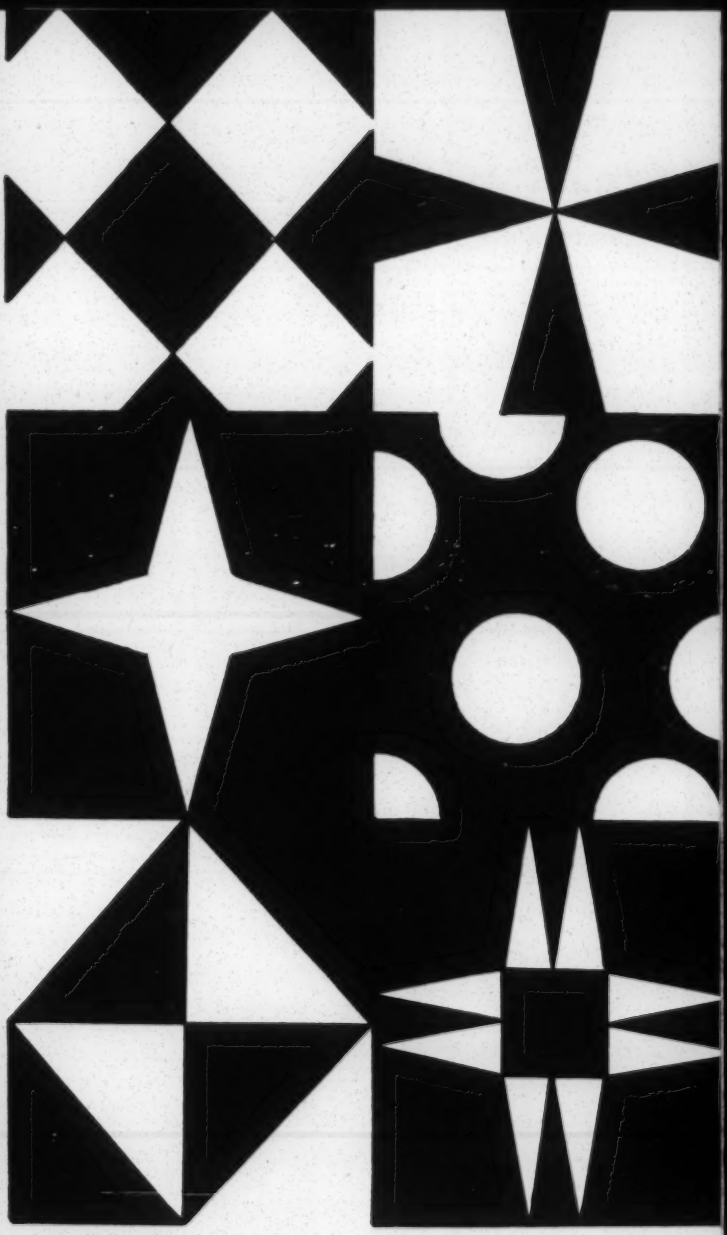
We must repent and heed the call to renewal by our Fathers-in-God, the Bishops, who have proposed a council for the renewing of the Church in our day. We ask all in authority at the Church's 62nd General Convention to join us in this declaration of repentence and to support a program and budget for the next triennium which will acknowledge with urgency and dedication the Church's apostolate to seek the fulfillment of Our Lord's wish 'that they all may be one'.

As members of this part of Christ's Church we pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in behalf of the Bishops' call for renewal, praying that we and all Churchmen may be open to the recreating life of the Holy Spirit. In this common repentence and declaration of intention we take our stand with those in Seattle who realize that there can be no choice now if we are to be found faithful. We await their guidance and counsel for the days ahead.

SIGNED:

Name	Parish	City & State

For additional signatures use reverse side or securely attach extra sheets. Any Episcopalian may sign. Write for additional copies. Petitions should be sent as soon as possible and no later than September 10, 1967, to: The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, c/o The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.



The Freedom Quilting Bee

The Freedom Quilting Bee is a handcraft cooperative. It was organized in March of 1965 with over 150 women joining together to market quilts, sun bonnets, pot holders and other items of handwork and stitchery. The Freedom Quilting Bee has managed to teach new skills to old fingers, establish quality control of products, and infuse a spirit of dignity in individual accomplishment, all with a cooperatively agreed upon financial return for each member.

Quilting has been practiced continuously in Black Belt Alabama for 140 years. While Freedom Quilting Bee quilts derive from classic American patterns they are distinctly different from the more common Appalachian or New England types. The imaginative designs are decorative in the bold use of color and the strong contrasts between border combinations and blocks. It has been said that some of the designs are unconscious forms of Op art but perhaps the flattened abstracted designs just give a warmth in appearance not often seen in today's style of quilt making. Repetition is not one of the quilt maker's virtues. Each quilt is unique.

This small venture began with a $300.00 loan from the Episcopal Society's Jonathan Daniels Memorial Fund. Its primary purpose is to make available to a woman the opportunity to earn supplemental income. A cottage industry.

Many quilters and members of their families have been active in the Civil Rights Movement. For some this has meant eviction from house and land, foreclosure of loans, and the end of credit. These burdens, coupled with the automation of cotton farming have forced into being a number of cooperative experiments.

Rural Negroes across the South are using co-ops in an attempt to earn their own way. The Freedom Quilting Bee is one of these. The average annual income per family in this cooperative is under $800.00. Profits are small but in nine months twenty women have increased their family income 10 to 25 per cent through the co-op.

The formation of the Freedom Quilting Bee was initiated by the Selma Inter-religious Project which is an inter-faith ministry to Selma and central Alabama. It is sponsored by religious groups that participated in the Selma March: Roman Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and Unitarian. The director of the Project serves as chairman of the cooperative's advisory committee.

The Freedom Quilting Bee could not exist without the help of many people. Your help is invited. Clothing scraps from both sewing baskets and textile or garment factories are very much needed. Individuals or groups may send these parcel post or by R.E.A. The co-op needs help in making its products known to gift shops and boutiques.

Tax deductible donations may be made to the co-op's technical assistance fund. Checks may be made to

The Alabama Council of Human Relations, Inc.
Freedom Quilting Bee Fund
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

The Alabama Council administers this fund. Churches and clubs have helped by holding auctions. Receipts from benefits and auctions are tax deductible if checks are written as indicated above.

The co-op normally makes standard size quilts for double and single beds, and baby beds. In filling orders for these the Quilting Bee tries to match requests for designs and predominant colors. Quilts are either black and white, or two solid colors, vari-colored prints, or mixtures of solids and prints.

Orders in which size, design, colors and fabric are specifically requested can be filled. In such cases some prefer to send all or part of the fabric.

Quilts from stock are $20.00 and $25.00 depending on size and complexity of design. Baby quilts are $12.00, King size quilts may be especially ordered. Sun bonnets are $3.00, pot holders with original designs $1.00.

The cooperative will be happy to discuss wholesale prices with stores and gift shops.

An Order For

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE

	Quantity	Colors	Amount
Quilts $25.00 20.00 12.00			
Sunbonnets $3.00			
Pot Holders $1.00			
		Total Enclosed	$

SPECIAL ORDER:

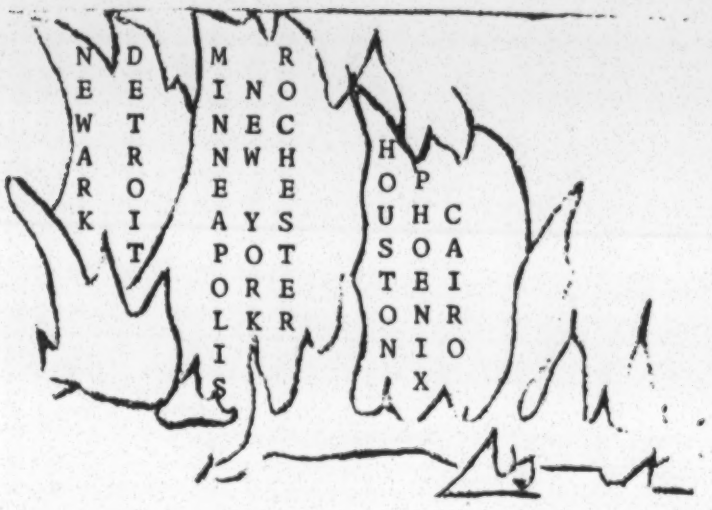
Send order and check to:

THE FREEDOM QUILTING BEE
c|o The Rev. Francis X. Walter
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Trinity X NEWSLETTER July 30, 1967



A sense of pain and powerlessness affects us all in the wake of the recent rioting and killing in America's major cities. Let no one be mistaken that our Negro brothers are still second class citizens despite the efforts of civil rights leaders, some members of government, churchmen and other concerned citizens.
Chris Eckl, editor of the weekly Roman Catholic Georgia Bulletin, reminds us that:

> "Rioting makes many forget about this second-class citizenship. It makes us turn away from the reality that too many city officials in the nation have only paid lip service to equal housing and equal employment, and permits us to cry with moral indignation at those who disrupt the peace . . . But worst of all, rioting which is violent, dramatic, destructive, makes most of us look at the effects and not the causes. It is easy to condemn the effects, but it is difficult to erase the causes."

Pleading for an understanding of these causes and focusing his remarks on the sins of ommission by the centers of power Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, placed part of the blame on an indifferent Congress. While he condemned the riots, Dr. King went on to say that "Congress has created the atmosphere for the riots by its defeat of such legislation as the rent-subsidy bill, the anit-rat bill and the model cities legislation."
Members of the Society are encouraged to examine the role played by their congressmen and senators on the above three measures and their action to date on the Civil Rights Act of 1967(S. 1026). Surely the actions of each one of these representatives should be wheighed on the scales of responsibility by concerned Churchmen the next time he comes before the electorate. - A.R.D.

VOTE TODAY

Please vote for the candidate of your choice in your Province and return the enclosed ballot(s) to Mrs. Aaron Oliver. Ballots must be received by the 26th of August and the winners will be announced in Seattle.

BISHOP CROWTHER DEPORTED

The Rt. Rev. Edward C. Crowther, Anglican Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, South Africa, has been deported because of his frequent and outspoken opposition to that country's policy of apartheid. Bp. Crowther intends to continue as "bishop in exile" and will aid his diocese by soliciting funds from overseas. Noting that his deportation was the "act of frightened men", Bp. Crowther went on to say that "it is not my elimination as a person that is South Africa's loss, but I believe that it is South Africa's loss that a voice of dissent and the right to speak boldly, must be stifled in a way which only manifests fear of the truth on the part of those silencing it."
Members of ESCRU are encouraged to suggest to their delegates to the General Convention that they plan to hear Bp. Crowther's sermon to the Society on Sunday, September the 17th at St. Paul's in Seattle. These delegates will be asked later during the Convention to express their opinion on a report to be made by Bp. Creighton and his committee regarding the investment of Church monies in South Africa.

WHEN WILL THEY EVER LEARN?

Staring at many parishioners these days, hopefully from the "most prominent bulletin board", is a promotional poster inviting Episcopalians to come to Seattle for the 62nd General Convention. The poster is headed: "WOULD YOU BELIEVE? YOU ARE INVITED!!" Those Churchmen who are not WASPS might sincerely doubt such an invitation, for in none of the seven "color" shots representing life in our convention city are any but Caucasians represented, Unfortunately, one discovers the same insensitivity within the pages of the convention's official Registration Handbook. At a time when industry, advertising, television, etc. are conscientiously working to reflect "all sorts and conditions of men" in their publications, it is doubly painful that we should once more find the Church marching in the rear of the ranks of progress.

"CHURCH" REPORT

A preliminary screening of 435 questionnaires returned to date yields the following results:

For the continuation of ESCRU	- 76%
For disbanding	- 6%
Don't know	- 7%
Not indicating a preference	- 11%

Recurring recommendations for greater involvement by the Society include poverty programs, ecumenical relations and the peace movement. A complete report on all the findings of this survey will be presented by John Church at the 7th Annual Meeting in Seattle.

CLERGY PLACEMENT

Fr. Robert Hood of Gary, Ind., assisted by fellow Board member Karl Nordling, has recently completed a major ESCRU Special Report entitled "The Placement and Deployment of Negro Clergy in the Episcopal Church." Citing a problem which "affects the image, the witness, the influence, and the very integrity of the Episcopal Church", Fr. Hood's report concludes with nineteen concrete recommendations which, if adopted and implemented, will do much to end this scandal within the household of faith. Every member of both the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies will be mailed a copy of this report prior to his departure for Seattle.

A CALL TO ACTION ON OFF-BASE HOUSING

In late June, Secretary McNamara ordered all segregated apartments and trailer courts within a 3½ mile radius of Andrews AFB, Md., off-limits to service personnel. However, it would be folly to let this matter stand. The Pentagon moved because it understood that the issue is a powerful one with Negro servicemen having their lives snuffed out in increasing numbers on the battlefield.

There is great danger that the use of the off-limits sanction may be left to local option as determined by the Pentagon's political strategists and PR men, in which case it will be used rarely if ever again. Mr. McNamara has already run into flack from some reactionaries and undoubtedly will be getting more from Southern congressmen. All of us can play a part in this struggle for open housing by sending letters to:

1. The Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C. 20301 praising his action at Andrews AFB and urging that it be extended to cover all military bases.
2. The editor of your local newspaper saying the same thing, preferably signed with an organizational title.
3. Your - or any favorable - Congressman urging him to request extension of the order.

If you live near a military base, join with other interested groups and send a delegation to the commanding officer urging him to ask Mr. McNamara to issue a directive where voluntary attempts with local realtors have met with failure.

PROJECT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF NEGRO TEACHERS IN INDEPENDENT BOARDING SCHOOLS

ESCRU members Mr. and Mrs. Robert C. Atmore, impressed with the importance of providing more Negro teachers for independent schools, are developing a project to achieve this goal privately with help from a foundation and participating schools. The project hopes to effect better communication between placement officers, organizations and individuals who know of interested teachers and schools. Further information on this project is available from the Atmores at their home, 125 North Elm Street, Wallingford, Conn., 06493. (After September 15, 1967 and until June 15, 1968 address inquires to the Atmores at 50 Riverside Dr., New York, N. Y. 10024.)

NEWARK RESPONDS TO CRISIS

Under the leadership of its Chmn., Fr. Ivan Backer, and Consultant to the Board, Mr. Frederick Sontag, the Newark Chapter has issued a report analyzing what the Episcopal Church "did and did not do during the recent riots" in that beleagured city. To make it more useful to other ESCRU members, the report has been divided into two parts: 1. A chronology of the events; 2. Some suggestions as to what might realistically be accomplished under similar circumstances. While the supply lasts, single copies are available from Mrs. Marion DeGroat, Newark ESCRU Chapter, 458 Harrison St., Passaic, N.J. 07055.

The Newark Chapter has also requested $5,000 from the Presiding Bishop to conduct an in-depth study of the events in Newark as well as the outbreaks in other cities. Through such analysis, the Chapter hopes to develop some new and more effective strategies for the Church to follow before, during and after such crises.

Finally, the Chapter has publicly challenged Gov. Hughes' hastily appointed "blue ribbon" investigating committee. Noting the "potential conflict of interest" of some appointees, the total absence of women or persons living in the inner-city and the lack of representation by anyone under 30 years of age. Chairman Backer called for the resignation of the present panel and urged the appointment of one which is truly representative.

CHAPTER NEWS

CHICAGO, commemorating the heroic sacrifice of Jonathan M. Daniels and the many others who have given their lives in the quest of human dignity, will hold a Mass for Martyrs on the 17th of August at St. Margaret's Church. . . MICHIGAN, using Grace Church and ten other locations as distribution centers, was very active in providing food and clothing for the victims of Detroit's rioting....MILWAUKEE, Chairman Betty Howard recently testified in behalf of the Society before the city's Common Council in support of a fair housing ordinance. . . SAN DIEGO, supporting the NAACP's "Project Fair Employment", has 14 members on the picket line protesting the hiring policy at the municipal airport. . . VIRGINIA has worked up a production of "They Aren't Real to Me," by Malcolm Boyd for presentation to youth groups. The players have already acted in Fredericksburg and Alexandria. Director Lois Hunt says we reach people who would never voluntarily attend a meeting about race relations."

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY, 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303. President - Mr. Malcolm Peabody Executive Director - The Rev. John B. Morris Associate Director - The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr. Director of Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson

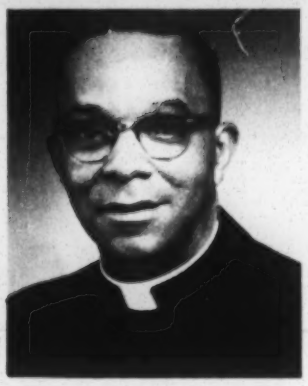
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

ANNUAL MEETING

SEPTEMBER 15-17, 1967

St. Paul's Church
15 Roy Street

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



Quinland Gordon

E.S.C.R.U. -

In transition

....Or on its

deathbed?

Edward Crowther

Cities at home

blowing up!

Where does

ESCRU fit in?

Saul Alinsky

"'The Civil Rights Movement is over' stated the recent national convention of CORE.

"Many around the world have concluded that 'the Church is no longer a viable agent for social change.'

"Some long-time members of the Society are saying, 'ESCRU has become obsolete and irrelevant to local issues and needs.'

"THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY IS IN FOR SOME REAL SOUL-SEARCHING IN SEATTLE. AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING - JUST BEFORE WHAT WILL PROBABLY BE ONE OF THE MOST CONFLICT-LADEN GENERAL CONVENTIONS IN HISTORY, ESCRU MUST DETERMINE NEW DIRECTIONS AND SET CREATIVE STRATEGY...OR FOLD UP ITS TENT!

"THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT ESCRU'S FUTURE WILL DEPEND UPON THE DECISIONS MADE (OR NOT MADE) AT THIS YEAR'S ANNUAL MEETING. YOUR PARTICIPATION IS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR DEMOCRATIC DECISION MAKING."

- The Rev. Bruce H. Kennedy, Program Chairman

AMONG THOSE ADDRESSING THE 7TH ANNUAL MEETING ARE:

SAUL ALINSKY - Executive Director, Industrial Areas Foundation, Author "Reveille for Radicals"

THE REV. QUINLAND R. GORDON - Department of Christian Social Relations, Executive Council

THE RT. REV. C. EDWARD CROWTHER - Bishop of Kimberley & Kuruman, South Africa. Recently deported by the Republic of South Africa because of his opposition to apartheid.

FOR HOTEL ACCOMODATIONS & DINNER RESERVATIONS:

- Secure hotel accomodations through: Housing Bureau, 62nd General Convention, 1551 10th Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98102

- The ESCRU Dinner, with Saul Alinsky speaking, is set for Monday, September 18th, at 6:00 PM, not in conflict with any other General Convention affairs. Tickets at $6.00 each must be reserved in advance of your going to Seattle. Send your check to: Dinners Committee, General Convention, 1551 10th Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98102. NO DINNER TICKETS WILL BE SOLD IN SEATTLE.

TO REGISTER FOR THE ANNUAL MEETING:

- Send the registration form below to the national office in Atlanta. ESCRU sessions will be held at St. Paul's Church near the Seattle Center. Check in there between 2:00 and 6:00 PM on Friday September 15th. The first session will start at 7:30 PM that day. Except for the Alinsky dinner, meals are on your own. The final business session is Sunday morning, after the 9:00 AM service at which Bishop Crowther will preach.

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DATE: _____

AMOUNT ENCLOSED: _____

I SHALL ATTEND THE 7TH ANNUAL MEETING OF ESCRU AND ENCLOSE THE REGISTRATION FEE OF $5.00.

NAME: _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

I HOPE TO STAY AT: _____

I HOPE WE WILL SPEND SOME TIME ON THE SUBJECT OF:

E.S.C.R.U.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Trinity V NEWSLETTER June 25, 1967

A MIMEOGRAPHED APPEAL

The return to a mimeographed format for our Newsletter reflects the financial crisis which continues to plague the Society. If the mailings have been fewer in recent months, the plain fact of the matter is that a limited staff and a limited budget require this of our stewardship. More distressing is the fact that the crucial Board of Directors Meeting-preceding our Annual Meeting and the General Convention in Seattle - whose major work will be to decide ESCRU's fate - may be without benefit of many of the insights of its gifted members simply because they do not possess the financial resources which will permit them to attend.

The Spring edition of the American Church News devotes a lengthy editorial to the current status of the Church's voluntary agencies and lists ESCRU as one of two "Religious Orders...confronted with crucial problems of financing." Pleading for more responsible stewardship by all Churchmen, the editorial goes on to make the following point:

> "If it is felt that a continuance of this type of witness is a healthy thing for the Church, then the individuals concerned must be prepared to make their decisions accordingly even if it means something slightly less for officials quotas in order to continue to strengthen the activities of the unofficial agencies which the individual believes are making real contributions to the life of the Church."

Some years ago, SCLC pleaded with women across the nation to forego the purchase of new hats for Easter and to send the money they would normally have spent to help pay for the birth of a Movement. The war in Viet Nam, white backlash, violence in the cities and the economic "realisties" of our nation have helped to betray that Movement to its Calvary. If ESCRU is to play any role in proclaiming its resurrection, its followers must also be willing to make sacrifices. Some members have already begun to give $5 or $10 above and beyond their annual dues. If all of us were "to go and do likewise", the Society would be able to continue in its role as Nathan to the Church's David. Otherwise, we must yield our mantle to a new Elisha and pray God that we have the vision to recognize and support the mission which he and his followers are called to lead. -A.R.D.

SAUL ALINSKY TO ADDRESS SOCIETY DINNER AT GENERAL CONVENTION

Mr. Saul D. Alinsky, Executive Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, will speak at the dinner sponsored by ESCRU at the General Convention in Seattle on Friday night, September 15th, at St. Paul' Church. Churchmen who are not delegates to Convention, but who wish to attend the great opening service on Sunday evening, September 17th, can come for the Annual Meeting on the 15th, stay through the dinner with Mr. Alinsky on the 18th, and still have an opportunity to witness the opening highlights of a General Convention.

If you are planning to be with us in Seattle and have yet to make arrangements, write for the Registration Handbook which includes applications for housing and the ESCRU Dinner. You must have advance reservations for the latter as its early date precludes any cash sales at the ticket booth. Requests for handbook should be made to:

The Convention Committee
The 62nd General Convention
1551 Tenth Avenue, East
Seattle, Washington 98102

CHURCHWORKERS' WORKSHOP TO BACK ESCRU

The 16th Triennial Church Workers' Workshop, meeting in early June at St. Augustine's College in Raliegh, N.C., passed a resolution supporting ESCRU, encouraging its members to join, and encouraging its member clergy to make provision for the Society in their parish budgets. The CWW was created to articulate the needs, and sponsor the efforts, of churchmen who are Negro as they have sought to become fully included in the life of the Church. In a separate resolution, the CWW voted to direct its officers to meet with ESCRU Board and Staff in order to articulate the perceived needs of the Workshop and to implement strategy to achieve common goals.

TEAM MINISTRY ELECTS NICKERSON

Meeting in Atlanta in early June, the Team Ministry - an ecumenical program dedicated to reconciliation with major projects in Birmingham, Alabama, Jacksonville, Florida and Columbia, S.C. - elected Fr. David Nickerson to its five man steering committee.

PETITION'S PROGRESS

St. Thomas' Of Philadelphia, Pa., sparked by its Rector and Board Member, the Rev. Jesse Anderson, Sr., leads all other parishes to date by turning in a record 639 signatures for the petition to be presented in Seattle. Despite similar fine efforts by individuals and chapters, most notably those by Boston, Michigan, Pennsylvania, we are still short of our promised goal. If you have yet to circulate petitions in your area, please do so now. Perhaps including a reprint of the Living Church's supportive editorial(See our March Newsletter) will overcome resistance to some of the petition's wording. If you have made your drive, please mail us the results.

ESCRU SELF STUDY NEEDS YOU

At the request of the Presidentand Staff, Mr. John Church, former Vice-Chairman in Chicago, has devised the enclosed questionnaire as a supplement to a "data collector" recently sent out to Board Members, Chapter Chairman and 30 selected non-members. By analyzing the results of this survey, Mr. Church hopes to bring to the Board of Directors and the Annual Meeting an up-to-date reflection of your feelings about the Society together with the goals and priorities which you feel should guide ESCRU's future. Please put aside the time to make a thoughtful response to this request and return youranswers to the national office by the 21st. of July.

Concurrent with this effort, Bishop C. Kilmer Myers has agreed to convene a special study commission of national leaders to make an evaluation of ESCRU's present impact in the field, determine current needs, and develope a set of recommendations for future action.

SUPREME COURT RULES ON PIERSON vs. RAY

Though the AP news release made much of the fact that under this ruling "judges may not be sued for civil damages under an 1871 civil rights law," it also established the precedent that the intent of those arrested does not limit their right to sue for false arrest. This means that the Rev. Messrs. Breeden, Jones, Morris and Pierson, arrested in the Jackson,Miss., bus depot in 1961, now "have the right to sue the arresting police officers for damages."

TWO CHURCH SCHOOLS: COMMITMENT & CAUTION

The Virginia Episcopal School in Lynchburg, Va., has decided to accept one or more Negro students next Fall. Having benefited from its"christian" education, members of the Raliegh,N.C., Alumni Association sent a letter to the headmaster which read in part"

"...We want to make it crystal clear that we intend to make no future gift or soliciatation whatsoever to an integrated V.E.S."

The parents of one young alumnus have quite a different understanding of responsible stewardship:

"We have been interested in V.E.S. since..was a student there, and would have coveted for him then...an opportunity to know Negro contemporaries... or to be taught by qualified Negro teachers. We congratulate you and the Board of Trustees for adopting the policy...(are) enclosing a check in __'s name for the loyalty fund."

Another institution to watch in future months is St. Mary's Episcopal School in Memphis, Tenn. As part of their $400,000 Development Program, they received a gift of $25,000 from the Diocese of Tennessee. Just how the Diocese will use her "green power" has yet to be determined. We understand that some very creative approach are being considered. We pray that cautious consideration will be replaced by a bolder commitment so that the doors of St. Mary's are open, both to her students and faculty, to the extent that she may manifest her fidelity to her Lord and Ruler as well as to her region.

CHAPTER NEWS

BOSTON devoted its Annual Meeting and Dinner to a panel discussion on "Is there a role for the church-related civil rights organization? What is that role?" Speakers on the panel were Dr. Charles V. Willie of Harvard and ETS and former national president of ESCRU, The Rev. Joseph Pelham....CLEVELAND supported Public Conscience Sunday supporting welfare payments on the basis of 100% of the minimum health and decency standards....HOUSTON members, as part of the Diocese's Crisis Committee, given communications' assignments during the recent disturbances at TSU.... LOS ANGELES broadened its base of concern by using its April meeting to focus on the problems of the "invisible Mexican-American", a fast-growing community now numbering over ½ million in Los Angeles County....MARYLAND's Annual Dinner was addressed on the subject of "How to Humanize White People" by Bill Stringfellow....MICHIGAN represented ESCRU's GM proxies in questioning the company's cooperation with the apartheid government of South Africa....MINNESOTA has designated July 9th as "Petition Sunday" and has circularized every member and all clergy in the Diocese with an explanation of the petition's rationale and goals. Both national ESCRU and the local Twin Cities' Opportunities Industrialization Center received checks for $700 as a result of the Chapter's highly successful "Evening with Malcolm Boyd"....NEW JERSEY Chairman Oscar Barker led a ten-man delegation to the recent Kodak stockholders' meeting in Flemington, N.J. where they were joined by members of the NEWARK Chapter. Mr. Benjamin Wright represented Newark's proxies. Though the June edition of the Episcopalian carries a picture of Mr. Wright and identifies him as a member of the Society, not one word of the text of its article gives a hint that students at ETS, ESCRU and many other concerned Episcopalians had committed themselves to this issue well in advance of the Presiding Bishop's decision to withold the Church's proxies ....PENNSYLVANIA, fearing that a Charter ammendment aimed at increasing the borrowing power of the Philadelphia School Board without voter approval and whose end result would not be an attack on the problem of racial and class segregation but rather its perpetuation, joined with the Philadelphia Urban League in urging "its members and other citizens to vote against the Amendment and to urge the Board of Education to develop a new Capital Program which is part of a comprehensive plan to provide quality education for all children.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. President - Mr. Malcolm Peabody Executive Director - The Rev. John Morris Director, Southern Field Service - The Rev. David Nickerson

ESCRU

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Trinity XXIII NEWSLETTER October 22, 1967

ANDERSON IS NEW PRESIDENT

The Rev. Jesse F. Anderson was elected by the Board of Directors to be the Society's new President for the coming year. His predecessor, Mike Peabody, was applauded by the Annual Meeting for his faithful service during the past two years. He will remain as a consultant to the Board.

Other officers elected were: The Rev. Earl Neil, Vice President; Mrs. Van R. Viebig, Jr., Secretary; Mrs. Donald S. Brey, Treasurer.

The eight Directors elected from the Provinces by the mail ballot are: Rushing, Sontag, Rollins, Ford, Burt, Smith, Viebig and Lynberg. Elected from the floor by the Annual Meeting are Ferrell, Myers, Pelham and Putnam. These newly-elected Directors will serve two-year terms.

HOOD REPORT ON CLERGY PLACEMENT NOW AVAILABLE

Fr. Hood's twenty-eight page report on "The Placement and Deployment of Negro Clergy in the Episcopal Church" is now available from the national office at 50¢ per copy. ESCRU members will want to read this report as well as that submitted by Bp. Hall's committee at Seattle with an eye towards its implementation in their own dioceses.

BOARD ACCEPTS MORRIS RESIGNATION

After seven years of dedicated and inspired leadership, the Rev. John Morris has made final his decision to resign as ESCRU's Executive Director. The Board of Directors reluctantly accepted his decision. Commenting on John's contributions to the Society, Bp. Myers noted:

> "Someone has said that most great institutions are the lengthened shadow of a man; and the role of John Morris in the life of ESCRU can not be overstated. From its inception until now, he has shaped the organization according to his understanding of what its role should be - and we have been glad that it was his hand that was at the helm."

Following the acceptance of Fr. Morris' resignation, the Board appointed Kim Dreisbach as "Acting Director" and created a Personnel Study Committee to "examine candidates and present to the Board a recommendation for Executive Director." This committee is chaired by the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham and includes Mary Eunice Oliver, Bp. Paul Moore and Bp. Myers. It was further agreed that the committee would report its selection to the Board by December the 15th.

ESCRU DELEGATES DELIVER AT CONVENTION

The difference in tone between the St. Louis Convention and the one just concluded at Seattle could not be better illustrated than by listing ESCRU-endorsed measures which passed the Seattle Convention. Seattle was as liberal as St. Louis was conservative; and the actions of the Annual Meeting in endorsing measures to come before the Convention were vindicated on the convention floor itself. Measures in which ESCRU interested itself, and the results of the voting on these, included the following; 1) the ESCRU Petition(cast in more succinct language and supported by the 10,000 signatures which were delivered to the committee)passed; 2) the Presiding Bishop's budget for urban work, passed; 3) acceptance of the "Bayne Report" calling for a less rigid definition of heresy, passed; 4) resolution calling for an end to the hostilities in Vietnam; amended, emasculated to some degree, but passed; 5) memorial resolution for Jonathan Daniels, passed (by rising vote, and a further resolution asking for propers and a Prayer Book day for Jon was referred to the Prayer Book Committee and ultimately to the Standing Liturgical Commission; 6) admission of women as deputies, passed; 7) resolution authorizing COCU representatives to begin construction of a specific plan, passed(with an amendment forbidding them to negotiate ECUSA's entry thereinto); 8) resolution forbidding discrimination in labor unions, passed(and a resolution calling for the extension of all federal labor union legislation to the field of farm labor, endorsed by ESCRU as a separate matter was incorporated into the same resolution and also passed); 9) resolution calling for study in the field of humanly-sexuallity, and for recognition that morality and legality are not necessarily the same thing, passed; 10) resolution in favor of trial use of the proposed liturgy, passed; 11) resolution calling for more frequent conventions, accepted in principle when the House of Deputies joined the House of Bishops in asking the PB to call a special convention two years hence to deal with, among other things, this question. This of course, requires constitutional changes; 12) resolution calling for proportional representation in the House of Deputies, lost.

In addition to these measures, ESCRU candidates ran well in several elections, the most exciting being a "cliff-hanger" in which Dr. Charles Lawrence of New York came within 20 votes of winning the vice-presidency of the House of Deputies. Fr. Paul Washington ran fourth in a field of nine for the presidency and Charles Willie was re-elected by acclamation to the Executive Council.

There were 76 ESCRU members in the House of Deputies this time. Much of the floor work for ESCRU-sponsored measures and candidates was carried on by ESCRU deputies Ed Morgan or Arizona, Paul Washington of Penna. Charles Lawrence of New York, Carl Gerdau of N. Michigan, Sol Jacobs of Ohio, Joe Pelham of Michigan(who presented the ESCRU petition), John Church of Chicago, Dick Byfield of California, and several others.

R.B.

ST. LOUIS vs. SEATTLE: A DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING OF TACTICS

Following the arrest of Fr. Walter Witte, who with others was protesting the use of Kiel Auditorium for a segregated debutantes' ball, Bp. Cadigan has written letters to Fr. Witte and his assistant, the Rev. William Matheus, requesting their resignations from St. Stephen's Church.

Parishioners of St. Stephen's have sent a letter to Bp. Cadigan which reads in part:

"Our two pastors...have given us-over the past years-the leadership, love and loyalty which have provided us with the strength to remain steadfast in our loyalty to Jesus Christ.. ..Having now learned that you desire their departure...,we are both desolate and dumbfounded. Is it, dear Bishop, that our desires-our own knowledge of what is good for us-is not the power of money to back up our wishes."

Referring to the program adopted by the 62nd Gen. Convention, Bp. Hines stated: "Among its aims will be the bringing of people in the ghettoes into areas of decision making by which their destiny is influenced." In St. Louis the decision was to protest a ball. Will the Church really "Let the people decide" or will it continue to approve only those strategies pleasing to the affluent and not to the afflicted?

WASHINGTON LENDS SUPPORT TO MILWAUKEE ESCRU: BACKS NAACP YOUTH COUNCIL AND FATHER GROPPI

On September the 29th both the Greater Washington and Milwaukee Chapters joined other concerned groups in their respective cities in a Prayer Vigil Service for a fair housing ordinance for the city of Milwaukee. Those participating in the nation's capitol gathered at the Washington Monument while those making their witness in Milwaukee prayed at St. Boniface's Catholic Church.

Acting Director Dreisbach flew to Milwaukee to meet with leaders of the NAACP Youth Council and the Chapter. ESCRU was well represented in the council's daily marches as Frs. William Wendt and Quinland Gordon joined the marches with a strong contingent from the Chicago Chapter lead by Mattie Hopkins, Octavia Miles and Jean Frey.

Bishop Donald Hallock has moved for greater involvement for the Diocese in this crisis by creating a new position of Metropolitan Minister. ESCRU member Fr. James Caldwell has been called to this new post.

NOTE: Copies of an excellent cartoon depicting three soldiers resting from battle and captioned "I'm sorry you're so upset about Negroes moving in next door. My Negro neighbors saved my life yesterday." are available from the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, 314 East High St., Jefferson City, Mo. 65101.

CHURCH CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA RESPONDS TO CHAPTER'S REQUEST - CHANGES SITE OF BISHOP PIKE'S ADDRESS

Responding to a request initiated by Chairman Barbara Rollins of the Pennsylvania Chapter, the President of the Church Club of Philadelphia informed ESCRU that its October Reception and Dinner has been shifted from the Union League (a private club which discriminates in its membership policy) to the Holiday Inn. Ironically enough, the speaker for the evening, the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, plans to entitle his address "Relevance, Credibility and Performance in the Church Today."

National ESCRU joins the Pennsylvania Chapter in applauding Mr. Crampton and the Church Club for their sensitivity and forthright action in this matter.

DR. KING AGAIN SLIGHTED BY EPISCOPALIANS

Having endured the pain of his son's rejection by a then Church-related secondary school, Nobel prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. finds himself again the victim of the Church's cowardice - this time at the hands of the General Theological Seminary.

Dr. King's name is conspicuously absent - as is that of any other black leader of the Church - from a group of distinguished leaders scheduled to receive honoray doctorates at the Sesquicentenniel of GTS scheduled for Wednesday, November the 8th. Leaders like the Most Rev. Archbishop Iakovos and R. Eugene Carson Blake who shared the dust of Selma's streets with Dr. King will be denied the opportunity to share a well-deserved honor on that day.

ESCRU recently learned that Dr. King's name had originally been presented as a candidate for such an honor, but that GTS' five-man Committee on Education had rejected him because of his "controversial" image as a militant leader in the struggle for human dignity.

No doubt the seminary will try to save face by offering the lame excuse that this particular convocation was created to honor those churchmen primarily known for their leadership in ecumenical relations. We believe that the incarnational manifestation of the ecumenical movement - at least during the last decade in the U.S. - has been the Civil Rights Movement of which Dr. King is the undesputed spiritual leader. We further believe that Dr. King is one of the most functional ecumenists in the world today, and that many lapsed christians owe their return to the faith of their fathers to the relevance and heroism inspired in them by Dr. King. To have excluded him from this honor is at best a glaring sin of omission; at worst it again reveals the Church as a faithless coward.

A.R.D.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. President - The Rev. Jesse Anderson Acting Director -The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr. Director of Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson National Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd

7th ANNUAL MEETING

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS

September 21, 1967

Racism In Church Charged By ESCRU

Over ten thousand Episcopalians have signed a "Declaration and Petition" sponsored by ESCRU, to the 62nd General Convention charging the Church with "heretical and blasphemous distortion of the Christian doctrine of man." The petition specifically cites the tradition of segregated clergy placement, failure at Christian education efforts, discrimination in the Church's financial investments, building and purchasing policies.

The result of this "racism at the very heart of the Church's life," they say, is "an inability to address its mission to the crucial issues in the life of the country." The petition calls for repentence on the part of the Church and asks for a Council of Renewal, urging a program and a budget which will acknowledge this repentance and renewal.

Signatures to the petition came from 66 dioceses, 44 states and seven foreign countries.

Fifty-five bishops, 54 clerical deputies and 22 lay deputies are members of the Epsicopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. ESCRU has a total membership of 5,119.

ESCRU Elects Fr. Anderson

Newly elected national officers of ESCRU, left to right: Mrs. Kayrlin Viebig, of Houston, Secretary; the Rev. Kim Dreisbach, Atlanta, continued as acting Executive Director; the Rev. Jesse Anderson, Philadelphia, President. Mrs. Donald Frey, Evanston, was re-elected as Treasurer.

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS
September 22, 1967

Deputies Still Lily White

The Rev. Jesse Anderson, a Philadelphia priest newly elected as president of ESCRU, pointed out that of 678 members in the House of Deputies "only 8 are black." He remarked however that this lily white ratio is a record, since the number of Negroes in theHouse of Deputies since 1928 has been, when there have been any at all, a series reading 1-3-5-5-7- until this year, when 8 are present.

Saul Alinsky at the Annual Banquet of ESCRU

THE DAILY

September 19, 1967

"If the Episcopal Church wants to be a church it has got to act, to support Bishop Hines, or it will be an artifact, a museum piece within fifteen years. Parts of it look like that already."

This is the opinion of Saul Alinsky, nationally prominent consultant in community organization, on the Presiding Bishop's urging of immediate financial aid for the inner-city crisis.

Alinsky's opinion of Rap Brown, SNCC leader known for a diametrically opposite solution to inner city problems; is that Brown's statements have not been constructive in any way to date.

"While his thinking expresses the anger, frustration, and bitterness of the ghettos there hasn't been anything constructive. It's one thing to talk, another to act."

"Brown doesn't face danger from indictment for crossing state lines; that would only make him a martyr. His only danger would come from a sanity hearing."

The double-take wit of that comment seems to be a characteristic of Alinsky, who displays a freedom possible to few men. Jewish himself, he operates on the battle line of the "other America," the under-educated, under-housed, and under employed, in the inner cities of the United States.

Whenever a group of churches can pool sufficient funds to set up a program in an inner-city situation and the group they wish to help also invites him in he will go. His task force is the Industrial Areas Foundation, successful in contacting, motivating, and organizing constructively the "other America."

Asking Martyrdom

He is watching General Convention's reaction to their Presiding Bishop's address.

"Bishop Hines has introduced a Christian doctrine in the House of Bishops," says Alinsky. That's asking for martyrdom. He is asking for action. That is committing heresy. He is asking them to take action in their own dioceses. That is horrendous. He wants them to behave not like Bishops but like priests. Bishops are supposed to forget how to be a priest."

The Seattle Times

September 19, 1967

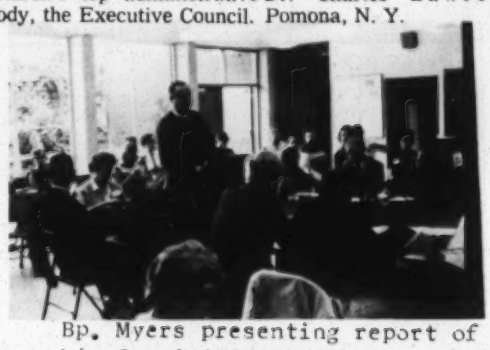
Four Negroes To Be Seeking Church Posts

The Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity plans to nominate four Negro churchmen for the Episcopal Church's top administrative body, the Executive Council.

ESCRU has been holding meetings in connection with the general council. The organization has charged that the Episcopal Church has discriminated against its Negro priests in job placement.

The proposed nominees are the Rev. Jesse Anderson, Sr., Philadelphia, president of ESCRU; the Rev. Albin Ferrel, chaplain at Howard University; J. Herbert Tate, Newark, N. J. attorney, and Dr. Charles Lawrence, Pomona, N. Y.

Bp. Crowther with Mary Eunice Oliver



Bp. Myers presenting report of his Special Study Committee to the 7th Annual Meeting

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS

September 19, 1967

AFRICA ANOTHER VIETNAM?

"A second Vietnam is brewing in South Africa and the United States will be on the wrong side when it blows up," according to the Rt. Rev. Edward Crowther, exiled Bishop of the Diocese of Kimberley.

In an address at St. Paul's Church, Bishop Crowther said the United States is getting "short term capital gains on its investments there which will lead to long term political involvement in protection of assets, so placing it on the wrong side."

Calling upon the Episcopal Church to "sacrifice her status-ridden professional institutionalism and recreate her priorities," particularly in matters of finance, the Bishop urged the withdrawal of investments which support South Africa's policy of apartheid. He cited economic participation in the profits of apartheid as inexcusable and lamented that a special report to be presented to the Convention by the Bishop of Washington, D.C., will fail to recommend such withdrawal.

Bishop Crowther further urged economic sanctions against South Africa by the United States with the recommendation that churches exert maximum pressure upon the government to take such actions.

Moving again to the Church, the Bishop called for the development of a "theology of revolution." "We are involved," he said, "in South Africa and South America, in situations which cannot continue peacefully indefinitely. At what point, if at all, we support violence in a situation in which there would appear to be no hope of peaceful redress of intolerable grievances is open to question," he concluded.

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS

SPACE NEEDLINGS

September 22, 1967

We notice some high ranking officials black penciling the 815 Daily Bulletin (their GCD). The purpose is to alert the minions to the "Party Line." Marginal comments included: "Presiding Bishop says push Pusey;" "Omit ESCRU as sponsor of Alinsky"; "Be positive on COCU"; "Let hawks and doves fight over Vietnam, don't get involved"; "Push staff work as news"; "Play up budget, it is our future"; "Use plenty of Hines and family matters, he likes them and us for it"; "Play down Pike"; "Must use Episcopalian poll, they are in trouble"; High-light MRI; negate cost."

2 The Seattle Times Monday, September 18, 1967

Racial-Unity Group to Keep Watch Over Episcopal Action

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity today assumed a "watchdog" role on proposals to divert church funds for the support of political and economic programs of black people.

The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, bishop of California (San Francisco), a member of the executive board, praised the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, presiding bishop, for his proposal to spend church money on "responsible black power."

But he added:

"It is highly likely the program will be defeated in the convention or if it should pass it could be emasculated."

Bishop Myers, successor to Bishop James A. Pike, is one of several bishops in the controversial society, which is committed militantly to racial causes.

The society has about 5,000 members, but Bishop Meyers says the society is one of the church's most significant organizations. He said some 100 members of the society are here as voting delegates in the General Convention.

BISHOP MYERS said the society will do all the "lobbying" it can do to pass the presiding bishop's program.

The bishop said the society has a "suspicious attitude," particularly among its Negro members, who feel the program "may be simply verbiage."

If the convention does not deliver on the program, the bishop said there likely will be "direct action" against the convention. What form it will take, he did not speculate.

Bishop Myers said the society also was going ahead with plans to present a petition containing more than 10,000 signatures which, in effect, accuses the church with "heretical and blasphemous distortion of the Christian doctrine of man" in regard to its treatment of Negroes.

THE SOCIETY has said Negro priests are discriminated against in placements in churches and other church positions.

Bishop Myers said "the church ought to be concerned about the real heresy (racism) rather than tying itself in theological knots over Bishop Pike."

Pike has been accused of heresy in his challenge of doctrines and creedal statements.

"We are looking for a dramatic way to present our own heresy charges against the church," the bishop declared.

THE BISHOP warned that the estrangement between white people and blacks is widening in this country, particularly in a number of the old-line civil-rights organizations.

"I recognize ESCRU as one of the last civil-rights organizations for dialog to go on between blacks and whites," he said.

If the convention fails "to deal honestly with the racial situation," the Episcopal Church will become just another part of the fabric of the white backlash, Bishop Myers said.

The society yesterday elected the Rev. Jesse Anderson, a Negro priest from Philadelphia, as president. He succeeds Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr., Cambridge, Mass., member of a well-known Episcopal family.

FRI *The 62nd General Convention of the Episcopal Church*

September 22, 1967

Negro Nominations Is An Act Of Self Determination

A significant indication that Deputies have been moved by the extraordinary sermon Bishop Hines delivered on Sunday is the willingness of many to seriously consider Negroes for key slots in upcoming election, including the vice-presidency, the Executive Council, the Church Pension Fund (where no Negro has ever been considered), and for the Trustees to General Seminary.

Furthermore, there is a growing appreciation, also stimulated by the Presiding Bishop's sermon, that the way that Negro candidates are selected is fully as important and perhaps more so, than the elections themselves.

Past custom, when selecting minority candidates for office, not only in the Church, but in the U.S. generally, has been for white leadership to select the person they thought most qualified and the one who would most appeal to white voters.

It is becoming clear, however, that this method vitiates Negro self-respect, since by the process Negroes are denied the right to choose their own leadership and, more importantly, if the person designated is elected, there is little guarantee that he will be sensitive to the needs of other Negroes, since he owes his election to the "white power structure."

ISSUES

Segregation Incident May Prove Providential

Negro Churchmen of one Diocese found, it necessary to refuse to attend a party given for their delegation held in a local club which does not accept Negro membership and does not normally serve Negroes—even as guests.

It is astonishing that, in the context of this Convention which has focused so strongly on the racial crisis in our cities, such action should have been necessary.

The incident, however, may be providential if it serves to remind us that even a $3,000,000 commitment to the ghetto will not remove the necessity for extensive reformation in the life of the Church itself.

More immediately, it underlines the importance of authorizing the Christian Social Relations Department to make sure that such possibilities of discrimination in the host city of a General Convention are investigated and removed long *before* the Convention meets.

THE DAILY

September 21, 1967

10,000 Sign Plea On Race

A resolution bearing 10,000 names was submitted yesterday to the House of Deputies calling for "repentance" and "a declaration of intention" to eliminate racial separation within the Church.

The document, also urging that the Church strengthen its witness in behalf of racial equality, was referred to the house's Committee on Christian Social Relations for study and recommendation. Action, if any, on the resolution will come later in the week.

Introduced by the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham of the Diocese of Michigan, the resolution reads as follows:

"WHEREAS more than 10,000 members of the Episcopal Church have petitioned the 62nd General Convention of the Church asking this Convention to join in common repentance over the continuing existence of racial discrimination and separation within the life of the Church, and over its failure to address itself fully to the existence and manifestation of racism in the life of the nation, said petition, attached hereto and made a part hereof, as though set out in full, and

"WHEREAS these members of the church have likewise petitioned this Convention to exercise such leadership as will point the way toward the elimination of racial separation in the Church and the strengthening of its witness for an inclusive society, and

"WHEREAS these petitioners have requested us to support the Bishops of the Church who have proposed a Council for the renewing of the Church in our day, to the end that both its inner life and its mission to the world may more effectively fulfill our Lord's wish "that they all may be one," and

"WHEREAS the Presiding Bishop has sounded a clear call to this Convention to address itself to the problems of the urban crisis in America which have their root in the persistence of racism,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this House acknowledge receipt of these petitions with their call for common repentance and declaration of intention and take seriously to heart the summons which they contain, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this House join with these 10,000 members of the Church who have called for a Council of Renewal which will have as one of its major terms of concern the existence of racism in Church and Society."

MON

September 25, 1967

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS

SEPTEMBER 26, 1967

Debate Returns To Bishops

BY Frederick H. Sontag

Conscientious objectors' problems and selective objection to war developed interesting, sharp debate among the Bishops as the Viet Nam war touched their nerves and brought out into the open the most important international question facing the Church.

The CO statement was passed with some changes, while the selective war objection was refered back to committee, for possible rewriting or no further action. Some Bishops felt yesterday that the subject of Viet Nam had now been disposed of, and would not come up again, while others understood that it would recur in a separate statement either from Bishops or Deputies.

Bishop Burt of Ohio presided as the Bishop of SC urged the elimination of clergy exemptions from the draft.

Bishop Myers said flatly that international laws were being violated in Viet Nam. He cited a position paper prepared by "Layman and Clergy concerned about Viet Nam" at the Columbia University Law School, which he had read in proof form.

The Bishop of North Carolina charged that no one knew the exact number of CO's in the Episcopal Church and that this data ought to be available for the debate. Bishop Brady said that he had had dinner with Billy Graham after his Saigon visit, and that only three men in the U. S. have the answer for Viet Nam. He warned that if the Selective Objection statement was passed it would be "a right to anarchy". The Bishop of Alabama said the men of Viet Nam understand, and appreciate why they are there, but it is the young people in the U. S. who are confused. Bishop Pike, whose remarks were so applauded, that the PB urged the gallery to stop, made a lengthy legal presentation. He said in his 75 college visits he had not found any cowards, just young Americans who did not want to kill in Viet Nam. Bishop Cole of CNY spoke on behalf of the selective objection resolution reminding the Bishops forcefully that just recently a young man had come before the House, urging that the Church speak up on this and related issues. Bishop Cole said the Bishops had a responsibility to speak up. "The stronger we say it, the better", Bishop Cole said movingly, "that is if we heard the young people."

The Bishop of Lexington agreed with Bishop Brady about anarchy, and he did not wish to underwrite it.

In a most forceful personal statement of conscience, Bishop Gordon of Alaska said that he would not go to Viet Nam now if asked to do so, and he expected his Church to stand behind him. He said it was just wrong to fight in Viet Nam. Bishop Gordon also said his 21 year old son was not facing the same problem, and if he agreed with his father, he also would expect his Church to stand behind him. The Bishop said "both expected to take the consequences in alternate service".

Bishop Crittenden admitted that he had changed his mind on this subject during recent months, and now favored the resolution and opposed the Viet Nam war. He described moral and theological reasoning behind this. He forcefully charged that the Episcopal Church must handle and face up to the "just war" theory. He tried to explain how the Church had gotten away from automatically endorsing "a just war", but had not yet gone to an alternative statement. He urged support for those who like Bishop Gordon would be thought of as involved in an act of civil disobedience.

The Seattle Times

Friday, September 22, 1967

Episcopalian Urban-Crisis Plan Encounters First Opposition

By LANE SMITH and MIKE WYNE

The first open opposition to the $3 million urban-crisis fund recommended by the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church developed in the wake of an open hearing Wednesday.

At the hearing called to solicit opinions on the church's proposed $14.6 million budget for 1968, several speakers indicated reservations about using church funds for nonchurch causes.

The church's General Convention will act on the budget later.

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, presiding bishop, has asked the church to contribute $3 million annually to Negro community organizations planning their own programs for economic and political power.

The Rt. Rev. Frederick J. Warnecke, head of the Program and Budget Committee, said funds for other programs, principally for the aged and alcohol-problems ministeries, have been redirected to the proposed urban-crisis fund.

The fund also would draw on "new money" and a gift from the women's organizations.

"WHY SHOULD THE church put money into poverty projects when there are federal projects covering the same ground?" the Rev. James Brice Clark, Nebraska, asked. He was critical of proposed program cutbacks.

The Rt. Rev. Gray Temple, bishop of South Carolina, warned the committee that many urban programs have been misrepresented as "Rap Brown" types of black power.

The Ven. Walter W. Hannum, archdeacon of Alaska, objected to cutting back the alcohol-problems program.

"YOU GET A VERY little program for a lot of cost," said Bishop Warnecke, of Bethlehem, Pa.

"A person can't possibly attack the urban crisis without handling alcoholism and addiction and other things."

The Rev. Jesse Anderson, Philadelphia, new president of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, criticized the committee for having no Negroes. He also asked:

"How will you implement the program (urban crisis) in a predominantly white and increasingly racist church?"

The Rev. Albion Ferrell, chaplain of Howard University, Washington, D. C., a pioneer Negro institution, urged that the budget be supported in full, "so that there indeed be a hearing whether we agree or not."

BISHOP WARNECKE

AMERICAN CHURCH NEWS

September 21, 1967

Black Power Chairman Warns P.B.

The Rev. Nathan Wright, Jr., chairman of the recent Newark "Black Power" Conference, in a circular letter to the Negro clergy of the Episcopal Church dated September 14, called for "appropriate and responsible support" for the "clearly gracious intentions of Bishop Hines," but issued several warnings about the implementation of the proposed expenditures for Black community needs.

"The Black clergy of our Church must be at the center of any endeavor by the Church to deal with the needs of Black people," he went on. "For the Church, even unintentionally, to overlook the resources (of the black clergy) would be a perpetuation of the insolence and paternalism which has been heaped upon the black clergy in the past. . . We can as Black Episcopal clergy in our communities serve as the primary agents for the creation of the Black unity needed for our survival and for the nation's internal peace and orderly growth."

Dr. Wright wrote that "we must see as on our side all those who raise thoughtful questions about '815'. . . and that "the capable white staff of the Urban Department should long have been seen as an inappropriate instrument for relating to either Black distress or Black mission. We should ask for immediate staff re-adjustment."

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Christmastide NEWSLETTER December 15, 1967

A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

"The more I work with people in attempting to relate the Church to the world, the more I am convinced of the urgent need for a strong ESCRU. We are in the midst of a most peculiar sort of social revolution which is simultaneously subtle, difficult to analyze, and yet the most important reality of this decade. For too long, only the Negroes in America knew that they were in the revolution, but now other segments within the nation have awakened to the fact that they and their very future is involved whether they want to be or not. As examples, note the hippies, unrest on the campuses, Vietnam and draft demonstrations and the voice of the poor for self-determination. Sooner or later, the white poor who comprise two-third's of this nation's poverty population will also join this revolution. Already this group has begun its first protest feeling that the ameliorative effects of governmental programs have been realized only in the Negro community. We will be in serious trouble when this group fully awakens, for the American white man has a history of fundamental violence in changing social and political patterns (e.g. the American Revolution, the Civil War, our relations with Indians and Mexicans and the history of lynching, raping and general mayhemperpetrated on Negroes both in the North and in the South).

The Church should be one element - preferably in a coalition with industry, government and education - to take a stand for justice in these troubled times. But, the Church's structure will not permit her to make a valid witness; even one or two strong Dioceses and Bishops cannot witness for the whole Church. One reason for the Church's failure is that most of her members have not progressed beyond the 'high-chair Gospel.' You can imagine my sadness when, after meeting with some of the finest men in my own Diocese regarding a recent crisis, one of our clergy said to me: 'What are you going to do? It is if they have pulled a curtain before the eyes of their souls. No matter how much you show, they cannot see!' The affluent and powerful are so engrossed in keeping the peace and maintaining the status quo, in stressing the absoluteness of the Law at the expense of Justice, that in their blindness they will pull down the very walls around their heads. There is one hope: God willing, people like the dissatisfied collegians, the war protestors and the Peace Corps volunteers and groups like ESCRU, NCCIJ and PIC who stand outside the established structures in order to absorb the truth of the Gospel more fully - it will be people like these who help to reshape America's history so that the beautiful precepts of liberty and justice proclaimed in our Constitution can become the realities which are actually practiced in our national life. If you could but see it from your writer's view, you too would realize how essential a strong, active and Christ-inspired ESCRU is, not only to the lives of its members, but to the entire Episcopal Church.

In trying to become faithful and effective, your Board has found it necessary to make certain changes in the structure and direction of the Society. 1968 will find us moving towards new goals and adopting a more relevant Statement of Purpose. At our recent meeting in Detroit, the Board and the Personnel Committee were convinced that black leadership was essential for the trying days ahead. On the other hand, recognizing the skills of our Acting Director, we felt it incumbent not to lose his expertise during this period of transposition. So, the decision was made to "opt" for a two-man staff with the hope our members will take it upon themselves to meet the consequent financial burden. Kim Dreisbach has agreed with this plan and will remain as Associate Director while we proceed with our search for a new Executive Director.

I believe that there are available enough interested people and money, if we will but assume the responsibility to interest them. to make this plan feasible. Along with my best wishes to you and your families at Christmastide, I make an earnest request that we all bestir ourselves so that ESCRU may do the Lord's work more adequately in these fields of the Gospel which He has placed in our hands, implanted in our minds and laid upon our hearts.

Very sincerely yours,
The Rev. Jesse F. Anderson, S.T.D.

THE JON DANIELS STORY

The Seabury Press has recently published The Jon Daniels Story with his letters and papers. The book is available in paperback @ $1.95 and is edited by Jon's close friend and co-worker, William J. Schneider, Episcopal Chaplain at Harvard and Radcliffe. All proceeds from the sale of this book will go to the Jonathan Myrick Daniels Fellowship Fund at E.T.S. as suggested by Mrs. Daniels. This fund was established by the school's trustees to provide financial assistance to seminarians undertaking to strengthen their theological education through participation in social movements.

BOARD SETS NEW DUES RATES

At its recent meeting in Detroit, the Society's Board of Directors adopted the following recommendations for dues effective January 1, 1968:

Students and seminarians	- $2.50
Single membership	- $5.00
Couple membership	- $8.00
Contributing membership	- $25.00
Supporting membership	- $50.00
Sustaining membership	- $100.00

In a Newsletter which is admittedly heavy with requests for financial support, maybe we can all learn a lesson from the "wise men" of the first Christmas story who acknowledged the birth of a new age for all mankind with their gifts.

CHICAGO TO HONOR JOHN MORRIS WITH THE LICHTENBERGER AWARD

Chicago ESCRU has scheduled January 26-28 for a Black Power Workshop which will conclude with a banquet at which time the Rev. John B. Morris will be presented with the Bishop Lichtenberger Human Rights Award in recognition and gratitude for his many contributions during the past eight years as ESCRU's Executive Director. In order to make it possible for all members of the Society to express their appreciation to John, invitations to the banquet will be mailed to the entire membership. Those who because of distance are unable to attend will be encouraged to purchase banquet tickets, the proceeds of which will be donated to National ESCRU in John's name. Members who make such contributions will have their names entered on a scroll which will be presented to Fr. Morris at the banquet. Persons who are fortunate enough to attend the workshop and banquet will have an opportunity to hear Dr.Nathan Wright, Convener of the National Conference on Black Power held in Newark, New Jersey, this past summer, and from Dr. Charles Hamilton, co-auther with Stokley Carmichael of Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America and Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Roosevelt University.

All reservations for the workshop and the banquet should be sent to:

Mrs. Octavia Miles
400 East 33rd Street, Apt. 1703
Chicago, Illinois 60616

The registration fee for the workshop alone is $10 and overnight accomodations ($16-double;$12-single) are available at the University of Chicago's Center for Continuing Education. The cost of the dinner along is $12.50.

ESCRU joins with many others in expressing our sympathy to the family and friends of Fr. William B. Parsons, Jr. who died on Nov. 17, 1967 following emergency brain surgery. Bill was last with us in Seattle where he served as a process observor and as a witness to commitment with compassion which will continue to inspire all of us who had the good fortune to know him.

NEW RELATIONSHIP IN ST. LOUIS

Following an all day and night session of negotiations between representatives of the Diocese and an ad hoc ecumenical Committee of Concern for Clergy Freedom chaired by the Rev. Roger A. Harless, Ex. Sect'y of the Presbyterian Interracial Council(PIC), Bp. George L. Cadigan of Missouri announced that Fr. Walter Witte and the Rev. William Matheus will be permitted to continue in their ministry to St. Stephen's. The Bishop's statement said in part:"The clergy of St. Stephen's and I have met for several hours of discussion and negotiation this week. We have entered open and honest confrontation of issues which have divided us. We have reached understandings whereby we expect a new working relationship is possible."

Both Bp. Cadigan and the Rev. Messrs. Witte and Matheus have expressed their appreciation to Acting Director Dreisbach who spent four days in St. Louis with all parties to effect a settlement.

CONSULTATION ON RACISM PLANNED BY MID-ATLANTIC CHAPTERS

January 12th & 13th will find the Pennsylvania Chapter playing host to about 40 members drawn from Newark to Baltimore for a Consultation on Racism to be led by the Rev. Frank Joyce, Ex. Sect'y of PAR (People Against Racism) in Detroit and Fr. David Gracie, formerly of Detroit and now an Urban Missioner in Philadelphia. This conference is designed "to train persons in the process of analyzing the depths of racism in American life, including the Church and our own members, and to equip them with the skills and techniques for attacking this cancer in their respective parishes and cemmunities."

This consultation is in the nature of a pilot project requested by our Board of Directors. Two competent observers will be used to evaluate the conference, and it is hoped that as a result a blueprint will be drafted which can be used for similar training sessions in other regions and Chapters.

CHAPTER NEWS

CLEVELAND - In support of both the Fair Housing Council and Operation Equality, members of the chapter are serving in a program to develop "open listings," to provide escorts and checkers for house-hunting Negro families, and to exert pressure upon brokers to sell houses on an open occupancy basis. MILWAUKEE - Members of the Chapter continue to march with the NAACP Youth Council. December 5th marked the 100th day of consecutive marches for open housing. In February ESCRU will be joined by the United Campus Ministers in sponsoring a visit by the Rt. Rev. C. Edward Crowther, exiled Bishop of the Diocese of Kimberly and Kuruman... NEW JERSEY - A Eucharist of Social Concern was conducted out of doors in a city park when permission to celebrate in Trinity Cathedral, Trenton, was denied. The service was held as a witness by ESCRU members to their concern for urban unrest and for the role of the Episcopal Church in racial matters, particulary in the area of clery placement. PENNSYLVANIA - Following demonstrations by students in Philadelphia, the Chapter issued a press release deploring "the precipitate action and reaction of members of the Police Department in dealing with peaceful demonstrators and their resort to reprehensible acts of brutal violence against young people particularly. We further deplore the beating and arrest of observers, especially the Rev. E. Marshall Bevins, who sought to move in reconciling roles."

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY, 5 Forsyth St.,N.W., Atlanta Ga.30303. President - The Rev. Jesse Anderson, Acting Director - The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr., Director of Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson, National Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

PASSION SUNDAY NEWSLETTER MARCH 31, 1968

NEW STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Following its initial conception at the Society's 7th Annual Meeting in Sept., our new and revised Statement of Purpose went to the printer's one week before the release of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and is included as one of three enclosures with this edition of the Newsletter. Both documents conclude that the core of this nation's crippling malignancy can be traced to its white racism and that the focus of our efforts must lie in a drastic reshaping of white attitudes and actions.

The Rt. Rev. Anson P. Stokes,Jr., ESCRU member and Chairman of the Commission on Church and Race of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, is urging Churchmen to take "as required reading for Lent" the Report of the President's Commission. Certainly all ESCRU members will want to undertake this discipline and use the knowledge thereby gained to educate their fellow parishioners about the depth and urgency of the crisis which we all face. The new Statement of Purpose provides an opportunity for us to enlighten previously uninformed Churchmen about the past accomplishments and future goals of ESCRU and to give them an opportunity to join the Society which has done so much to bring the Episcopal Church to its present position of involvement in the continuing struggle for Justice, Power and Dignity inspired by Love for "all sorts and conditions of men." A.R.D.

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

Sunday, April the 21st, has been selected as the target date for massive distribution of the enclosed fliers and information sheets in America's churches. ESCRU members in Boston and Milwaukee will witness the gathering of the initial groups going to Washington,D.C., while those who live in Baltimore and Alexandria,Virginia, will be in a position to provide support and services to the campaign during the final staging of the marchers prior to their confrontation with Congress and selected Federal agencies. The viability of non-violence is on trial in this campaign; if it fails, it will be the soul of the nation which will be revealed as its "poorest" resource.

TEXT OF THE BISHOP LITCHTENBERGER HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD PRESENTED ON JANUARY 28,1968 TO THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS

"We salute you, John Morris,
As a man who was forthright and honest when it would have been easier to be hostile and sly,
As a brother who was tireless in his struggle against discrimination and injustice when it would have been easier to to stand in the shadows of anonymity,
As a Priest who chose the more difficult course of striving to remove cause rather than teach people to endure their suffering,
As a friend who spoke out when silence would have been the course that prudence dictated,
As a defender who routed his enemies in confusion because of his steadfastness.
And so he stands with those of our times who stood for the right, putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men and with impatient confidence awaiting manifestations of the sons of God."

Mattie Hopkins
President,
Chicago Chapter

Jesse Anderson
President,
National ESCRU

BLACK EPISCOPALIANS FORM NEW UNION

February 8th at St.Philip's Episcopal Church in Harlem was the birthday for the newly-formed Union of Black Clergymen and Laymen of the Episcopal Church. Stating as its main goal the removal of "racism in the church and in the community by anymeans necessary to achieve full participation on the basis of equality in policy making, decision making, program and staffing on the parochial, diocesan and national levels", the union plans to stimulate the growth of "black Membership" throughout the church, protect black clergy and laymen from "racist practices" and to promote the placement of black professionals "at all levels" within the church without regard to race.

Officers of the union are: Fr.Quinton Primo,President; TheRev.Canon St. Julian Simpkins, 1st. V.P.; Fr. Frederick Williams, 2nd. V.P.; Fr.Austin Cooper, Sec'ty; The Rev.Canon John Walker,Treas.. Members of the Exec. Committee are the Rev.Dr.Moran Weston, the Rev.Dr. Joseph Nicholson, Fr.Harold Wright and ESCRU's President, the Rev. Jesse F. Anderson,Sr.

BOARD VACANCIES FILLED

Following the resignations of the Rev. Messrs. Terence Lynberg and William Penfield, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors has appointed the Rev. James Guinan of San Francisco and Fr. Frederick B. Williams of Inkster, Michigan to fill their positions.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE APPOINTED

Eight positions on ESCRU's national Board of Directors are to be filled by a process of mail balloting in the 8 stateside Provinces of the Church. President Anderson has appointed Barbara Hughes of Milwaukee to chair the committee which will prepare the ballot. Please send suggestions to her for the Director from your Province. Clerical Directors are to be elected this year from Provinces I,II, III and VII with lay Directors to be chosen from Provinces IV,V,VI and VII. The Nominating Committee must have your suggestions for vacancies by September 17th. Please remember to gain the consent of each person prior to submitting his or her name. Write: Mrs. James Hughes, Jr. 3225 N. Hackett, Milwaukee, Wis. 53211.

The terms of the following Directors expire: Anderson, Backer, Hopkins, Howard, Kennedy, Malpas, Mayo, Neil, Frey, Neuhauser and Oliver. The last three may not be reeclected to the Board for a period of one year since they have served two consecutive terms.

The following Directors' terms do not expire: Burt, Ferrell, Ford, Guinan, Myers, Pelham, Putnam, Rollins, Rushing, Smith, Sontag, Viebig and Williams.

8TH ANNUAL MEETING

Philadelphia will be the site of the 8th Annual Meeting to be held November 15th-17th. The Pennsylvania Chapter, chaired by board member Mrs. Barbara Rollins is already at work making arrangements for the meeting and the banquet. The Chapter is working with Mr. Andrew Freeman of the Philadelphia Urban League to insure that the hotel selected for our accommodations pursues a policy of fair employment and promotion. A Promotional flier with pictures of the speakers and a registration blank will be included with the next Newsletter.

NCNC: THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE

The National Committee of Negro Churchmen formed a Committee on Theological Dialogue to consider some of the following questions:

1. What are the theological implications attendant upon the creation... of a self-conscious national movement of black churchmen?
2. Is it possible and desirable for the NCNC to formulate a kind of "Barmen Declaration" for black churchmen who see themselves in somewhat the same relationship to white racism in America that the Confessional Churchmen in Germany saw themselves in relationship to National Socialism?
4. How does the doctrine of the suffering servant relate to the necessary acquisition of power by suffering, powerless people?
5. What would be an acceptable theological analysis of power and love as thoughly coherent and dialectical elements of a true doctrine of reconciliation?
6. If God acts in history, do we know Him within the history of the American experience as slanted by white people or should we seek to understand God in our history as black people? What is to be said about the moral integrity of the white interpretation of history?
7. Is a theology of violence possible and what would it say about the role of violence in effecting social change?
8. Is it theologically valid to speak of a black Christ or a white Christ? Whatever were the historic circumstances under which the Christ figure first appeared, must the historic situation and the elements with which it consists be considered eternally and universally authentic, valid and normative?

BARGAINING RIGHTS FOR FARM WORKERS

Efforts to unionize farm laborers in Delano, Rio Grande and such states as Arizona, Florida, Michigan, New York and Wisconsin continue to manifest the need for the inclusion of such workers and their employers under the prospective services of the National Labor Relations Board. Senate Bill S.3, Sponsored by. Sen. Harrison(N.J.) and House Bill HR 4769, sponsored by Rep.O'Hara(Mich) would amend NLRA to include farm workers. WRITE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS NOW. Contact the National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 for more information.

PROGRESS IN TENNESSEE

The 136th Annual Convention of the Diocese of Tennessee, "desiring that all church-related institutions in the Diocese ...be open to all qualified persons of any race" and aware of the fact that "there are some qualified persons who are denied opportunities by reason of lack of financial means", has created a Committee - specifically including representatives from minority races - whose duties shall be:(1)"To develop standards by which principles of non-discrimination may be effected at all church-related institutions in the Diocese of Tennessee:

(2) To develop means of providing scholarship funds to be administered by the Committee for the benefit of needy, qualified students of all races."

Reliable sources inform us that following this Convention, the Board of Trustees of St. Mary'sEpiscopal School in Memphis - last year a recipient of $25,000 gift from the Diocese for their Development Fund - held a meeting and voted to open their doors to "any qualified applicants." There are even rumors floating that the school is prepared to consider policies of active recruitment of non-white students and that one prominent churchman in Memphis has offered to provide scholarship funds to enable St.Mary's to practice this new policy.

SEMINARIAN SOUGHT FOR SIP PROJECT

Fr. Francis X. Walter,Director of the Selma Interreligious Project(SIP) is seeking our assistance in locating a student or students who might like to apply for a grant from the Jonathan Myrick Daniels Fellowship Committee. Such a grant - up to $1,500 to seminarians of any accredited AATS seminary on leave for the academic year 1968-69 - would be used under terms of a project designed by the student (s), Fr. Walter and one of the Black Belt grass roots organizations. Fr. Walter foresees "some sort of project in which the student would be responsible to the organization and its goals, but would have a relationship to SIP."

Time is very short on this project as applications for the grant are due at ETS by April 15th. If you know anyone interested in serving in the state in which Jon Daniels gave his life, please have him contact Fr. Walter at once c/o SIP, 810 - 29th Avenue, Tuscalosa, Ala. 35401. Phone: (205) 758-2301.

PIC & ESCRU TO FORM CLOSER TIES

At the invitation of PIC's Executive Secretary, The Rev.Roger A. Harless, Acting Director Dreisbach attended the Executive Committee meeting of the Presbyterian Interracial Council held in Los Angeles on March 8th and 9th. Potential combined projects include the joint publication of resource materials and the development of Suburban Action Centers (SACs) in areas where both groups have Chapters.

At the conclusion of the board meeting, the Rev. Messrs. Harless and Dreisbach visited joint meetings of PIC and ESCRU steering committee members in Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco. Though ESCRU does not currently have a Chapter in the San Francisco area, Vice Pres. Earl Neil and the Rev. Richard Byfield are currently at work to organize such a unit.

RESOURCES

"The Second Civil War" by Garry Wills. Available in tear sheets from the March, 1968 edition of Esquire @20¢/copy. Available from Esquire, 488 Madison Ave.,N.Y. N.Y. 10022

Where It's At: A Research Guide for Community Organizing. May be obtained @$1.00/copy from The Movement Press, 499 14th St., San Francisco, Calif.94103 or National Council of Churches, DSJ, 475 Riverside Dr., New York,N.Y. 10027.

1967 - High Tide of Black Resistance by James Forman. Available from SNCC, International Affairs Commission, 100 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011 for $1.00.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Bulk price schedule(prices include delivery):

25-99 copies	$1.00 each
100-499 copies	.88 each
500-and over	.75 each

Order from: Ronald Busch, V.P.,Special Sales, BANTAM BOOKS, INC., 271 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016

"Events at Orangeburg" by Pat Watters and Weldon Rougeau. A Special Report from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St.,N.W.,Atlanta, Ga.30303 @ .30¢/copy.

VIOLENCE: NO RESORT or LAST RESORT or...? by Willis E. Elliot. Single copy @.50¢,plus postage, from the United ministries in Higher Education Publications Office, P.O. Box 7286, St. Louis, Missouri 63177.

CHAPTER NEWS

CHICAGO - Mrs. Octavia Miles has devised an effective and relatively painless way by which Chapter members can help swell the national treasury. A $1.00/month assessment(also payable in a lump sum of $12.00 for the year) is being collected and forwarded to the Atlanta office. CLEVELAND - A record 185 persons attended the annual ESCRU luncheon, heard Leon Modeste explain his mission as the Director of the General Convention Special Program and honored Mary Hooker Glendinning with the Human Relations Award. A $200 profit from the luncheon was given to the Welfare Rights Movement. MARYLAND - The February meeting of the Maryland Chapter considered the implications for human relations as contained in the proposed Constitution for the State of Maryland. A special 3-man committee is at work in developing ways to get the ESCRU"message" to more churchmen in the Diocese. The Chapter continues to contribute to and cooperate with the Activists (for Fair Housing) and the Citizens Planning and Housing Association and recently made a $50 grant to the local U-Vote project. MILWAUKEE - Milwaukee ESCRU is now structured into three action groups: (1) Urban Affairs - currently concentrating their efforts in support of an NAACP suit against the school board; (2) Diocesan Committee - researching ways in which diocesan structure and power can be used more effectively; (3) Parish Committee - an educational approach providing speakers for informal discussion at breakfasts, adult and teenage groups and developing dialog sermons for presenting to entire congregations. MINNESOTA - Bp. Philip F. McNairy, himself a member of ESCRU, has requested the Chapter to select "heutral" places(i.e. homes or auditoriums) for meetings when speakers "might be in favor of violence or overthrow of the government." The request in the form of a letter to Fr. Denzil A. Carty,Chapter Chairman, following an appearance of Dr. Herman Dillard, a Minneapolis doctor, dressed as a Ku Klux Klansman wearing two pistols and carrying a rifle. At a meeting devoted to black power, Dr. Dillard advocated the formation of an armed black "Community Protection Unit." Fr. Carty, though he does not believe that Dr. Dillard advicated violence or overthrow of the government, will not disobey the Bishop's request, but will seek "other churches in which to present the message." NEW JERSEY - Continuing their concern for farm laborers which began with building support for two migrant labor bills passed by the New Jersey State Legislature last December, the N.J. Chapter devoted its February meeting to a panel discussion led by three experts on the plight of the migrant worker in that state. PHILADELPHIA - Following its January Consultation on Racism, members of the Pennsylvania Chapter are studying the newly-formed Committee Against Racism with the possibility of forming a "white caucus" to deal with those practices and policies which are peculiar to the racism prevelant in white suburbia. SAN DIEGO - ESCRU President, The Rev. Jesse F. Anderson, was the speaker at an informal dinner meeting held in his honor and as a means for raising funds for the national organization. Thanks to his hostess, Board member Mary E. Oliver who "was born turned on", Fr. Anderson had many opportunities to speak before concerned Churchmen during his week's stay in Southern California as an official delegate to the meeting of the National Council of Churches. The San Diego Chapter is currently working to support the claim of Mr. Thomas Johnson, local president of the NAACP, that the racism of San Diego makes it something less than an "All-American City" and that the current harassment by its police force of a black teenage center is evidence of repression rather than of the renewal which is so sorely needed. ST. LOUIS - Under the leadership of Chairman Connie Witte, a revitalized St. Louis Chapter is back on the battle lines again. The board of directors has endorsed a move, originally sponsored by the Episcopal Neighborhood Ministries Group, to encourage Episcopal clergymen to resign from the Missouri Athletic Club until it admits Negroes as members and guests. George Johnson, Chairman of the Chapter's committee on civil disorders, is organizing a challenege to the city to establish a much-needed police department civilian review board by June the 1st.

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THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

TRINITY I NEWSLETTER JUNE 16, 1968

DEATH CLAIMS TWO DREAMERS

In a time of bewilderment, frustration and bitter strife, this nation and the world could ill-afford the loss of two of its greatest dreamers - the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. It really should come as a surprise to us as citizens that a nation such as ours - born in blood, a country which throughout its history from the slaughter of the Indians through the banana wars of Latin America and extending to the cities and villages of Vietnam - which has continually advocated and practiced violence to achieve its goals would inevitably inspire others to use the same tactics to settle their perceived differences.

The "realists" in our midst continue to chant that "Thus it has been since the earth began, and thus it shall always be." Another blue ribbon investigatory commission has been appointed by the same President who has yet to endorse his own comission's Report on Civil Disorders. The findings of the new commission will serve only to buttress that which is already known. Sad to relate, the "Report from Iron Mountain" is more likely to dominate our nation's future policies than the principles which were long-ago delivered to our ancestors on tablets from Mount Sinai.

I for one am fed up with the reality which cuts of the lives of the Kings and the Kennedys and others who dare to challenge the System. My vote, and I hope that of ESCRU and the larger Church, goes to the dreamers who may agree to "tell it like it is", but who refuse to accept it like it is. Dr. King dreamed that "one day ...the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." Senator Kennedy, quoting Shaw, phrased it this way: "Some men see things as they are, and ask why; I dream things that never were, and ask why not?"

ESCRU will continue to dream and to ask "Why-not?", for on the day that we fail to do so we will deny Him who dreamed "That all might be One."

A.R.D.

BOARD DECIDES TO FOCUS ON SUBUREAN RACISM DREISBACH NAMED AS NEW EXEC. DIRECTOR

Meeting in Chicago on May 31-June 2, the Society's Board of Directors decided to devote ESCRU's 8th Annual Meeting to an in-depth analysis and strategy session aimed at identifying and rooting out racism within the predominantly white community. A news release stated in part:

> "Although ESCRU will continue to support the just demands reflected in the agenda and priorities set by members of the black and dispossessed communities, the Society's principal effort will be directed towards those portions of the white community which determine the policies of the latter's economic, educational, social and religious structures and institutions."

In other action at the Chicago meeting, the Board named Kim Dreisbach as its new Executive Director. Fr. Dreisbach joined the staff of the Society in 1965 as Associate Director, and has held the position of Acting Director since the resignation last September of ESCRU's founder, the Rev. John B. Morris.

ECSA CALLS FOR DAY OF PRAYER ON JUNE 23RD

The Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa calls upon all concerned churchmen to join with them in a Day of Prayer upon the day of the forced exile of the Rt. Rev. Robert H. Mize from South West Africa. Your prayers are asked for -

- Bishop Mize of Damarland who is being expelled from South West Africa by the illegal occupying power, the Republic of South Africa;
- All the people of South West Africa;
- Those South West Africans in exile because of their opposition to apartheid and the illegal occupation of their country;
- Polycarp Haihambo, being ordained by Bishop Mize to the diaconate on June 23, and for the continuance of the ministry of the Christian Church in South West Africa.

****

A PLEA TO DELINQUENT MEMBERS

With staggered renewal dates, it is difficult for even the most conscientious of us to remember just when we should send that check to the national office. Graduations, weddings and vacations all contribute to helping us forget our obligations. ESCRU can be only as strong as its supporters. If you have forgotten to pay your dues and are still committed to the Society's goals, please send your renewal check to us today.

****

FR. NICKERSON TO CLEVELAND

The Rev. David B. Nickerson, the Director of Southern Field Service has accepted a call to become the Rector of the Church of the Incarnation in Cleveland, Ohio. Fr. Nickerson made a great sacrifice to come on the ESCRU staff, knowing in advance that the foundation support for this project would terminate in the summer.

Witnessing to the ministry of reconciliation throughout the Southeast has demanded many miles of travel and many lonely hours spent away from family and friends. Most recently, Nick has been running a shuttle service between Durham, N.C and Resurrection City transporting clothing for its residents and collegiate volunteers to work in the Poor People's Campaign.

ESCRU is sincerely grateful for the ministry which Fr. Nickerson has given in our name and wish him and his family much happiness and success in their new parish.

RESOURCES

Barndt, Joseph R., Why Black Power? Frienship Press pb @ 95¢.

Cleaver, Eldridge. Soul on Ice. A Ramparts book. McGraw-Hill hb @ $5.95.

Fager, Charles E., White Reflections on Black Power. Wm. B/ Eerdman's pb @ $2.25.

Hersey, John. The Algiers Motel Incident. Bantam Books pb @ $1.25.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and the Colonizer. Beacon pb @ $1.95.

Segal, Ronald. Race War. Bantam Books pb @ $1.25.

The Negro and the City. Adapted from a special issue of Fortune. Pb @ $1.50.

"I Have a Dream" - The quotations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. compiled & edited by Lotte Hoskins. Grosset & Dunlap pb @ $1.00.

"Repression in America" - a background paper prepared by PAR for the conference on Law, Order & the White Backlash. Available @ 50¢/copy from People Against Racism 2631 Woodward Ave., 212 McKerchey Bldg., Detroit, Michigan 48201.

TV SPECIAL

"Of Black America", a 7-part television series on successive Tuesday evenings at 10:00 P.M. EDST will be presented by the Xerox Corporation. In an attempt to provide us with a truer perspective and a deeper understanding of the many vital roles the Negro has played in our history - soldier, statesman, scientist, athlete, musician, author, industrialist, legislator - Xerox will present this series on your local CBS television station. Please encourage your parish and diocese to publicize information on this series which begans on July 2nd.

SEGREGATED CLUBS - NOT A MATTER OF DEBATE FOR CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

This issue of the Newsletter contains a major report on the St. Louis Chapter's recent battle with the Missouri Athletic Club. Recently in the Diocese of Western New York, ESCRU member Fr. Jack Whiteford joined four other Churchmen in signing a statement of concern over a bishop's allowing himself "to be honored at a reception in a club that segregates by membership." The Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers has gone on record in the Pacific Churchman by stating:"I would urge all clubs which practice discrimination to end such customs forthwith. If they do not, my advice to clergy belonging to them (I cannot command) would be their withdrawalfrom membership."

ESCRU would go beyond Bp. Myers and extend his counsel to all Christians - especially to laymen who make up the majority of such clubs. Those who are not Christians may have the right to determine their own qualifications for membership, but those of us who are have the obligation not to cooperate with evil. A club which discriminates solely on the basis of a man's race or religion is an abomination to Him who died that "all might be one", and no amount of rationalization will justify a Churchman's remaining in such a club if it refuses to change its racist policies./A.R.D.

CHAPTER NEWS

MICHIGAN - Dealing with such problems as riots, race, fear and social justice, WWJ-TV is producing a 5 program series aimed at reaching 300,000 people involved in living room dialogues in the Detroit area. Michigan ESCRU is aiding this project by delivering tens of thousands of promotional brochures to parishes in the diocese. MILWAUKEE - A panel of 4 or 5 persons "available to speak to any parish in the Milwaukee area for the purpose of stimulating further discussion and action in each parish regarding the racial crisis today" is now busy fulfilling invitations as part of the efforts of the Chapter's Parish Committee. Fr. William Miles has served as moderator for workshops on "The Riot Report and the Churches" held by the Chapter in Milwaukee and Racine. MINNESOTA - Minnesota ESCRU recently convinced the Diocese to include Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., Executive Director of the Department of Urban Work of the Diocese of Newark, as one of the principal speakers in a six-week Urban Seminar held at the Cathedral Church of St. Mark. Dr. Wright's topic was "Black Power-The Challenge to the Church." The Chapter also played host to Kim Dreisbach in May who was in Minneapolis to represent National ESCRU at PIC's Annual Meeting where joint strategy for the two groups was planned. NEW JERSEY - Chairman Oscar Barker of the New Jersey Chapter has written a letter of congratulation to both Bp. Banyard and the Presiding Bishop with respect to the appointment of the Rev. Canon Isaiah G. Bell to succeed the late Canon Edwin W. Tucker as the Executive Secretary of the Board of Field Services of the Diocese of New Jersey. PENNSYLVANIA - A plea requesting a contribution of "$25.00 or more so that the monies can be forwarded to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, earmarked for maintainence of persons at 'Resurrection City'" has been circulated to all parishes in the Diocese by Chairman Rollins and the Pennsylvania Chapter. SAN DIEGO - Acting on the decision of the national offices to develop closer ties, the San Diego Chapters of ESCRU and PIC jointly sponsored a fund-raising concert for a local black teenage centerwhich was to have featured Oscar Brown, Jr. Because of the assassination of Dr. King on the day before the concert, the event was cancelled at the request of Mr. Brown. However, the money had been raised through the sale of several hundred tickets. PIC and ESCRU were able to present the black youth at Teen Post #1 with $700 for badly needed equipment. ST. LOUIS - Thirty-three days after ESCRU began its daily lunch-time picketting in front of the Missouri Athletic Club(MAC), the club announced on May 9th that Negroes would be permitted to apply for membership and that Negro guests would be accorded the same privileges given white visitors and guests. In March, chapter board member the Rev. William Rainford attempted to take fellow board member Mr. Lamar Smith - a school principal who is Negro - to lunch at the MAC. They were refused service and told that for the customary fee of $4 they could use a private room. An editorial in the St. Louis Post Dispatch noted:"Perhaps this is not quite as insulting as telling (negro guests) that they can eat in the kitchen." ESCRU had to respond. After sending letters to the Mayor and Bp. Cadigan, the board decided that more had to be done and a picket line was established. Mr. George Johnson of the board was designated to be in charge of this witness which began on April 8. "Jobs and money are the issues here at MAC," said Chmn. Connie Witte. "The men who eat at MAC control the jobs and the money which keep this city going." George Johnson continued to develop other ideas to convince the community of the seriousness of the situation. Letters were sent to 50 of the more than 300 St.Louis.firms which by membership in MAC for their (white) employees. The Justice Department was asked to investigate the possibility that these firms were violating federal tax laws. Board members met with the Mayor. Prominent people who held memberships in MAC were contacted, including Stan Musial of the Cardinals and Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois. Because one of its vice-presidents had been elected president of MAC's Board of Governors, the Bank of St. Louis was picketted for a short time. Finally, a "high ecclesiatical figure" conveyed a request to ESCRU from the MAC board for a moratorium on the demonstrations to allow the new board to interpret the change in their by-laws which had been ammended by a vote of 2033 to 792 to delete the word "white" wherever it appeared. ESCRU consented to a 10-day halt, but promised to resume picketting if no agreement was reached. On May 9th, MAC announced that their counsel had advised that the by-laws "must stand on their own and be applied in the same manner to all." MAC's president

CHAPTER NEWS (Cont.)

stressed that the decision was reached before receiving the statement from ESCRU suspending its picketting, and that the board's first impulse on receiving the Society's "intemperate" statement was to rescind the decision. He stated that the MAC board had not been influenced by ESCRU. Though MAC's decision evoked laudatory editorials in the local press, which described it as a victory for goodwill, justice, etc., the story is not yet finished. Whether any members of the black community have been invited to join MAC is as yet uncertain. At any rate, ESCRU's Bill Rainford cannot invite Lamar Smith to have lunch with him there, because MAC first suspended and then dismissed Rainford from its membership rolls for his participation in the picketting. Moreover, the Rev. Mr. Rainford was told in a telephone conversation that anyone involved in the picketting would be unwelcome at MAC. YOUNGSTOWN - A monthly meeting with U.S. Attorney Nataniel R. Jones, Deputy General Counsel for the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, has led to the creation of a series of five living room dialogues on the Kerner Report which began on the 13th of June under the leadership of the Rev. Henry N. Fukui.

ISSUES, INDIVIDUALS & INSTITUTIONS

The Vestry of St. Bartholomew's in Atlanta, Ga. unanimously adopted a resolution expressing its desire to "have enacted a strong law governing and controlling the sale of firearms, explosives and other weapons" and urging "all parishioners to write their congressmen requesting support for strong legislation to control the sale and possession of weapons"... The United Methodist Church voted to support its Board of Missions in removing a $10-million investment portfolio from the First National City Bank of New York when the latter renewed a line of credit to the Republic of South Africa. Our own Executive Council in its May meeting asked the Presiding Bishop "to name a committe to study the Church's financial relationship with South Africa. ESCRU wonders what happened to the Creighton Report on this subject which was received, filed and never publicized in Seattle on August 29, 1967. That report contains the following recommendation:"...that prior to January, 1968, banks and businesses and industries that express no moral concern for the implication of their involvment in apartheid. or who are not using their presence in South Africa as helpfully as the situation permits, be considered inappropriate holders of the invested funds of our Church." ...On the brighter side of the ledger, the Council announced that as of May 20th, $435,000 in Church funds had been deposited in Negro banks, in deposits of $15,000 each. ESCRU members will recall that in December, 1966, the Society formally requested the Council to invest some of its funds in Negro banks rather than continue to support the racist investment policies of Chase Manhattan and the First National City Bank...The 3rd annual Jonathan Daniels Fellowship Awards have been given to Robert McKay of Harvard Divinity School, Mrs. Sharon Kendall of Union Theological Seminary and Kim Nielson of New Brunswick Seminary...From an editorial in the June 2, 1968 edition of The Living Church: "It is hard to see on what point any Christian concerned about racism in the Church and in American Society could take issue with the newly revised statement of purpose of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.. . We think it would be helpful if somewhere in this statement ESCRU were to state specifically that it was opposed to all racism...It is with the understanding that ESCRU is opposed to all racism, in whomever and in whatever form it may be found, that we endorse its statement of purpose and commend it to all Churchmen." ...Word from Memphis, Tennessee has it that two Negro children have passed their entrance examinations and will enter classes at St. Mary's Episcopal School this September... Former Board member Fr. Robert Castle was given a 60-day suspended sentence and fined $100 for his arrest in an April demonstration urging support of the Poor People's Campaign in front of Jersey City's City Hall.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. President - The Rev. Jesse Anderson Executive Director - The Rev. Albert R. Dreisbach, Jr. Director of Southern Field Service - The Rev. David B. Nickerson National Field Representative - The Rev. Malcolm Boyd

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in joyful anticipation of a community where blacks and whites, haves and have-nots, may enjoy full equality and justice. We commit ourselves to work for the total eradication of racism in the Church, the nation and the world so that true reconciliation and unity, which are the outgrowth of equality and justice, may be realized in human life.

ESCRU

Members of the Society are those who share the following awareness:

Racism is subtly yet deeply ingrained in the American psyche and in the economic, educational, social and religious structures and institutions of this nation. It has lead to an imbalance of power within and beyond our society by which non-white persons are imprisoned in a state of dependency and powerlessness.

Penitently confessing our own sins of commission and omission which have served to perpetuate this racism, we the members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity pledge ourselves to the continuing witness for Truth, Justice, Freedom, Power and Love in faithfulness to Jesus Christ who values all men equally and who lived, died and was raised from the dead that all might be One in Him. We profess the essential unity of God with man, and man with man, proclaimed in the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion. We further believe that talk of Unity between men in the absence of Equality has been in vain, and that talk of Love between them where there is not Justice is meaningless. We therefore recognize the demand for Equality, Power and Justice for non-white and dispossessed persons as a legitimate demand; and as the means by which true reconciliation and unity ultimately may occur.

Our society is experiencing nothing less than a black revolution against white racism. We support black and exploited persons in their search for power and justice. We constitute the Episcopal Society as a sign of this support and invite others to join in its objectives, which are:

1. To confront ourselves and others with the existence of racism in ourselves, in our Church and in our society, and with the ways the Church perpetuates that racism in its own life and in the community.

2. To educate ourselves and others about the efforts of non-white and dispossessed persons, both here and abroad, to achieve the power of self-determination, to remain in communication and dialogue with the leaders of this struggle, and to support them and their cause in every appropriate way.

3. To work for the full participation of all persons in the Church and the society at large without any distinction as to race, color, class or culture.

4. To seek out more creative uses of the Church's influence and power in the elimination of racism: through the disposition of its economic resources, through the more constructive functioning of its decision-making bodies, and through the meaningful participation of non-white persons in leadership positions within the Church.

If you agree with this Statement, take your stand with five thousand others and use the attached form to join. If there is a Chapter of the Society where you live, you will be informed about local activities. Whether you are active in a chapter or not, your membership in ESCRU makes you part of a growing fellowship of Churchmen who are ready to move beyond words into the concrete implementation of these objectives. You must decide what you can do where you are.

* * * * * * * * * *

With still others being formed, as of late 1967 there were ESCRU chapters in these dioceses: Chicago, Iowa, Los Angeles (Los Angeles and San Diego), Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Milwaukee, Minnesota, Missouri, Newark, New Jersey, Ohio (Cleveland and Youngstown), Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Virginia, Texas and Washington. Informal ESCRU groups meet in other dioceses and at some seminaries on occasion.

USE THIS FORM TO JOIN ▶

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $4.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

_____
SIGNATURE

Mr.
Miss
Mrs.
Rev.
Rt. Rev.

DATE _____

_____
NAME (Please Print or Type)

_____
ADDRESS

_____

_____ _____
PARISH DIOCESE

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be greatfully received.	DUES: Annually $5.00 per person $8.00 per couple $_____	ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION $_____	TOTAL ENCLOSED $_____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.
Your cancelled check will serve as your receipt unless otherwise requested.

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

PSALM 133

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* * * *

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE DYNAMICS OF A BLACK CAUCUS

by Homer A. Jack

If, as H. Rap Brown suggests, violence is as American as cherry pie, Black Caucuses will become as common in most American organizations as bingo. The Black Caucus--a separate subgroup of Negroes--has suddenly blossomed in many organizations as a response to the emergence of Black Power. It can be predicted that many relevant American organizations--church, labor, liberal--will soon have their national Black Caucuses, often also on local levels. Whether this is the best means for Blacks today to gain their objectives is debatable, but the dynamics of the Black Caucus--its politics, sociology, and psychology--should be probed. It can also be predicted that the appearance of Black Caucuses, let alone experiences with them, will produce deep trauma in most whites. Whether it is best for whites to encourage actively the formation of such Caucuses is also debatable, but the etiquette of dealing with the Caucus if it arises may be useful.

A Black Caucus is an attempt by Blacks to find a power base within an organization to which they nominally belong. If an organization has no Black members, it is unlikely that a Black Caucus will form. The rise of one is, in the first instance, a compliment, for it shows that the institution is not completely anachronistic but at least reflects contemporary aspects of American life. The development of a Black Caucus is also a compliment because one usually reflects hope, in the hearts of the Black members, that they respect the group or at least that they have enough faith in its past and future to want to spend time reshaping it.

A Black Caucus is a method of a group of Blacks to gain solidarity in an organization where previously they have been isolated, fragmented, dispersed--albeit "integrated." To achieve first individual identity and then group solidarity quickly, the Blacks participate in a process which is initially painful to their fellow whites. A Black Caucus, in one dimension, constitutes a short course in the humiliation of individual whites. Some would call it inverse racism. Black Caucuses by definition exclude whites (even those whites who have identified "almost completely" with Blacks). The caucuses thrive on secrecy. Their leaders are often intentionally and studiously abrasive. Additionally, they are often arrogant, demanding, certainly humorless. (These are many of the same qualities found in white supremacists!)

A Black Caucus is also a method for a group of Blacks to achieve political power. Black solidarity does not automatically result in white recognition of Black Power. Beyond humiliating the white individual, the Black Caucus next attempts to humiliate the group. This takes different forms. The caucus meetings may be called in competition with those regularly scheduled for the whole organization at a national conference. Permanent agendas are destroyed. The caucus may make normally unreasonable demands, such as 50% representation of Blacks on the steering committee of a national conference or the acceptance by the organization of Black Caucus resolutions unamended. The caucus may make unusual financial demands on the group or it may stage dramatic walkouts.

Once a Black Caucus achieves solidarity and then recognition by the group as a continuing entity within the organization, the pressure will continue. Now real negotiations can begin. Now the whites need no longer "cave in" or "sell out." Once the Black Caucus deals with the parent organization from its own power base, the old democratic, parliamentary rules should once again apply, even if courtesy may not immediately be restored. Any special rules end. Now the line can be drawn. The parent organization, including more Blacks on its boards (but not hand-picked by whites), should bargain fairly but toughly. Now the whites should not allow centuries of their racism or even their immediate guilt to make them patsies, push-overs. (Yet decades of racism could merit intentional adoption of compensatory programs.) The whole organization should accept programs suggested by the Black Caucus, not because of their Black origin, but only if they make sense. Black insights might make more sense on questions involving the Black ghetto than white conclusions, once removed. But Blacks may have no superior insights than Blacks and whites together in solving urban problems beyond the ghetto which invole the whole American society.

AN ETIQUETTE FOR WHITES

Whites, whether vicariously or through direct experience, have two initial reactions to Black Caucuses. A few immediately see their value and go along, often enthusiastically. Most whites resist. Then some whites comply emotionally, but still resist intellectually. Other whites continue to resist both emotionally and intellectually. The latter feel outraged, violated, isolated, even discriminated against. More whites who have gone through the experience of a Black Caucus in their organization eventually come to terms with the method than those who have only read or heard about it. Very often those whites most hostile are those who have previously been most active in "race relations." They somehow feel that they should be exempt from the abrasive action of the Blacks!

The role and methods of the Black Caucuses are certainly fair game for analysis in American society. The debate over its means (totalitarian? conspiratorial?) and ends, and their relationship, will and should be discussed. Beyond discussion, some whites will be faced with dealing with Black Caucuses. If one is prone to go along with a Black Caucus--at least up to the point of helping Blacks develop a power base--then some understanding of the etiquette involved may be helpful, since it is really a reflection of deeper philosophical attitudes. The following may constitute a useful guide for whites in dealing with a Black Caucus:

1. Act flattered if a Black Caucus develops in your organization. The Blacks have thus not completely given up on your organization. At this moment in history, be more concerned if no Black Caucus develops.

2. Relax when a Black Caucus develops. Accept the insults as they come, remembering that our white ancestors for centuries and decades, and we ourselves still today, have affronted Black people in far more permanently hurtful forms.

3. Swallow hard, even eat humble pie--not because you must, but because you should. Don't be disturbed if some other whites, or your conscience, suggest that you're selling out your cherished democratic principles. The mystique of the Black Caucus may contain negative aspects, although some of the rhetoric may be hyperbole--like that of the Old Testament prophets.

4. Maintain compassion and sensitivity, but once a Black power base has been achieved, no longer suspend your sense of judgment..

5. Don't use sarcasm. It seldom has its uses in these situations.

6. Do not presume on old Black-white personal relationships. They may not continue automatically, at least not during national conferences where Black Caucuses emerge.

7. Go along with the semantic rules. Try to use the word, Black, instead of Negro. (There is no more logical reason to capitalize Black than Negro; but it is increasingly expected and it is harmless to conform to this expectation). It is reported that even in new Black Caucuses, some Blacks forget to use the right word! Also don't use the term, integration, at least at this moment in history.

8. Maintain your faith in what may perhaps best be termed in America an "open society." To the degree that the Black Caucus movement is successful, Black Caucuses will eventually whither away and dissolve just because they will no longer be needed. Opinions differ widely as to how transient a phenomenon the Black Caucus may be.

9. Don't feel bad if you are called a "white liberal." Don't feel hurt if Blacks refuse to acknowledge or even remember your past activities in what was the civil rights movement. Add up all your efforts and those of all other white Americans and the results are puny indeed compared to what the accomplishments must be. That is why Black Power emerged as one response to the failure of progress. That is why Black Caucuses are developing.

10. Listen!

FCNL WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
245 2ND STREET, N.E. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002

No. 277 DECEMBER 1966

THE U.S. BUDGET, THE WAR, AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Although the President has committed the United States to development of a "Great Society" at home and throughout Asia, he has given priority to financing the War in Vietnam. In his 1967 Budget Message, the President emphasized that social development was being held below "what might have been proposed in less troubled times" because "even a prosperous nation cannot meet all its goals all at once."

In keeping with these priorities, Congress appropriated $84 billion, or $428 per capita, in 1966 for war, past and present; allocated another $12.8 billion for interest on the national debt (which is largely war-created), and $5 billion for explorations in space. Only $42 billion, or $214 per capita, was set aside for all other activities of the Federal Government. Slightly over 40% of the remaining appropriations, or $88 per capita, went to provide better health, education, welfare, and housing services to Americans. Per capita allocations for foreign aid and technical assistance dropped to about the 1963 level or $13. This is less than half the amount provided for bombs and bullets. Only $1.49 per capita was appropriated for UN activities.

But these comparisons give only a partial picture of the distortions growing out of the war. According to Sen. Joseph Clark, Pa., "20% of the top brains in all of the major departments of government are spending a major portion of their time on the war . . ." The cost of living is going up, interest rates are rising, and home construction has fallen drastically.

The Cost in Pain

An estimated 500,000 people have been killed in the Vietnamese War, including 5,949 Americans. More than one million civilians have fled the bombing; others have left the countryside because of the U.S. policy of defoliating cropland. "Ten times as many civilians are being killed and injured as are military men on both sides," according to an American doctor serving the DaNang area. But in addition to the physical pain, there is the moral degradation of the war and the economic insecurity of a situation in which the price of food may go up as much as 70% in one year. "I wonder," mused Neil Sheehan in an October 9 article in the *New York Times*, "whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends. And I hope we will not, in the name of some anti-Communist crusade, do this again."

In addition, the inadequacy of the U.S. national and international development effort has been persuasively argued by the President himself. Over the past two years, the President has deplored the plight of poor America in such words as:

- "32 million Americans remain in poverty, and millions more are unable to realize their full economic potential . . ."
- "over four million [U.S. homes] do not have running water or even plumbing."
- "The reborn city we desire," is far away, partly because we "need to provide over 30% more housing annually than we are currently building" and partly because of "our chronic inability to provide sufficient low and moderate income housing, of adequate quality at a reasonable price."
- "More than 100 million Americans have inadequate public library services. . . . Almost 70 percent of the public elementary schools have no libraries."
- "One third of our nation's [hospital beds] are now in obsolete condition."

In speaking of U.S. relations with the developing world, the President has frequently called for a "bold and daring" response which will go to the "root causes of misery and unrest." He has pointed with sorrow to the fact that citizens of many lands "walk in the shadow of misery; . . . over half the people are hungry or malnourished." The President has also reminded Americans that "the 16 million people of South Vietnam survive on an average income of $100 per year. More than 60 percent of the people have never learned to read or write . . . there is only one doctor for every 29,000 people . . ."

Given these statistics, and forecasts of additional appropriations and a tax increase to help pay for the war, U.S. citizens should contemplate what ending the war could mean in terms of social betterment and human happiness. At home:

The **$2.5 billion*** spent in Vietnam in **one month** could provide public libraries for 12 million Americans who have no library facilities;

* No official cost figures have been released but the $2.5 billion estimate has been used by Rep. Melvin Laird, Wis., Sens. Stuart Symington, Mo., and George McGovern, S.D.

Continued on page 6.

MONEY VOTED BY CONGRESS IN 1966*

I. MILITARY ACTIVITIES

Defense Department:		
Military personnel	$ 19,492,144,000	
Operation and maintenance	15,813,090,000	
Procurement of equipment, including missiles and aircraft	16,641,800,000	
Research, development, testing	6,983,959,000	
Military public works, including construction of missile sites	979,570,000	
Activities in Vietnam, a special appropriation	13,135,719,000	
Atomic Energy Commission, including non-military development	2,257,030,000	
Maritime activities, including Merchant Marine	314,523,000	
Civil Defense	111,400,000	
Emergency defense activities	9,007,000	
Selective Service System	63,940,000	
National Security Council	664,000	
Military aid, including $690 million economic aid to strategic areas	1,482,000,000	
1964: $54,075,281,000 (50.97%) 1965: $54,047,430,800 (45.27%) **1966:**	**77,284,846,000**	**53.64%**

II. VETERANS AND OTHER COSTS OF PAST WARS

Veterans Administration and other veterans rights and benefits	6,844,763,000	
Memorial and Army cemeterial expenses	17,282,000	
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	2,386,000	
Estimated permanent appropriations	670,000	
1964: $5,493,402,553 (5.18%) 1965: $5,916,985,300 (4.96%) **1966:**	**6,865,101,000**	**4.76%**

III. ADMINISTRATION OF NATIONAL DEBT (more than 80% war-created)

Bureau of Public Debt	52,254,000	
Estimated permanent appropriations for interest on debt	12,750,000,000**	
1964: $11,149,570,000 (10.51%) 1965: $11,551,997,000 (9.68%) **1966:**	**12,802,254,000**	**8.89%**

IV. SPACE EXPLORATION

National Aeronautics and Space Administration	4,968,525,000	
(An additional $1.6 billion was appropriated for military space programs and smaller sums for the AEC, Commerce Department, and National Science Foundation. This brought the overall space appropriation to about $6.8 billion.)		
1964: $5,250,500,000 (4.95%) 1965: $5,175,525,000 (4.34%) **1966:**	**4,968,525,000**	**3.45%**

V. FOREIGN AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Development loans	500,000,000	
Development grants or U.S. technical assistance	211,989,000	
Contingency Fund—for emergencies	35,000,000	
Asian Development Bank	140,000,000	
Peace Corps	110,065,000	
International educational exchange activities	53,050,000	
Administrative expenses of economic aid program	59,068,500	
Contributions to international programs:		
UN Development Program	70,000,000	
UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)	13,000,000	
UN technical and operational aid to the Congo	5,000,000	
UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees	12,100,000	
UN Training and Research Institute	500,000	
World Health Organization	150,000	
Subscription to International Development Association	104,000,000	
Investment in Inter-American Development Bank	250,000,000	
Alliance for Progress development loans and grants	508,000,000	
International Atomic Energy Agency program	1,000,000	
UN-FAO World Food Program	2,000,000	
Development of Indus Basin, India-Pakistan	27,098,000	
Assistance to refugees, mainly Cubans in United States	57,050,000	
Emergency famine relief abroad, largely on a government-to-government basis. Included ocean freight of about $97.9 million	200,000,000	
Foreign donations of agricultural commodities through voluntary agencies	174,600,000	
Administration of Pacific Trust Territory and of Ryukyu Islands	32,529,600	
Estimated permanent appropriations for Educational Exchange	353,000	
1964: $2,767,676,000 (2.61%) 1965: $3,370,997,000 (2.82%) **1966:**	**2,566,553,100**	**1.78%**

* Includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1966; whether the money was spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966, or allocated to the year ending June 30, 1967.

** Interest payments may rise to $13.7 billion because of increased interest rates growing out of the war.

VI. OTHER FOREIGN RELATIONS

To 9 UN and 26 international and regional agencies for regular activities		100,826,000	
U.S. missions to international organizations, commissions, conferences, and Chamizal settlement		21,688,000	
UN Emergency Force in the Middle East		6,838,000	
Special contributions to the UN for Vietnam		2,682,000	
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency		9,000,000	
United States Information Agency		170,333,000	
Panama Canal Zone government		35,704,000	
State Department appropriations, other than above		216,675,400	
Estimated permanent appropriations mainly payments to Panama		2,255,000	
1964: $528,017,000 (.50%) 1965: $1,622,814,000 (1.36%)	**1966:**	**566,001,400**	**.39%**

VII. AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

Agricultural Research, Marketing and Extension Services		500,006,650	
Soil and water conservation programs		515,726,000	
Removing cropland from production		147,500,000	
Costs of administering conservation, acreage control and price support programs		128,558,000	
Payments to sugar producers		80,000,000	
Commodity Credit Corporation—restoration of capital impairment		3,219,855,000	
Sales of surplus commodities for foreign currencies; more than 60% of these proceeds will probably be used for economic loans to purchasing governments		1,040,000,000	
Long-term credit sales to other nations		377,000,000	
REA and Farmers Home Administration—largely operating expenses (fiscal 1967 loans authorized: REA $492 million; FHA $440 million)		124,927,000	
Other activities and administration, Department of Agriculture		40,549,500	
Estimated permanent appropriations: a large percent of this sum will be used to purchase surplus commodities for distribution to schools, welfare, institutions and the needy		282,300,000	
1964: $4,499,027,200 (4.24%) 1965: $7,135,268,500 (5.98%)	**1966:**	**6,456,422,150**	**4.48%**

VIII. OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES

Rivers, harbors, flood control and river basin development		1,298,495,000	
Bureau of Reclamation		329,274,000	
Forest Service		346,632,000	
National Park Service		127,191,800	
Bureau of Mines and Federal Mine Safety Board of Review		57,997,900	
Conservation and development of outdoor recreation areas and facilities		113,978,000	
Geological Survey		81,542,000	
Fish and Wildlife Service		95,400,200	
Bureau of Land Management		67,380,000	
Appalachian Regional Commission		1,100,000	
Other Administrative expenditures, Department of Interior		59,202,000	
Bonneville, Southeastern and Southwestern Power Administrations		137,493,300	
TVA		63,700,000	
Federal Power Commission		14,300,000	
Estimated permanent appropriations, allocated in large part to the Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management and Fish and Wildlife Service		182,534,000	
1964: $2,595,411,500 (2.45%) 1965: $3,024,008,070 (2.53%)	**1966:**	**2,976,220,200**	**2.07%**

IX. HEALTH, EDUCATION, WELFARE, AND HOUSING

Grants to States for dependent children, the aged, blind, and disabled		4,081,460,000	
Administrative expenses and research for welfare programs		24,337,000	
Control of juvenile delinquency		8,207,000	
"War on Poverty," including training, community action programs and Teacher Corps		1,629,500,000	
Public Health Service, including grants to the states		2,468,326,000	
Payments to trust funds for health insurance for aged (Medicare)		958,747,000	
Indian Health, Education and Welfare		207,557,700	
Elementary and Secondary Education Activities		1,526,410,000	
Higher Education Activities, largely construction		1,147,944,000	
Defense Education Act, largely aid to college students and teaching equipment		446,357,000	
Assistance to public schools in areas where military activities are concentrated		480,137,000	
Other Education, largely vocational education		592,063,500	
Vocational rehabilitation, including grants to the states		288,729,000	
National Science Foundation		479,999,000	
Museum, art and recreational commissions and D.C. institutions		78,830,000	
Grants to States for maternal and child welfare		228,900,000	
Children's Bureau—salaries and expenses		5,331,000	

IX. *Continued*

School Lunch Program	168,605,000	
Special Milk Program	51,000,000	
Armed Forces Dairy Program	41,300,000	
Agricultural donations for domestic relief and food stamp plan	230,100,000	
Food and Drug Administration	63,130,000	
Air and water pollution control	268,624,000	
Miscellaneous activities, including Office of Secretary, HEW	16,713,000	
Housing, urban renewal and community development	1,472,804,000	
National Capital Planning Commission and Housing Authority	1,072,000	
Relief of natural disasters	96,750,000	
Estimated permanent appropriations, including $45 million for school lunch program	334,711,000	
1964: $9,677,756,317 (9.12%) *1965: $15,215,663,200 (12.75%)* **1966:**	**17,397,644,200**	**12.07%**

X. COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Area redevelopment and manpower training	757,974,000	
Commerce:		
Regulation of domestic and foreign commerce	141,678,500	
Small Business Administration	8,250,000	
Census Bureau and National Bureau of Standards	59,500,000	
General Administration of Department of Commerce	10,000,000	
Labor:		
Employment Offices and unemployment compensation for Federal Employees and ex-servicemen	141,832,000	
Mediation and regulation of labor disputes	48,827,100	
Standards, enforcement, statistics and administration	64,454,000	
1964: $995,965,000 (.94%) *1965: $1,877,999,800 (1.57%)* **1966:**	**1,232,515,600**	**.86%**

XI. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Post Office Department: $5.0 billion of this is expected to come from postal revenue	6,123,043,000	
Bureau of Public Roads, in addition to $4.0 billion from Highway Trust Fund	340,665,000	
Airports and aviation	987,687,500	
Coast Guard	499,131,000	
Environmental Science Services Administration, including Weather Bureau and Coast and Geodetic Survey	154,254,000	
Federal Communications Commission	17,684,500	
Estimated permanent appropriations, Federal Aviation Agency	71,000,000	
1964: $6,506,886,500 (6.13%) *1965: $7,726,288,000 (6.47%)* **1966:**	**8,193,465,000**	**5.69%**

XII. ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

Federal Bureau of Investigation	179,200,000	
Immigration and Naturalization Service	78,082,000	
General expenses of Justice Department	80,601,000	
Federal Prison System	64,805,000	
Administration of Courts	87,899,600	
Bureau of Customs, Secret Service, Narcotics Control and Tax Court	114,161,300	
Subversive Activities Control Board	280,000	
Commission on Civil Rights and Community Relations Service	4,975,000	
Estimated permanent appropriations for Secret Service	560,000	
1964: $531,586,700 (.50%) *1965: $598,861,100 (.50%)* **1966:**	**610,563,900**	**.42%**

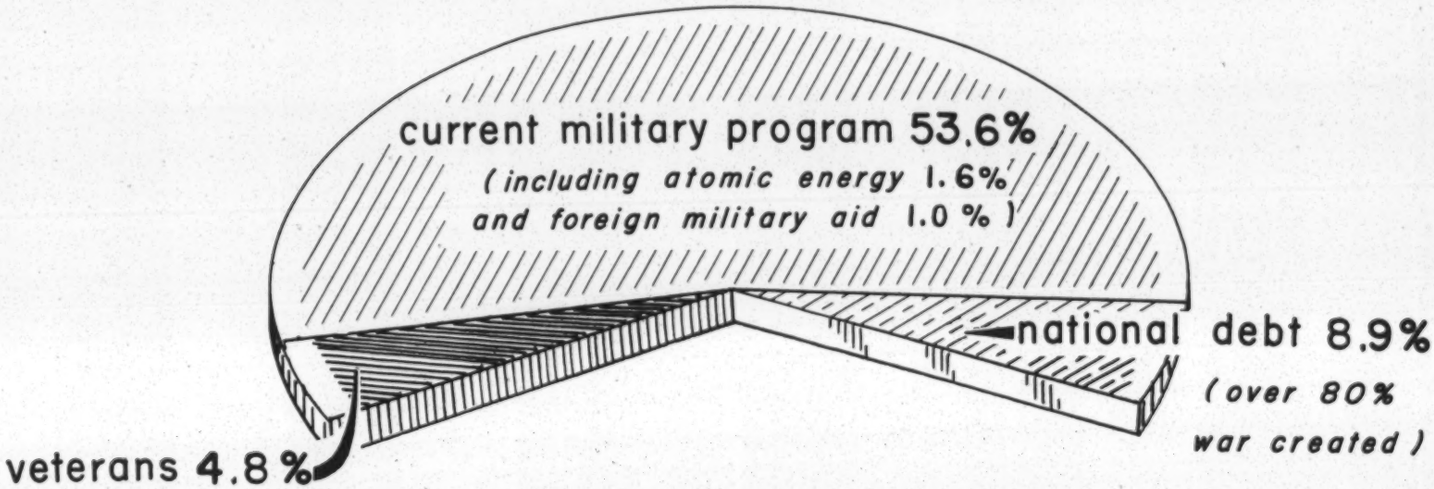
XIII. GENERAL GOVERNMENT EXPENSES

Operations of legislative establishment, including Congress and the Capitol	219,303,183	
Executive Office and White House expenses	6,659,000	
Tax collection, auditing and financial management	794,209,135	
Civil Service Commission and General Services Administration	723,558,000	
Administration of territories and District of Columbia	67,657,000	
Transitional grants to Alaska	1,066,000	
Bureau of Indian Affairs (except education and welfare programs) and Indian Claims	131,840,558	
Miscellaneous, including other claims against the government	41,547,054	
Estimated permanent appropriations—largely interest on tax refunds	177,636,000	
1964: $2,015,183,226 (1.90%) *1965: $2,117,537,126 (1.77%)* **1966:**	**2,163,475,930**	**1.50%**

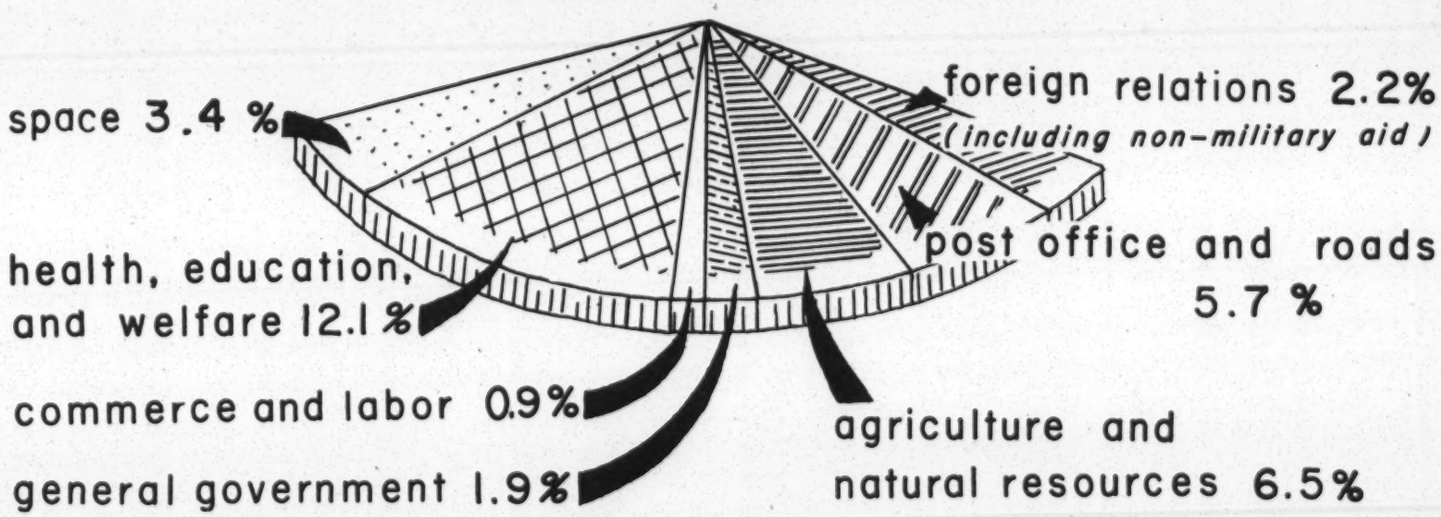
Grand Totals 1964: $106,086,262,996 1965: $119,381,374,896 1966: $144,083,587,480 100.00%

$144 BILLION VOTED BY CONGRESS IN 1966 *

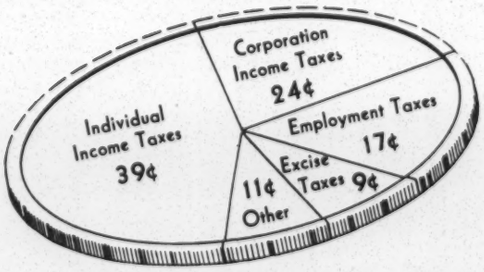
MILITARY AND DEFENSE RELATED 67.3 %



NON-MILITARY 32.7 %



Where it Comes From



Fiscal Year 1967 Estimate

* The $144 billion includes all funds appropriated by Congress during calendar 1966, regardless of whether the money was spent in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 or allocated to the year ending June 30, 1967. The breakdown is as follows:

Supplementals, fiscal 1966 and '67	$ 20,949,126,882
Regular, fiscal 1967	109,332,441,598
Permanent, fiscal 1967	13,802,019,000
Total	$144,083,587,480

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
245 Second Street, N.E. • Washington, D. C. 20002

What Further Price: For Them—For Us?

"We find ourselves," said the Chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee Sen. John Stennis, Miss., last October, "tied down and forced to commit a very substantial portion of our military manpower and resources to repel the aggression of this small, nonindustrial . . . nation with a population of about 17 million. That nation has virtually no air power; it has a very insignificant industrial capacity; and the per capita income of its inhabitants is somewhere around $150 a year. It is true it receives very substantial aid from two Communist world powers, but at the same time it is carrying most of the load as far as fighting the war is concerned . . . this matter could swiftly swing into a situation where we would have to go to the allocation of materials and the control of production . . . of prices as well as wages . . . The additional burdens will include . . . almost inevitably higher taxes."

eliminate the backlog of need for: 169,000 school teachers; 125,000 nurses; and 50,000 doctors by providing four years medical or teacher training for 344,000 young people; and give a college education to the 100,000 young people who will not go on to college in 1967 because of a lack of funds.

The **$10 billion** spent in Vietnam in **4 months** could replace one million of the 4,000,000 dilapidated housing units inhabited by poor Americans.

The **$21.3 billion** that may be spent in Vietnam in the next **8½ months** could build the 296,000 elementary and secondary classrooms needed to eliminate overcrowding and replace defective structures; and

construct and equip the 656,500 long term care and hospital beds needed to adequately service patients.

The **$38.5 billion** that may be spent in Vietnam in the next **15½ months** could:

cover the $10.9 billion capital needs of the rapid transit and metropolitan area bus systems over the next ten years;

supply the $14 billion of Federal grants needed for urban renewal over the next ten years;

provide the $13.6 billion needed to bring air and water pollution under control.

If the **$5 billion** being spent in Vietnam every **two months** were allocated to international peace and development it could:

- wipe out the $53.3 million peacekeeping deficit of the United Nations;
- provide India with another 9 million tons of wheat to carry that country over the after effects of last year's drought;
- raise the $250 million annual capitalization of the International Development Association by $1 billion;
- double the $700 million U.S. bilateral development loan and technical assistance program;
- double the 10,000 man Peace Corps;
- allow the United States to wage the aggressive, $3.7 billion annual War against Hunger envisaged under the 1966 Food for Peace Act. Plans for this program are apparently being held to less than $2 billion per annum, partly because of Vietnam.

But, such reallocation of priorities will not take place until the U.S. citizenry demands it of Congress; for Congress, according to the President November 4, "may talk, and argue, and fight, and criticize, and play politics, from time to time, but when they call the vote on supporting the men with the key defense bills, in the Senate, it will be 83 to two, and in the House it will be 410 to five." ▶ **Write your Congressman now.**

The Friends Committee on National Legislation includes Friends appointed by 20 of the 26 Friends Yearly Meetings and 10 Friends organizations in the United States. Expressions of views in the FCNL *Washington Newsletter* are guided by the Statement of Policy prepared and approved by the Committee. Seeking to follow the leadings of the Spirit, the FCNL speaks for itself and for likeminded Friends. No organization can speak officially for the Religious Society of Friends.

FCNL WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER. Editors: Edward Snyder, E. Raymond Wilson, Frances Neely, Judy Starbuck, Elaine Fuller. 245 Second St., N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002. Subscription $3.00 per year. Published eleven times each year. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

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S.F.U.

EDUCATION IN THE FIFTY STATES

Department of Education

AFL-CIO

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D.C.

Third Revised Edition
1966
oeiu#2 afl-cio

INTRODUCTION

This third edition of Education in the Fifty States has been completely revised and reorganized to include up-to-date figures and a great deal of new material. The various charts bring together information about education throughout the nation and in each of the fifty states.

As an illustration of how to use this handbook, we might take the state of Pennsylvania. From these charts one can learn that Pennsylvania is slightly above the national average in per capita income (Column A), but slightly below average in per pupil expenditure for elementary and secondary education (Column B). Pennsylvania therefore ranks low in "effort," that is in school expenditure as a percentage of personal income (Column C). Pennsylvania spends only 3.65% of its personal income on elementary and secondary schools, compared to the national average of 4.74%. By glancing through the chart, it can be seen that Pennsylvania is among the lowest states in effort. Pennsylvania, more easily than many states, could maintain adequate levels of educational expenditure. By committing 6.09% of its income to elementary and secondary education, less than several states are already doing, Pennsylvania could raise its per pupil expenditure to $800 (Column D), enough to pay teachers an average of $8,000 a year and to match New York State's average expenditure for other current needs. The average state would need to spend 7.83% of its income to accomplish the same result, and many states would need to commit more than a tenth of their income to education.

The state government provides 43.4% of educational expenditures in Pennsylvania, slightly higher than the national average (Column N), but considerably less than many other states do. Local communities pay 53.6% of school costs and Federal assistance accounts for only 2.8% of school costs. It should, of course, be noted that these figures are for a school year prior to the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Inadequate support for education is reflected in several ways. Teachers' salaries in Pennsylvania are below the national average (Column E), considerably lower than they should be in view of the resources of the state. A surprising 58.2% of the schools in Pennsylvania have no school library (Column G). Classroom shortages in Pennsylvania are severe. The state now has 79,500 classrooms in use (Column I), but 19,800 new classrooms are needed to replace substandard classrooms now in use (Column J) and an additional 16,900 classrooms are needed to bring class size down to 25 elementary and 20 secondary pupils to a room (Column K), making a total of 36,700 new classrooms needed in the state (Column L).

Dropouts in Pennsylvania are fewer than for the nation as a whole, with 80.8% of the ninth graders in public school going on to graduate from the twelfth grade (Column H). Columns R, S, and T tell the story of what happened to a typical group of 1000 Pennsylvania students who entered the ninth grade, either in public or non-public schools, in the fall of 1960. In 1964, 815 of them graduated from the twelfth grade, 185 of them having dropped out somewhere along the way. Of those who graduated, 309 entered their freshman year of college in the fall of 1964. In Nevada 528 of the original 1000 would have entered college and in California 724 of the original 1000 would have started college. These figures, computed by the AFL-CIO Education Department, have not been published prior to their appearance in this handbook.

With regard to higher education, Pennsylvania's per capita public expenditure is considerably below average, $6.29 as compared to the national average of $14.12 (Column U). Perhaps this partially explains the fact that fewer of Pennsylvania's high school graduates enter college than is the case in the average state, 38% in Pennsylvania as compared to 51% in the nation (Column V). Of the Pennsylvanians who do enter college, 22.4% go outside the state for their education, as compared with only 9.8% in Michigan and 5.4% in California (Column W).

Since the last edition of Education in the Fifty States, several important new programs of federal aid to education have been enacted. Some of the authorized appropriations for 1966 under these programs are given on pages 16 and 17. Pennsylvania is authorized to receive $56,501,000 for improving educational opportunity of disadvantaged children under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; $9,410,000 under the Vocational Education Act of 1963; and $27,539,000 for student aid, academic facilities, and community extension services under the Higher Education Act of 1965.

As can be seen from the charts, many states with much less income are doing much both absolutely and relatively than Pennsylvania in elementary, secondary and higher education. Using these charts, this same kind of information can be obtained about each of the states. Some states, it will be discovered, are straining their resources to support their schools; others could do more. All in all, these charts add up to compelling statistical justification for full federal partnership in financing education from the elementary schools to the universities.

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Personal Income (1964)	Current School Expenditure Per Pupil (1964-65)	Effort: State and Local School Expenditure as % of Personal Income (1964-65)	% of Income Needed to Raise Expenditure to $800 per Pupil
UNITED STATES	$2,550	$484	4.74%	7.83%
Alabama	$1,737	$277	4.52%	13.05%
Alaska	$3,128	$683	6.68%	7.82%
Arizona	$2,218	$478	6.12%	10.24%
Arkansas	$1,633	$317	4.88%	12.31%
California	$3,092	$565	5.71%	8.08%
Colorado	$2,591	$470	5.38%	9.15%
Connecticut	$3,250	$600	3.87%	5.16%
Delaware	$3,426	$539	4.24%	6.29%
District of Columbia	$3,515	$498	2.87%	4.61%
Florida	$2,280	$412	4.88%	9.47%
Georgia	$1,933	$330	4.31%	10.44%
Hawaii	$2,579	$418	4.59%	8.78%
Idaho	$2,012	$341	4.87%	11.42%
Illinois	$3,003	$551	3.97%	5.76%
Indiana	$2,529	$490	4.87%	7.95%
Iowa	$2,370	$464	4.80%	8.27%
Kansas	$2,311	$487	5.21%	8.55%
Kentucky	$1,811	$324	4.04%	9.97%
Louisiana	$1,864	$418	5.61%	10.73%
Maine	$2,130	$371	4.39%	9.46%
Maryland	$2,888	$503	4.59%	7.30%
Massachusetts	$2,922	$528	3.40%	5.15%
Michigan	$2,733	$510	5.29%	8.29%
Minnesota	$2,373	$534	5.90%	8.83%

more.....

	A	B	C	D
	Per Capita Income	Expenditure Per Pupil	Effort	% of Income to Raise $800 Per Pupil
Mississippi	$1,444	$273	5.34%	15.64%
Missouri	$2,595	$449	3.81%	6.78%
Montana	$2,183	$570	6.76%	9.48%
Nebraska	$2,302	$407	4.58%	9.00%
Nevada	$3,248	$543	5.95%	8.76%
New Hampshire	$2,343	$440	4.41%	8.01%
New Jersey	$2,962	$607	4.36%	5.74%
New Mexico	$2,010	$475	6.71%	11.30%
New York	$3,139	$790	4.84%	4.90%
North Carolina	$1,900	$322	4.50%	11.18%
North Dakota	$2,012	$424	5.81%	10.96%
Ohio	$2,623	$465	4.53%	7.79%
Oklahoma	$2,095	$366	4.63%	10.12%
Oregon	$2,602	$569	5.77%	8.11%
Pennsylvania	$2,575	$479	3.65%	6.09%
Rhode Island	$2,479	$514	3.72%	5.78%
South Carolina	$1,647	$284	4.66%	13.12%
South Dakota	$1,832	$444	6.07%	10.93%
Tennessee	$1,852	$300	4.25%	11.33%
Texas	$2,175	$396	4.77%	9.63%
Utah	$2,174	$407	6.89%	13.54%
Vermont	$2,144	$522	4.80%	7.35%
Virginia	$2,224	$380	4.36%	9.17%
Washington	$2,634	$534	5.88%	8.80%
West Virginia	$1,962	$327	4.30%	10.51%
Wisconsin	$2,492	$543	4.91%	7.23%
Wyoming	$2,475	$554	6.16%	8.89%

	E	F	G	H
	Average Annual Salary, Classroom Teachers (1964-65)	Percent of Children (5-17) in Families with Income under $2,000 (1960)	Percent of Public Schools with no School Library (1962)	Public High School Graduates (1964) as % of 9th Grade Enrollment (1960-61)
UNITED STATES	$6,220	12%	51.7%	73.1%
Alabama	$4,700	25%	58.8%	59.8%
Alaska	$7,016	9%	74.7%	64.2%
Arizona	$6,700	11%	45.1%	66.5%
Arkansas	$4,200	29% Low wage Farm	38.8%	69.5%
California	$7,900	6%	56.1%	90.6%
Colorado	$6,025	8%	50.5%	75.2%
Connecticut	$6,975	4%	42.9%	80.1%
Delaware	$6,800	7%	35.6%	75.3%
District of Columbia	$7,450	10%	54.1%	56.3%
Florida	$6,140	13%	22.1%	70.4%
Georgia	$5,050	21%	19.3%	59.1%
Hawaii	$6,024	6%	14.2%	83.0%
Idaho	$5,100	7%	44.9%	70.2%
Illinois	$6,809	7%	52.4%	71.6%
Indiana	$6,530	7%	49.9%	66.3%
Iowa	$5,747	11%	59.4%	87.1%
Kansas	$5,587	8%	56.2%	78.0%
Kentucky	$4,700	24%	65.0%	63.8%
Louisiana	$5,175	21%	34.6%	73.5%
Maine	$5,200	8%	74.7%	66.8%
Maryland	$6,727	7%	30.8%	72.1%
Massachusetts	$6,950	4%	65.1%	79.1%
Michigan	$6,700	7%	53.6%	72.6%
Minnesota	$6,463	9%	64.9%	86.2%

more.....

	E	F	G	H
	Teachers' Salaries	Children in Families Under $2,000	Schools with no Library	Graduates as % of 9th Graders
Mississippi	$4,103	37%	37.3%	60.6%
Missouri	$5,660	12%	70.5%	67.1%
Montana	$5,600	8%	61.4%	76.8%
Nebraska	$4,893	11%	83.6%	76.4%
Nevada	$6,530	5%	55.9%	75.0%
New Hampshire	$5,435	5%	73.2%	78.2%
New Jersey	$6,698	5%	49.8%	79.2%
New Mexico	$6,200	14%	55.6%	59.8%
New York	$7,800	6%	27.6%	81.0%
North Carolina	$5,022	24%	14.6%	58.4%
North Dakota	$4,800	13%	60.2%	80.5%
Ohio	$6,025	7%	49.2%	75.8%
Oklahoma	$5,160	15%	56.2%	69.8%
Oregon	$6,420	6%	42.1%	78.0%
Pennsylvania	$6,150	7%	58.2%	80.8%
Rhode Island	$6,251	7%	60.0%	82.6%
South Carolina	$4,500	28%	35.0%	62.1%
South Dakota	$4,475	17%	81.2%	81.8%
Tennessee	$4,850	23%	56.5%	64.7%
Texas	$5,463	16%	38.6%	61.9%
Utah	$5,945	5%	37.7%	71.3%
Vermont	$5,362	8%	78.6%	72.5%
Virginia	$5,450	17%	39.3%	62.2%
Washington	$6,400	5%	23.4%	78.7%
West Virginia	$4,590	20%	82.7%	66.6%
Wisconsin	$6,125	6%	65.6%	77.9%
Wyoming	$5,975	6%	32.6%	66.6%

	Classrooms Now in Use (1964-65)	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard Classrooms	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Bring Class Size Down to 25:1 and 20:1	Additional Classrooms Needed: Total
	I	J	K	L
UNITED STATES	1,536,500	352,000	285,900	637,900
Alabama	28,000	6,800	7,100	13,900
Alaska	1,900	700	200	900
Arizona	13,700	2,000	2,600	4,600
Arkansas	15,000	3,200	2,600	5,800
California	130,700	50,100	33,500	83,600
Colorado	18,100	3,500	3,600	7,100
Connecticut	21,000	4,200	2,000	6,200
Delaware	4,100	200	500	700
District of Columbia	4,900	1,000	1,100	2,100
Florida	39,300	6,500	10,000	16,500
Georgia	37,200	5,200	9,600	14,800
Hawaii	5,800	2,400	1,200	3,600
Idaho	6,900	2,100	1,100	3,200
Illinois	76,000	17,800	13,500	31,300
Indiana	40,400	9,600	7,300	16,900
Iowa	28,500	9,500	3,500	13,000
Kansas	25,200	4,700	2,700	7,400
Kentucky	23,400	4,500	4,400	8,900
Louisiana	32,000	6,200	5,600	11,800
Maine	8,300	4,100	1,100	5,200
Maryland	25,700	4,200	6,600	10,800
Massachusetts	36,400	12,100	5,000	17,100
Michigan	64,500	9,200	14,700	23,900
Minnesota	33,000	8,000	3,800	11,800

more....

	Classrooms Now in Use	Additional Classrooms Needed: To Replace Substandard	To Reduce Class Size	Total
	I	J	K	L
Mississippi	20,900	2,100	5,500	7,600
Missouri	34,100	7,300	4,900	12,200
Montana	8,600	2,800	900	3,700
Nebraska	17,300	6,100	1,500	7,600
Nevada	3,500	500	600	1,100
New Hampshire	5,200	1,500	700	2,200
New Jersey	46,000	10,800	6,500	17,300
New Mexico	10,200	1,200	1,600	2,800
New York	118,100	22,000	22,900	44,900
North Carolina	45,000	7,600	8,100	15,700
North Dakota	7,400	2,400	800	3,200
Ohio	83,200	16,900	15,100	32,000
Oklahoma	25,800	4,800	3,100	7,900
Oregon	18,900	7,500	2,200	9,700
Pennsylvania	79,500	19,800	16,900	36,700
Rhode Island	5,900	1,700	1,100	2,800
South Carolina	23,200	3,500	5,700	9,200
South Dakota	8,600	3,700	600	4,300
Tennessee	31,400	7,400	6,700	14,100
Texas	92,000	13,600	13,300	26,900
Utah	10,100	2,400	2,300	4,700
Vermont	3,700	1,600	300	1,900
Virginia	34,500	5,800	7,800	13,600
Washington	29,200	7,900	4,300	12,200
West Virginia	17,100	5,500	4,000	9,500
Wisconsin	32,600	7,300	4,900	12,200
Wyoming	4,500	800	400	1,200

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			Percent of Persons Over 25 yrs. old with Less Than 5 yrs. of Schooling (1960)
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
UNITED STATES	4.3%	38.7%	56.5%	8.3%
Alabama	9.1%	60.5%	20.7%	16.3%
Alaska	27.2%	46.8%	26.0%	8.2%
Arizona	7.7%	34.9%	57.3%	10.0%
Arkansas	8.2%	45.5%	46.1%	15.4%
California	3.6%	37.0%	59.4%	5.7%
Colorado	7.5%	21.9%	70.5%	4.7%
Connecticut	2.9%	35.2%	61.7%	6.3%
Delaware	3.7%	79.9%	16.3%	6.6%
District of Columbia	14.6%	0.0%	85.0%	7.2%
Florida	5.7%	52.2%	41.3%	9.2%
Georgia	7.1%	66.3%	26.3%	17.6%
Hawaii	14.0%	67.5%	17.9%	15.0%
Idaho	7.6%	29.6%	62.5%	3.3%
Illinois	2.6%	19.8%	77.4%	6.3%
Indiana	2.9%	30.7%	66.3%	4.9%
Iowa	3.5%	11.3%	85.3%	3.0%
Kansas	5.6%	21.9%	72.6%	3.7%
Kentucky	6.7%	56.0%	37.1%	13.8%
Louisiana	4.7%	66.9%	28.4%	21.3%
Maine	6.7%	26.5%	66.6%	4.7%
Maryland	5.1%	36.3%	57.9%	7.7%
Massachusetts	4.8%	22.9%	72.3%	6.0%
Michigan	2.6%	41.0%	55.9%	5.8%
Minnesota	3.0%	38.4%	57.7%	4.0%

more.....

	Percent of School Revenue by Source (1961-62)			% of Persons Over 25 with Less Than 5 yrs. Schooling
	Federal	State	Local	
	M	N	O	P
Mississippi	7.3%	57.6%	34.5%	18.8%
Missouri	4.4%	33.7%	61.8%	7.1%
Montana	6.3%	27.2%	66.6%	4.1%
Nebraska	5.9%	5.9%	87.6%	3.6%
Nevada	7.9%	51.3%	40.6%	3.9%
New Hampshire	6.3%	6.9%	86.4%	4.4%
New Jersey	2.4%	22.9%	74.7%	7.0%
New Mexico	12.4%	76.5%	11.1%	12.2%
New York	2.4%	41.4%	56.1%	7.8%
North Carolina	5.8%	70.4%	22.9%	16.5%
North Dakota	6.9%	28.0%	64.7%	6.0%
Ohio	3.1%	26.7%	~~29.3%~~ 69.3%	5.4%
Oklahoma	8.3%	27.7%	63.9%	8.6%
Oregon	4.0%	28.4%	67.3%	3.3%
Pennsylvania	2.8%	43.4%	53.6%	6.9%
Rhode Island	5.9%	31.0%	63.0%	7.4%
South Carolina	8.2%	66.5%	25.3%	20.3%
South Dakota	8.3%	8.9%	81.9%	4.1%
Tennessee	7.9%	56.4%	35.3%	14.8%
Texas	4.5%	49.8%	44.5%	13.4%
Utah	5.5%	48.3%	46.0%	2.8%
Vermont	3.8%	26.2%	69.5%	3.8%
Virginia	9.1%	40.2%	50.1%	13.1%
Washington	5.3%	62.4%	31.9%	3.4%
West Virginia	4.3%	53.5%	42.1%	11.0%
Wisconsin	3.6%	25.0%	71.4%	5.3%
Wyoming	5.3%	46.9%	46.2%	3.6%

WHAT HAPPENED TO AN AVERAGE 1000 NINTH GRADERS (1960-64)
(Public and Non-Public Schools)

	Ninth Grade 1960-61	Failed to Graduate From High School	Graduated From High School 1964	Entered College 1964
	Q	R	S	T
UNITED STATES	1,000	258	742	378
Alabama	1,000	393	607	194
Alaska	1,000	360	640	300
Arizona	1,000	330	670	408
Arkansas	1,000	300	700	329
California	1,000	106	894	724
Colorado	1,000	250	750	412
Connecticut	1,000	178	822	476
Delaware	1,000	218	782	352
District of Columbia	1,000	368	632	379
Florida	1,000	291	709	439
Georgia	1,000	400	600	234
Hawaii	1,000	150	850	416
Idaho	1,000	298	702	435
Illinois	1,000	266	734	455
Indiana	1,000	327	673	296
Iowa	1,000	132	868	416
Kansas	1,000	215	785	423
Kentucky	1,000	346	654	307
Louisiana	1,000	258	742	348
Maine	1,000	305	695	215
Maryland	1,000	264	736	382
Massachusetts	1,000	178	822	435
Michigan	1,000	262	738	324

more.....

	Ninth Grade	Failed to Graduate	Graduated	Entered College
	Q	R	S	T
Minnesota	1,000	145	855	393
Mississippi	1,000	387	613	318
Missouri	1,000	309	691	338
Montana	1,000	230	770	446
Nebraska	1,000	229	771	416
Nevada	1,000	245	755	528
New Hampshire	1,000	143	857	325
New Jersey	1,000	206	794	420
New Mexico	1,000	398	602	294
New York	1,000	185	815	383
North Carolina	1,000	410	590	212
North Dakota	1,000	191	809	404
Ohio	1,000	243	757	333
Oklahoma	1,000	301	699	377
Oregon	1,000	222	778	420
Pennsylvania	1,000	185	815	309
Rhode Island	1,000	117	883	397
South Carolina	1,000	377	623	211
South Dakota	1,000	185	815	415
Tennessee	1,000	342	658	276
Texas	1,000	376	624	355
Utah	1,000	284	716	400
Vermont	1,000	250	750	255
Virginia	1,000	359	641	301
Washington	1,000	215	785	447
West Virginia	1,000	327	673	249
Wisconsin	1,000	216	784	337
Wyoming	1,000	334	666	419

HIGHER EDUCATION

	U Per Capita Public Operating Expenditures for Higher Education (1964-65)	V Residents of State Entering College (1963) as % of High School Graduates (1963)	W % of Students Who Leave Home State for Under-graduate College (1963)
UNITED STATES	$14.12	51%	---
Alabama	8.99	32%	18.0%
Alaska	24.31	47%	51.8%
Arizona	19.05	61%	11.0%
Arkansas	10.62	47%	14.8%
California	19.83	81%	5.4%
Colorado	18.61	55%	18.2%
Connecticut	7.16	58%	38.8%
Delaware	13.47	45%	49.7%
District of Columbia	---	60%	40.1%
Florida	13.10	62%	18.5%
Georgia	9.95	39%	20.2%
Hawaii	19.63	49%	34.0%
Idaho	17.04	62%	31.1%
Illinois	14.19	62%	22.2%
Indiana	16.64	44%	16.0%
Iowa	17.54	48%	24.0%
Kansas	20.37	54%	15.2%
Kentucky	13.74	47%	16.1%
Louisiana	18.94	47%	8.1%
Maine	10.00	31%	31.1%
Maryland	11.60	52%	27.7%
Massachusetts	3.99	53%	22.2%
Michigan	17.10	44%	9.8%

more.....

	U Per Capita Expenditures	V College Entrants as % of High School Graduates	W Students Leaving State for College
Minnesota	$15.66	46%	14.5%
Mississippi	11.32	52%	9.6%
Missouri	10.71	49%	20.0%
Montana	18.38	58%	19.3%
Nebraska	12.88	54%	15.9%
Nevada	16.30	70%	28.5%
New Hampshire	7.89	38%	38.9%
New Jersey	6.91	53%	42.5%
New Mexico	18.88	49%	21.9%
New York	12.79	47%	22.1%
North Carolina	10.80	36%	11.6%
North Dakota	19.10	50%	19.3%
Ohio	6.71	44%	15.7%
Oklahoma	13.78	54%	9.5%
Oregon	22.77	54%	16.5%
Pennsylvania	6.29	38%	22.4%
Rhode Island	10.11	45%	31.2%
South Carolina	7.75	34%	21.8%
South Dakota	17.43	51%	18.7%
Tennessee	8.46	42%	16.8%
Texas	11.22	57%	6.3%
Utah	9.13	56%	5.1%
Vermont	13.35	34%	36.3%
Virginia	9.36	47%	32.5%
Washington	24.48	57%	11.7%
West Virginia	13.23	37%	14.6%
Wisconsin	14.73	43%	14.5%
Wyoming	19.84	63%	30.1%

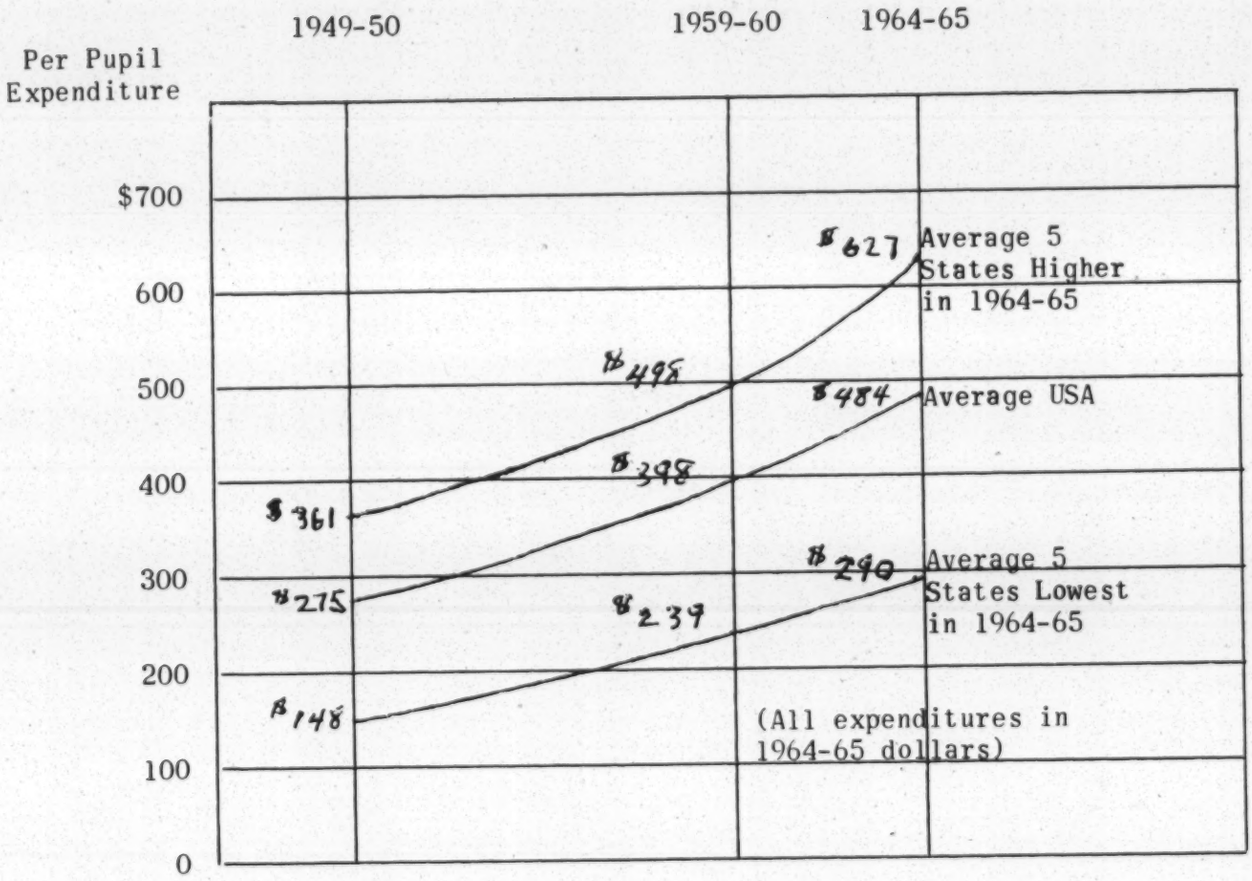
AUTHORIZED FEDERAL FUNDS FOR 1966

	X Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I	Y Vocational Education Act of 1963	Z Higher Education Act of 1965
UNITED STATES	$1,151,390,000	$156,518,000	$495,314,000
Alabama	34,981,000	3,752,000	8,950,000
Alaska	1,710,000	187,000	455,000
Arizona	10,464,000	1,296,000	4,866,000
Arkansas	22,826,000	1,982,000	5,576,000
California	78,665,000	10,811,000	48,037,000
Colorado	9,684,000	1,496,000	5,854,000
Connecticut	7,286,000	1,652,000	6,082,000
Delaware	1,995,000	298,000	1,136,000
District of Columbia	5,436,000	544,000	3,050,000
Florida	27,754,000	4,603,000	12,660,000
Georgia	37,716,000	4,576,000	10,489,000
Hawaii	2,399,000	630,000	1,848,000
Idaho	2,471,000	731,000	2,105,000
Illinois	61,707,000	6,840,000	24,029,000
Indiana	18,562,000	4,165,000	12,811,000
Iowa	18,839,000	2,538,000	8,488,000
Kansas	10,588,000	2,005,000	6,967,000
Kentucky	30,433,000	3,442,000	8,495,000
Louisiana	38,728,000	3,592,000	10,254,000
Maine	4,054,000	1,014,000	2,447,000
Maryland	15,402,000	2,482,000	7,698,000
Massachusetts	16,705,000	3,759,000	15,051,000
Michigan	35,075,000	6,463,000	21,203,000
Minnesota	24,754,000	3,110,000	10,875,000

more.....

	X	Y	Z
	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Vocational Education Act of 1963	Higher Education Act of 1965
Mississippi	31,203,000	2,547,000	7,116,000
Missouri	30,157,000	3,695,000	11,781,000
Montana	3,668,000	646,000	2,137,000
Nebraska	6,989,000	1,255,000	4,364,000
Nevada	959,000	196,000	749,000
New Hampshire	1,467,000	555,000	1,863,000
New Jersey	24,806,000	3,908,000	11,949,000
New Mexico	9,888,000	1,058,000	2,888,000
New York	110,736,000	10,920,000	39,881,000
North Carolina	53,354,000	5,514,000	13,848,000
North Dakota	5,272,000	697,000	2,333,000
Ohio	39,578,000	7,790,000	24,455,000
Oklahoma	17,550,000	2,495,000	7,722,000
Oregon	8,248,000	1,496,000	5,703,000
Pennsylvania	56,501,000	9,410,000	27,539,000
Rhode Island	4,080,000	769,000	2,407,000
South Carolina	27,754,000	2,990,000	6,796,000
South Dakota	6,962,000	712,000	2,367,000
Tennessee	32,528,000	4,065,000	10,740,000
Texas	78,300,000	9,844,000	27,054,000
Utah	2,849,000	970,000	4,203,000
Vermont	1,749,000	411,000	1,438,000
Virginia	30,925,000	4,464,000	9,855,000
Washington	10,801,000	2,370,000	8,800,000
West Virginia	17,161,000	2,071,000	5,288,000
Wisconsin	18,211,000	3,417,000	11,581,000
Wyoming	1,478,000	282,000	1,030,000

INEQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PERSISTS



Although significant gains have been made in education over the past fifteen years, inequality of educational opportunity nevertheless persists. The above chart plots educational expenditures over a fifteen year period in the five states which were highest in their per pupil current expenditure in 1964-65 and the five states which were lowest in per pupil expenditure. As can be seen from the graph, the difference in the average expenditure of the five lowest and five highest states in 1949-50 was $213; by 1964-65 school year the difference had actually widened to $337. Per pupil expenditures in the five lowest states were $127 below the national average in 1949-50. By 1964-65 they were $194 below the national average. Dollar for dollar, inequality of educational opportunity has widened rather than narrowed over the last fifteen years.

(Note: All of these figures have been adjusted to constant dollars of the 1964-65 school year.)

NOTES AND SOURCES

Column

A — U. S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, April, 1965.

B — U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

C — U. S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1965.

D — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

E — U. S. Office of Education, Fall, 1964 Statistics of Public Schools.

F — U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

G — U. S. Office of Education, National Inventory of School Facilities and Personnel, 1964.

H — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: The difference between the percent of ninth graders grading four years later and 100% will give an approximate indication of the percentage of school dropouts. In the United States as a whole, for example, 73.1% of the ninth graders of 1960-61 graduated in 1964. This means that approximately 26.9% of the ninth graders dropped out of school before graduating. However, certain factors other than dropping out are included. Among them are death and in some instances migration from the state.

I-J-K-L — U. S. Office of Education, Condition of Public School Plants, 1964-65, 1965.

M-N-O — U. S. Office of Education, Statistics of State School Systems, 1961-62.

Note: These are the most recent dependable figures. However, more recent estimates indicate that the figures have changed little through the school year 1964-65

P — U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960.

Q-R-S-T — Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

Note: Column S differs slightly from Column H because Column H includes only students enrolled in public schools whereas Column S includes students enrolled in both public and non-public schools.

Column	
U	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
V	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
W	Computed by Office of Institutional Research from data of U. S. Office of Education.
Y-X-Z	U. S. Office of Education.
Page 18	Computed by AFL-CIO Education Department from data of U. S. Office of Education.

* * *

General Note: In using all charts which give dollar figures, it should be remembered that because of the high cost of living in the state of Alaska, a truer comparison will be obtained if dollar figures for Alaska are reduced by approximately 25%.

FED. POLICY

U.S. Rights Agency Bars Reappointment To Arkansas Critic

NYT-1/7/67

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Jan. 6 —The United States Commission on Civil Rights did not reappoint the chairman of its Arkansas advisory committee, a critic of the commission, when his term expired Dec. 31.

Ted Lamb, 39-year-old Little Rock advertising executive, said he had not been told why he had not been reappointed. He said he understood that the commission's policy was to reappoint advisory committee members and chairmen.

In Washington, the commission's chief of information, Clarence Turner, said the commission's action had no relation to its disagreements with Mr. Lamb, but he declined to give the reason for it.

Mr. Lamb said that a commission staff member had told him in September that his resignation would be welcomed.

Two other members of the committee, Leslie W. Jordan and The Rev. James F. Drane both of Little Rock, disapproved the commission's action. Mr. Jordan is a Negro postal carrier and Father Drane is a professor at St. John's Catholic Seminary.

Both said they believed Mr. Lamb's criticism of the commission was the reason he was not reappointed.

Mr. Lamb criticized the commission in December for diluting the recommendations in the advisory committee's report on hearings that it conducted in April in eastern Arkansas.

The committee had recommended that Federal funds be withheld from five school districts and that Federal contracts with a rubber company be held in abeyance because of discriminatory hiring practices.

FED. POLICY

- C O P Y -

90th CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 1433

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 5, 1967

Mr. Ribicoff introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency

A BILL

To encourage and assist in the formation of local organizations by residents of urban neighborhoods for the purpose of improving the physical, economic, and social conditions prevailing in such neighborhoods.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Neighborhood Develop-
4 ment Corporation Assistance Act".

5 POLICY AND PURPOSE

6 SEC. 2. The Congress finds that citizen-based neighbor-
7 hood organizations must play a vital role in assisting elected
8 and appointed officials to effectively deal with community
9 development needs. Citizen involvement at the neighbor-

1 hood level must develop to determine community needs,
2 mobilize the human resources of the neighborhood, and co-
3 ordinate them with public and private resources for effective
4 and acceptable community development efforts. The Con-
5 gress finds that such acceptability on the neighborhood level
6 is essential for successful development programs.
7 Congress therefore declares that the Neighborhood De-
8 velopment Corporation, as described herein, provides the
9 framework for neighborhood involvement to achieve the
10 above-stated purposes. Citizenship participation within such
11 legally constituted neighborhood corporations will create for
12 the individual a new self-image as a responsible decision-
13 making citizen and member of the community, it will enable
14 the inhabitants of the neighborhood to determine their needs
15 and come to a corporate decision to take initiatives in ob-
16 taining desired projects and carrying out responsibilities
17 assumed under them, and it will foster coordination of all
18 development projects into a viable system for efficient com-
19 munity development.
20 DEFINITIONS
21 SEC. 3. As used in this Act---
22 (1) The term "neighborhood development corporation"
23 means a public or private nonprofit corporation (A) orga-
24 nized under State or local law by the residents of an urban
25 neighborhood for the purpose of developing and carrying out

1 programs for improving the physical, economic, and social
2 conditions prevailing in such neighborhood, and (B) under
3 the charter and bylaws of which each resident of such
4 neighborhood is assured of an equal opportunity to participate
5 (i) in the election of officers of, and a governing board for,
6 such corporation, and (ii) in the programs and activities of
7 such corporation.
8 (2) The term "urban neighborhood" means a part or
9 section of a built-up urban area which is characterized by a
10 similarity in the social and cultural patterns, or economic in-
11 terests, of the persons residing in such part of section, and the
12 boundaries of which are so defined as to include not less than
13 one thousand five hundred or more than fifty thousand resi-
14 dents.
15 (3) The term "State" menas any of the several States
16 of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Common-
17 wealth of Puerto Rico, and any of the possessions of the
18 United States.
19 (4) The term "Director" means the Director of the
20 Office of Economic Opportunity.
21 FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
22 SEC. 4. (a) The Director is authorized---
23 (1) to undertake such activities as he determines
24 to be desirable to assist the residents of urban neigh-

1 borhoods in organizing neighborhood development cor-
2 porations; and
3 (2) to make grants to, or to contract with, any
4 such corporation to pay for a period not exceeding two
5 years the operating expenses (including salaries and
6 other administrative costs) reasonably required by such
7 corporation in developing and carrying out its programs.
8 (b) Assistance under this section shall be granted under
9 such rules and regulations as the Director shall prescribe to
10 insure that such assistance is utilized in furtherance of the
11 purposes of this Act.
12 (c) To provide assistance under this section, there is
13 authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $30,000,000 for
14 any fiscal year commencing after June 30, 1967. Any sums
15 so appropriated shall remain available until expended.
16 REPORTS AND INVESTIGATIONS
17 SEC. 5. (a) Within six months after the date of enact-
18 ment of this Act, the Director shall report to the President
19 and to the Congress his recommendations with respect to
20 any legislation which should be enacted in order to enable
21 neighborhood development corporations to qualify for Fed-
22 deral assistance in carrying out their programs in urban neigh-
23 borhoods for improving housing conditions, increasing em-
24 ployment and business opportunities, expanding worker
25 productivity through job training and education, and other-

1 wise bettering the working and living conditions to residents
2 of such neighborhoods in furtherance of the purposes of this
3 Act.
4 (b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop-
5 ment, in cooperation with the Secretaries of Commerce,
6 Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare and the Director
7 shall conduct a study and investigation of the most practi-
8 cable ways to coordinate the activities of neighborhood de-
9 velopment corporations with federally assisted programs and
10 activities for improving housing conditions, increasing em-
11 ployment and business opportunities, expanding worker
12 productivity through job training and education. Within
13 eight months after the enactment of this Act, the Secretary
14 of Housing and Urban Development shall report to the
15 President and to the Congress the results of such study and
16 investigation together with such recommendations as he de-
17 termines will contribute to carrying out the purposes of this
18 Act.
19 (c) The Director shall transmit to the President and to
20 the Congress annually a comprehensive and detailed report
21 concerning his activities and functions under this Act.

Continued on Page 22, Column 2

HOUSE PANEL CUTS MODEL CITIES AID

NYT 5/13/67

Rent Supplement Fund Also Slashed Far Under Total Requested by Johnson

FED. POLICY

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 12 — The House Appropriations Committee approved limited funds today for the controversial model cities and rent supplement programs.

The committee, following the recommendations of its housing subcommittee, deeply slashed the sums that President Johnson had sought for both programs.

Only $237-million of the $662-million sought for model cities was approved and just $15-million of the $45-million asked for rent supplements was granted.

However, the housing subcommittee chairman, Joe L. Evins, Democrat of Tennessee, said the fact that both programs had been kept alive at all was "a great victory for the Administration.

"We had some mighty close votes," Mr. Evins said.

He also indicated that at one point his subcommittee had vir-

Continued on Page 18, Column 5

HOUSE PANEL CUTS MODEL CITIES AID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

tually reached an impasse over funds for the model cities program.

Funds for the two programs were included in a $10-billion appropriations bill to finance 16 independent agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In all, the committee reduced budget requests by nearly $800-million.

House leaders have scheduled floor action on the money bill for next Tuesday.

The model cities program is regarded by the President as the keystone of his effort to erase urban blight. It seeks to link Federal spending with local attacks on the physical and social ills of selected slum neighborhoods across the country.

The program was authorized last year by Congress after months of uncertainty. At times, it appeared that it might be shelved entirely.

The extent of Congressional reluctance was reflected in the fact that just $11-million, for planning alone, was appropriated for the fiscal year that ends June 30.

About 190 cities and towns in 47 states have applied for planning grants. Of these, 60 to 80 will be chosen within the next two months.

However, the cutback in appropriations could limit the number of cities eventually selected for actual program grants.

The program of rent supplements for the poor has encountered even more Congressional hostility than model cities. It won House approval in 1965 by just six votes and was then cut off without a cent.

For the current fiscal year, Congress appropriated 20-million to construct housing for low-income families and $2-million to subsidize rent payments.

The Appropriations Committee today limited construction funding to $10-million in the coming fiscal year, which would cover only about 11,000 of the 44,000 rental units the President had hoped would be rebuilt.

The committee granted the full $5-million in rent subsidy payments that the President had sought.

The committee appropriated the full $750-million the President had asked for urban renewal and slashed just $15-million from the requested $290-million for low rent public housing projects, containing 688,764 apartments.

The committee appropriated $175-million for mass transit grants. $50-million more than this year but $55-million under the sum requested.

Cuts were also made in urban planning grants, open space land programs, neighborhood facilities grants and other housing programs. The $30-million requested for metropolitan development incentive grants was eliminated.

The major share of the overall $10-billion appropriation goes to the Veterans Administration. Only a token $2.3-million was cut from the V.A.'s $6.6-billion budget request.

ECONOMISTS FIND '68 WAR BUDGET $5-BILLION SHORT

Report to Business Council Foresees Vietnam Costs Reaching $26.9-Billion

FED. POLICY

TAX INCREASE FAVORED

A $15-Billion Federal Deficit and Decline in Corporate Profits Are Predicted

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

Special to The New York Times

HOT SPRINGS, Va., May 12 —The cost of the war in Vietnam is likely to rise next year by $5-billion over the Administration's current official estimates, a group of business economists predicted today.

The forecast, made after extensive consultations with Government officials, has no public backing from any Government source.

The predicted increase would raise the cost of the war to $26.9-billion in the 1968 fiscal year, which begins next July 1.

The increased war costs, coupled with some other adverse budgetary developments, will raise the budget deficit for the new fiscal year from an official estimate of $8.1-billion to between $15-billion and $18-billion, the business economists predicted.

Government officials have publicly given no indication that they consider any such increase in war costs to be likely. There have been no official revisions of the $21.9-billion Vietnam war expenditure figure contained in the President's budget message of last January.

Build-Up Being Considered

The possibility of accelerating the build-up of forces in Vietnam beyond the schedule made public in January is currently under discussion within the Administration, however, although the decision is believed not to have yet been made.

The prediction of the large increase in war costs was given today to a group of the nation's leading business executives by a committee of economists who work for their companies.

The economists prepare such a forecast for their chiefs twice a year, after lengthy talks with Government officials in the Council of Economic Advisers, the Treasury Department and other agencies.

The report was presented to members of the Business Council by Ralph Lazarus, president of the Federated Department Stores, Inc., who is chairman of the Business Council's Committee on the Domestic Economy.

The council is an organization of some 120 men, most of them the heads of large corporations, who advise the Government on policy issues.

Mr. Lazarus did not detail the reasons for the expected $5-billion military budget increase other than to label it "for Vietnam escalation." He added that the $5-billion figure was "very conservative—the lowest figure we've heard."

He declined to specify which Government officials the economists had talked to or the extent to which the $5-billion figure may have been based on Government estimates.

Senator John Stennis, Demo-

Continued on Page 18, Column 3

5-13-67

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Economists Say '68 War Costs Will Top Budget by $5-Billion

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

crat of Mississippi who is a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, recently estimated that Vietnam spending next year would go up by $4-billion to $6-billion over the Administration's estimate.

A least one Government official who talked to the business economists confirmed in a telephone interview today that he had mentioned the Senator's figure to the group. He said, however that the conversation on this point was purely hypothetical—converning what the economic impact would be if Senator Stennis's figure was right.

For the present fiscal year, which ends June 30, the Government's original estimate of the cost of the war in Vietnam is now expected to fall $10-billion short of the actual expenditures.

The original estimates, however were based on the assumption that the war would end during the fiscal year, a factor that accounted for much of the error. For next year, no such assumption about the end of the war was made.

The Administration's deficit estimate in the January budget was $8.1-billion. The business economists added $5-billion in expenditures for the war and subtracted $2.5-billion for lower tax collections that they expect this year because of lower corporate profits. With these calculations the deficit would be raised to more than $15-billion.

If, in addition, Congress refused to enact the 6 per cent tax increase that President Johnson has proposed, the deficit would be raised more than $18-billion, the business economists said.

The economists favored the tax increase—as did a number of the corporate executives—but said it should be put into effect on October, rather than in July, as the President originally asked.

Tax-Rise Delay Backed

The delay in raising taxes was seen as desirable because the economy is currently going through a period of softness.

The business economists felt, and the corporate executives generally agreed, that business would start to turn up again by the final quarter of this year, possibly earlier.

Mr. Lazarus said that he personally was for the proposed tax increase for just this reason.

The chairman of the business council, Albert L. Nickerson, chairman of the board of the Mobil Oil Corporation, also indicated his agreement with the tax increase plan. He said that the inflationary pressures that were "latent" during the first quarter, while business was sluggish, would probably revive in the lattter part of this year.

Mr. Lazarus described the period of slight business slowdown that the economy has encountered this year as not a recession but a "minicession—which means that it is short but interesting."

Fred J. Borch, president of the General Electric Company said that he thought the problem of businesses getting rid of excessive inventories—which has been seen by Government and private economists alike as the main economic problem this year—"will be behind us more quickly than most people think."

HOUSE, 232, BARS EXPANSION OF RENT SUBSIDIES

Republicans Win Elimination of New-Project Funds—Hopes Lie in Senate

'MODEL CITIES' RESCUED

FED. POLICY

Administration Bloc Rallies to Defeat a $237-Million Cut in Slum Program

5/18/67

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17—The House refused today to permit further expansion of the controversial rent supplement program. The vote was a major defeat for the Johnson Administration.

By 232 to 171, the members upheld a Republican-sponsored amendment to slash from $10-million to zero the amount of money that the Government could commit in the fiscal year 1968 for new rent supplement projects.

A few minutes later, however, the Administration rallied its forces in time to save the model cities program, President Johnson's major new plan for rehabilitating city slums.

By a roll-call vote of 213 to 193, the members turned back a Republican move to cut $237-million from the model cities program and thereby reduce it to just $12-million in planning funds.

Debate Is Sharp

The two votes were preceded by sharp debate. Administration strategists, quartered in a command post a few feet from the House chamber, had anticipated trouble on rent supplements but felt they possessed a slim majority on model cities.

Both expectations were confirmed.

The vote on rent supplements does not technically kill the program. Following the advice of its Appropriations Committee, the House approved $5-million to enable the Administration to honor past commitments to pay rent subsidies for poor tenants.

But by overturning the committee's recommendation to provide $10-million in funds to make new commitments—a recommendation that itself was $30-million below Mr. Johnson's original request—the House in effect froze any further growth of the program.

Administration hopes for restoration of rent supplement

Continued on Page 34, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1967

House Votes Against Expansion of Rent Supplement Progr

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

funds now lie with the Senate, where no action has been taken. Mr. Johnson's strategists are also depending on the Senate to restore his original $662-million request for model cities, which was trimmed to $237-million by the House Appropriations Committee even before it reached the floor.

The action on rent supplements provoked a sharp statement early this evening from Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

"The Republican leadership in the House of Representatives," he declared, "has again victimized the poor. By spearheading the attack upon appropriations for rent supplements, they took a major step towards denying decent housing to some 200,000 Americans."

Under the dent supplement program, first authorized by Congress as part of the Housing Act of 1965, the housing agency is empowered to make commitments — to nonprofit sponsers of new or rehabiliated housing projects—to pay a certain portion of the rent of poor tenants.

$32-Million Appropriated

The payments go to the owner of the project, not to the tenant himself. The size of the payment consists, in simplest terms, of the difference between the amount the tenant is expected to pay for rent—a minimum of one-fourth his monthly income — and the amount the sponsors needs to break even on the project.

So far, Congress has appropriated $32-million for the program, of which $30.5-million has already been committed to 405 projects in over 250 communities.

These projects, when completed, are expected to contain roughly 33,000 dwelling units for 100,000 persons. The original Johnson Administration request for $40-million in additional contract authority would have provided low-rent housing for about another 100,000 persons.

The vote on the rent subsidy scheme indicates that the old coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats continues to be—particularly since the 1966 elections — A powerful source of opposition to the Great Society.

The Republican leaders, much to the annoyance of the Southerners, have been insisting that they did not intend to renew the old alliance. Yet it existed in practice today.

Votng to halt the rent supplement program were 163 Republicans and 69 Democrats, of whom 63 were from the 11 Southern states. Voting for the program were 159 Democrats and 12 Republicans. Of these, five were New Yorkers: Seymour Halpern of Queens, Theodore R. Kupferman of Manhattan, Agden R. Reid of Westchester, and Daniel E. Button and Frank Horton, both of upstate New York.

On the model cities vote, the opposition lost strength from both sids of the coalition. Only 141 Republicans and 52 Democrats voted to kill the bulk of model cities funds, while 178 Democrats and 35 Republicans voted to preserve thm.

The two measures were part of a $10-billion money bill to finance the programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and several other agencies. Following the roll-calls on model cities and rent supplements, the House overwhelmingly passed the full measure by a 347-56 roll-call vote. The measure now goes to the Senate.

The Democrats used some of their most influential members to resist Republican attempts to cut the model cities program. Speaker John W. McCormack, Massachusetts Democrat, called the problem of the cities "one of the greatest challeng public servants and adde

"It is not a Democrati lem, not a Republican p it's a national problem."

The House Republican Gerald R. Ford of Mi said that the G.O.P. ment, which was offer Robert H. Michel of was designed not to k slum program but sim limit it to modest p funds of $12-million du period of rising budget e tures in Vietnam.

Senate Unit Gives Backing To More Liberal G.I. Bill

WASHINGTON, May 17 (AP)—The Senate Labor Committee approved today a bill liberalizing the cold war G.I. law that was passed last year to provide education and other benefits to veterans who served since the Korean war.

The principal changes in the bill would increase the monthly educational payments and broaden the formula governing the benefits available to students.

The Veterans Administration estimates the cost of the program at $547-million for the first year if the bill becomes law. This would mean an increase of $161-million.

However, the increase resulting from the bill is estimated at $1.4-billion over the next five years.

Kirk Carried Dixie Banner To GOP Governors Meeting

AC 12/18/66

By CHARLES F. HESSER

Miami News Politics Writer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., Dec. 17 — Florida Gov.-Elect Claude Kirk went to the conference of the Republican Governors Association at Colorado Springs to speak for the South.

And speak out he did, so impressively that his colleagues gave him one of the five places on the association's executive committee.

Kirk, the only governor from the deep South at the conference, argued that regardless of who the Republicans nominate for president in 1968, it would help the GOP cause if southerners knew that they had someone who could speak for them among the leadership of the association.

A conservative in what appears to be a rising tide of new Republican liberalism, it is debatable the imprint Kirk will make on the national GOP.

BUT, SEVERAL governors at the Colorado conference said that Gov. George Romney of Michigan, was less impressive during the meeting than were Kirk, Gov.-Elect

FLORIDA

Ronald Reagan, of California, and Gov. James Rhodes, of Ohio.

Named to serve on the association's executive committee along with Kirk, were Reagan, and Gov. Tim Babcock, of Montana, all conservatives, Govs. John A. Love, of Colorado, and John A. Chaffee, of Rhode Island, both moderates.

While the conservatives outnumber the moderates, this was viewed as an overture to draw conservatives into the policy-making machinery.

Moderate control of the association was not endangered by the move as the executive committee can do nothing without the entire association voting on an action unless the five governors are unanimous.

KIRK REFUSED to take part in an effort by moderate governors to get behind a moderate candidate for the Republican presidenital nomination in 1968.

"I'm not going to fall into any clique," said Kirk. "And I didn't come here to discuss 1968. I came here to talk about state problems."

In answer to a question as to whether he could support Romney for the 1968 presidential nomination, Kirk recalled he headed up the Florida Democrats for Nixon organization in 1960, adding, "While a candidate for the U. S. Senate in 1964, I supported Goldwater. If you give loyalty, you get loyalty."

POLITICAL observers generally place Kirk in Richard Nixon's corner, at least, at this time. Nixon has always been strong with Florida's GOP leadership.

Florida's GOP convention delegates have always had conservative leanings.

At the 1964 convention, 32 Florida delegates voted for Barry Goldwater and two for William Scranton.

Nixon, no doubt, further solidified himself with Florida GOP leaders when he campaigned for several Republican nominees for Congress leading up to the November general election.

The former vice president is also a frequent winter visitor to the Miami area.

Florida will again have 34 delegates to the 1968 convention. Kirk is expected to have a major voice in which way they will go.

Kirk Makes Fast Move

1/8/67

FLORIDA

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TALLAHASSEE, Jan. 7 — Claude Kirk became Florida's first Republican governor in 94 years on Tuesday and immediately declared war on the state's ancient constitution and upon crime.

Both actions were followups on campaign promises. But his bold approach to rewriting the constitution of 1885 came as an unexpected shock.

Kirk's first official act as governor was to sign a proclamation calling for a special session of the Legislature to convene on Monday to revise the constitution.

This took the many legislators, mostly Democrats, in Tallahassee for the inauguration completely by surprise. Legislative leaders had planned on a special constitutional revision session at the conclusion of the regular 1967 session next summer.

But Kirk, who promised a new day in government, said:

"For the Legislature to labor 60 days in April and May to rewrite our laws, without first rewriting our constitution, is not consistent with good business-like procedure."

WHILE KIRK quickly showed who was boss, he left some state employes — the members of the Legislature — in a generally disgruntled frame of mind.

The legislators didn't quarrel with the philosophy behind Kirk's special session call, but rather the short notice given them to return to Tallahassee and to go to work on a new constitution.

Kirk called the present constitution a crime of antiquity. He also promised an all-out battle on four other types of crime:

1. Crime itself — crimes committed upon Florida citizens by the underworld, thugs, murderers and gamblers.
2. Crime of too expensive-government.
3. Crime of high taxes.
4. Crime of inadequate educational facilities.

KIRK SAID he meant what he had said all along—that, as governor, he would wage a continuing fight against organized crime. He named George Wackenhut of Miami head of a national investigative and security organization, director of the Governor's War on Crime at one dollar a year.

The new governor said the cost of the fight on crime will be paid for by funds from interested private citizens.

Kirk promised to make Florida number one in education. Together with State School Supt. Floyd Christian, Kirk said he planned to seek the cooperation of citizens through a series of governor's conferences on education.

The governor added that in overhauling Florida's education system, "it is obvious that money alone is not the answer," Kirk has promised there will be no new taxes during his administration.

DURING HIS inaugural speech, Kirk pledged four years of businesslike government, declaring, "Today we turn the tide against ever higher state spending."

He promised to clean up the slums of the state by marshalling the forces of free enterprise to work as partners of state and local governments.

Kirk said he would make full use of programs to war against high food costs and to build a greater agriculture industry for the state, and promised to build roads on a basis of need.

AC 4/30/67

Execution Ruling May Affect the Nation

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., April 29 — An order by a federal district court judge at Jacksonville, staying indefinitely the executions of 51 men on Florida's "death row," may be of nationwide importance.

It could be as epoch-making as the U.S. Supreme Court's decision of 1954 ordering an end to racial segregation in public schools, or it could mean the end of capital punishment in the nation.

Federal Judge William A. McRae Jr., in holding up the executions, set a hearing for May 31 on a suit by the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP legal defense fund which charges Florida's law on the death penalty is unconstitutional.

JUDGE MCRAE'S action opened the door to a possible unprecedented ruling on the claim that the imposition of the death penalty is of itself "cruel and unusual punishment," in violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Agreement by the court to explore so fundamental a question is in a sense an extension of the same judicial philosophy which led to the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision, in that they both deal with the subject of human rights and social justice.

The liberal St. Petersburg Times called Judge McRae's ruling "an unprecedented and courageous act," adding:

"FOR YEARS, attorneys have considered capital punishment a violation of the 8th Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment.

"Judge McRae, by scheduling a class action hearing on behalf of 51 inmates of death row, can write a definition of national scope."

Tobias Simon, of Miami, representing the ACLU in the action which brought the stay of executions, declared:

"This case will do for capital punishment what the 1954 case did for school segregation. I feel perfectly confident that this means capital punishment will be found to be unconstitutional."

Judge McRae said he intends o go into the whole system of laws and procedures involved in capital punishment and to study particularly the Florida statute which makes the death sentence mandatory for first degree murder and rape unless a jury recommends mercy.

SIMON ARGUED in his petition the law "reduces the role of the judge to an umpire as to the rules of evidence and a rubber stamp in sentencing procedures."

The Miami attorney said the ACLU for years tried to get the issue of capital punishment before a court and that its late action was "born of desperation when we had nowhere else to turn."

Simon said the ACLU decided to bring the suit when Florida Gov. Claude Kirk's office sent notices to 14 men on death row that there no longer was any legal impediment to their executions.

The ACLU first tried the circuit court in Tallahassee, but that court dismissed the suit on the grounds it lacked jurisdiction.

MOST RECENT legal executions in Florida came nearly three years ago, when two men were electrocuted for unrelated murders.

Since then, former Gov. Haydon Burns refused during his two-year term of office to sign death warrants. Kirk, however, has been quoted as saying he favored the death penalty as a deterrent to capital crimes.

Upon learning of Judge McRae's ruling, Kirk simply said he would abide by the law.

DeWitt Sinclair, warden at the state prison at Raiford, said the judge's ruling made little impression on death row. "It might have made them feel better, but you couldn't tell it," he said.

2-B The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 1967
NEWS OF THE SOUTHEAST Empire

FLORIDA AROUSED BY 'WAR' ON CRIME

Many Democrats Reported Under Gov. Kirk's Inquiry

By MARTIN WALDRON
Special to The New York Times

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., April 5 — The anticrime campaign being waged in Florida by Gov. Claude R. Kirk Jr.'s private police force appears thus far to have consisted primarily of investigations of elected officials, most of them Democrats.

The Republican Governor and his staff have refused to allow an inspection of case records in what Mr. Kirk calls the "Governor's war on crime." But a source close to the private police force said that a majority of 356 "investigations" now under way or already concluded had involved elected officials.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State Thomas B. Adams, a Democrat, said that officials were so much a target of the "war on crime" that he and other state officials were "tailed" constantly by private detectives from the Wackenhut Corporation, which has leased 36 of its agents to Governor Kirk.

One agent, Mr. Adams said, sits at the Tallahassee Airport daily to check on who flies in and out of the capital city.

Kirk Tells of Fears

Governor Kirk has denied having Mr. Adams or any other state official followed. But he has declined to discuss specifics of his privately financed campaign. To do so, he said, might result in some of his agents being murdered.

Jack Ledden, a Governor's aide who works with George R. Wackenhut, a wealthy Miami private detective, in setting up investigations, would not confirm or deny that public officials had been the target of the private police force.

"However, I can assure you that if you will be patient until about June, you will be pleased with the results of the war on crime," Mr. Ledden said in an interview.

The source close to the private police force said that a number of prosecuting attorneys were under inquiry, including Richard Gerstein, a Democrat, of Miami, an area with much reported activity by mobsters.

Mr. Ledden said that it was true that "more than one" of the 36 agents had been working in Miami, but he would not comment on the report about Mr. Gerstein.

A former State Senator, James Gregory of Fort Lauderdale, a Republican who said that he disagrees politically with Governor Kirk, said he had been defeated for reelection in party primaries in February after private detectives working for the Governor had investigated him.

Mr. Gregory said the detec-

United Press International

HIS PROGRAM SCORED: Gov. Claude R. Kirk Jr. of Florida, whose private police force appears to have investigated more elected officials than criminals.

dation. In a speech to the Legislature on Tuesday, Mr. Kirk asked for a State Department of Justice under the Governor's office.

Attorney General Earl A. Faircloth said that Florida needed a central agency to investigate or to coordinate existing investigations of organized crime in Florida. However, the state agency should not exist to investigate individual criminal acts, he said.

Governor Kirk hired the Wackenhut Corporation, a Miami-based concern that is the third largest detective agency in the United States, last November.

This week, the Governor said that he owed the company between $65,000 and $100,000, but he expressed confidence that the debt could be paid.

Mr. Adams, Mr. Faircloth and other members of the state Cabinet offered on Tuesday to vote Governor Kirk $25,000 from an emergency fund to pay the cost of his anticrime drive while the Legislature considered the fate of the private police force.

The Governor indicated he would not use the money, however, since this would require putting his detectives on the state payroll. He said that he did not want to identify his detectives.

Democratic legislators this week, meeting in regular session, introduced a number of bills to put direction of the crime "war" under Attorney General Faircloth, another Democrat.

Two House members, Representative George B. Stallings Jr., a conservative Democrat from Jacksonville, and Representative Kenneth M. Myers, a liberal Democrat from Miami, said they would sponsor a bill next week to make it unlawful for the Governor to investigate public officials with private detectives paid from private funds.

mobsters.

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Mr. Gregory said the detectives who identified themselves as working for the Wackenhut Corporation had asked numerous questions about him in his district, causing a number of voters to lose confidence in him.

One of the major nonpublic official investigations under way was reported to concern the Mafia gambler, Meyer Lansky, who operates an agency to collect bad checks written by gamblers in the Bahama Islands. Earlier, several of the Governor's private detectives helped investigate the sale of narcotics in Miami.

Secretary of State Adams, who has been a constant critic of the private police force, said that friendly hotel owners had reported to him that Wackenhut agents had asked that hotels keep a record of his visitors and his telephone calls.

One of the most widely publicized investigations by the Governor's private police force has been of five county officials in Dixie County, a farming county about 100 miles south of Tallahassee.

The Governor's detectives investigated county operations, including purchasing and the awarding of county highway contracts. The information was presented to the grand jury through the prosecuting attorney.

A Governor's aide said that when the prosecuting attorney told Mr. Kirk privately that he did not consider any violations found to be serious, the Governor relieved the prosecutor of authority over the investigation and sent in an outside prosecutor. Both prosecutors are Democrats.

School Official Ousted

The first victim of the "Governor's war on crime was a member of the Florida University Board of Regents—Woodrow J. Darden of Cocoa Beach.

Mr. Darden, who was also Brevard County school superintendent was investigated by Wackenhut agents.He was later indicted on a charge of accepting a washing machine and a dryer and two golf carts paid for by school money.

The Governor suspended Mr. Darden as school superintendent and replaced him on the Board of Regents.

Florida's sheriffs, who are subject to being removed from office by the Governor, agreed on Monday to allow Governor Kirk to investigate crime in their counties as he saw fit. The sheriffs made their agreement through the Florida Sheriffs Bureau, a state agency authorized to investigate crime only at the invitation of local officials.

After Wackenhut agents had gone into several counties to investigate sheriffs, the sheriffs association issued the Governor a "standing invitation." Ed Yarborough, director of the sheriffs bureau, said that sheriffs thought that the Governor's private police force was a "lesser evil" than a proposal made by a committee of the Legislature to give the State Attorney General broadly increased investigative powers.

Governor Kirk has challenged this Democratic recommen-

Democratic legislators this week, meeting in regular session, introduced a number of bills to put direction of the crime "war" under Attorney General Faircloth, another Democrat.

Two House members, Representative George B. Stallings Jr., a conservative Democrat from Jacksonville, and Representative Kenneth M. Myers, a liberal Democrat from Miami, said they would sponsor a bill next week to make it unlawful for the Governor to investigate public officials with private detectives paid from private funds.

Carmichael Faces Charge

MOBILE, Ala., April 5 (AP) —Stokely Carmichael, the civil rights leader, was charged Wednesday, in a complaint filed by a radio newsman, with advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force. Art Keeney, news director of radio station WKRG, filed the complaint with United States Attorney Vernel J. Jansen Jr. He said he was acting, as a private citizen, on the basis of a speech Mr. Carmichael made Tuesday.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
September, 1959

SELECTED FILM BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Distributor's addresses are listed on final page.)

EDUCATION

1. "The Baltimore Story." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   An account of the processes followed in desegregating the Baltimore school system, which emphasizes actions taken by school officials to meet crisis situations.

2. "A City Decides." 27½ minutes, 16mm. Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films.

   "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was affected in the public schools of St. Louis."

3. "Clinton and the Law." 54 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films or McGraw-Hill Company.

   "A documentary based on the actual occurrences in Clinton, Tennessee, portraying the situation when desegregation was introduced and the community reactions to it," this kinescope of a "See It Now" telecast covers events through early 1957.

4. "Segregation and the South." 60 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films.

   "A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools... (and) in other fields." (1954 - early 1957.)

5. "Segregation in the Schools." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $10.00. Contemporary Films, or McGraw-Hill Company.

   A kinescope of an Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" telecast which "describes and discusses desegregation and public reaction in Southern communities."

6. "Wanted - A Place to Live." 15 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

A "story of racial prejudice and discrimination against college students," this film is largely concerned with off-campus housing discrimination but is "constructed for use in psychological research in field of social perception of ethnic differences."

EMPLOYMENT

1. "Commencement." 20 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   Deals with "causes and effects of racial and religious discrimination in employment."

2. "The New Girl." 28 minutes, 16 and 35mm. Contact President's Committee on Government Contracts for loan of the film.

   "Mary is 'The New Girl'...She is a Negro, the first in the office of the company...The human elements of the break with tradition are vivid in this motion picture story."

HOUSING

1. "All the Way Home." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "...examines the confused reaction of a community when a Negro family stops in front of a 'For Sale' sign...objectively explores the contagion of unreason and the guilt and other feelings which are barriers against a solution of the integration problem."

2. "The Burden of Truth." 67 minutes, 16mm. Apply to Anti-Defamation League, National Office, for availability and rental information.

   "A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and prejudices--that the young Negro faced in growing up."

3. "Crisis in Levittown, Pa." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "Laced with a searching narration...these interviews...actually catch a whole community in turmoil during a moment of crisis."

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS

1. "To Live Together." 32 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

"Examines American 'race problem' through eyes of a group of children at an experimental summer interracial camp."

2. "Brotherhood of Man." 10 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price of showings in Southern Region.)

   "Animated color cartoon which presents in a humorous and entertaining way the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike." (Adult level.)

OTHER

1. "Face of the South." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $2.00. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Office or United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

   A discussion, with graphic illustrations, of factors affecting the economic and social development of the South. (Based on George Mitchell's famous "map talk.")

2. "Report From Alabama." 27 minutes, 16mm. Contact Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office for rental and availability information, or AFL-CIO Film Division (rental: $3.00).

   A kinescope report, first produced on television, on denials of suffrage rights in Tuskegee and elsewhere in Alabama, culminating in the 1958 Civil Rights hearings.

3. "The Constitution and the Right to Vote." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $3.00. AFL-CIO Film Division.

   "Traces the steps by which the aggrieved party took his case into the courts and was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court of the United Stated." Based on two cases in which the "white primary" was challenged. Legalistic nature of the production is countered by a cast of "real-life" characters and sustained dramatic action.

ADDRESSES OF DISTRIBUTORS

1. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Office
   515 Madison Avenue
   New York 28, New York

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southern Regional Office
   41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
   Atlanta, Georgia

3. Contemporary Films
   13 East 37th Street
   New York 16, New York

4. Dynamic Films, Inc.
   Department H
   405 Park Avenue
   New York 22, New York

5. McGraw-Hill Company
   Text Film Department
   330 West 42nd Street
   New York, New York

6. AFL-CIO Film Division
   815 - 16th Street, N. W.
   Washington 6, D. C.

7. President's Committee on Government Contracts
   Washington 25, D. C.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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1. CITIZENS GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION, Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. Beacon Press, 1955. 185 pages, $1.45.

   Chronicles social and legal change in America from the Reconstruction era to 1954 and outlines major court decisions leading to and culminating in the school desegregation decisions.

2. EPITAPH FOR DIXIE, AN, Harry Ashmore. W. W. Norton, 1958. 189 pages, $3.50.

   The executive editor of Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette examines and appraises the Southern scene in its present state of economic and social transition, supplying perspective on the region's desegregation convulsions. Critics rate the book as the first definitive study of the current period, a source book of the South which ranks with W. J. Cash's "The Mind of the South."

3. LONESOME ROAD, THE, Saunders Redding. Doubleday & Company, 1958. Mainstream of America Series, 355 pages, $5.75.

   An account of the Negro's progress toward racial equality in this country with the focus on the individual. Recounts stories of thirteen men and women, among them, W. E. B. DuBois; Daniel Hale Williams; Sojourner Truth; Joe Louis; Thurgood Marshall; Daniel E. Payne; A. Phillip Randolph.

4. MIRACLE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, Carl F. Hansen. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 70 pages, $ .35.

   Carl F. Hansen, associate superintendent in charge of white elementary schools and curriculum planning in the District of Columbia during the period of desegregation of the District's schools, describes the "man-made miracle" of successful social change in his school system.

5. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Rinehart & Company, 1958. 371 pages, $5.00.

   A picture of the South during the four year period following 1954 drawn from interviews with people from every element in Southern society and presented in readable anecdote style.

6. NEGRO QUESTION, THE, George W. Cable. Edited by Arlin Turner. Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1958. 286 pages, $3.95.

A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

7. NEGRO POTENTIAL, THE, Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press, 1956. 144 pages, $3.00.

Traces the economic gains made by Negroes between 1940 and 1956 and the challenges yet to be faced before the Negro can fully share in the country's economic opportunities and before the country can fully utilize the latent potential of the Negro race. An analysis of the utilization of the Negro in the Armed Services serves as an example. The study further considers the deficiencies of the present Negro educational system.

8. PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York, 1957. 95 pages, $1.00.

The observations and findings of more than 250 psychiatrists and social scientists are the substance of this study, designed to assist "in working out the knotty inter-racial problems affecting desegregation." The effects of segregation and prejudice on both majority and minority groups are examined, as are the psycho-dynamics of attitude change.

9. ST. LOUIS STORY, THE, Bonita H. Valien. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 72 pages, $ .35.

An account and appraisal of desegregation in the city schools of St. Louis, Missouri, describing preparation and planning, as well as the roles played by community agencies, administrators, teachers, and students.

10. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915), Louis R. Harlan. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958. 290 pages, $6.00.

From the fly leaf: "Here is told, in a successful blend of warm interest and cold statistics, the story of public education in the four Southern seaboard states under the impact of two powerful forces - the wave of racism that swept the South in the early 1900's and the

efforts during the same period of a group of Northern philanthropists to help the crusading school men of the South toward their goal of 'universal' education. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia swung...toward a slowly expanding public school system - and toward an ever widening inequality of education between whites and Negroes." Although, as Mr. Harlan states, this study is only indirectly related to the desegregation movement, it is of particular interest in these times of threat to the South's painfully constructed public school system.

11. SOUTHERN HERITAGE, THE, James McBride Dabbs. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1958. 273 pages, $4.00.

After analysing the reasons behind the rise and growth of segregation in the South, then demolishing the arguments of segregationists, the author (himself a Southern plantation owner) concludes that not only has the price of segregation been too great but the system of racial separation actually runs counter to the best features of the "Southern heritage."

12. STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958. $2.95.

The leader of Montgomery, Alabama's protest movement against bus segregation in 1955-56 tells the story of that protest from his personal point of perspective and submits a suasive argument for non-violent resistance as a method of combating racial oppression.

13. WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED, edited by Don Shoemaker. Harper and Brothers 1957. 239 pages, $3.50.

Compiled by the staff members and associates of the Southern Education Reporting Service, this symposium summarizing developments in educational desegregation in the Southern and border states since 1954 emphasizes the disinterested documentation of events rather than interpretation or extensive analysis. A number of useful statistical tables are included.

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   Chronicles "the changing South in print," with information and analysis of Southern problems and progress. Published monthly, except for August.

2. RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vanderbilt University School of Law, Nashville, Tennessee, $3.00 per year.

   Presents, in six volumes each year, texts of legislation, orders, regulations, and decisions in court cases involving race relations.

3. SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, $2.00 per year.

   A monthly publication reporting, factually and objectively, on school segregation-desegregation in the Southern and Border states.

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4. SEGREGATION COSTS: DIXIE FIRMS FIND THEM MORE OF A BURDEN AS RACIAL TENSION GROWS, Cal Brumley, Wall Street Journal, December 17, 1957.

5. SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF VIRGINIA'S CURRENT EDUCATIONAL CRISIS, Lorin A. Thompson, Director of Bureau of Economic and Population Research, University of Virginia.

6. STORY NOBODY TELLS YOU, THE. William Peters, McCall's, September, 1958, page 35.

7. STRATEGY OF SOUTHERN RESISTANCE, THE. Arthur S. Miller, The Reporter, October 2, 1958, page 18.

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"The Negro Municipal Worker," Richmond Urban League, September, 1955.

Ordinances pertaining to the creation of the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1956 (incomplete).

File

136th District Newsletter
October, 1965

Vol. 1, # 2 360 Nelson Street, S. W. Atlanta, Ga.

This is the second issue of the 136th District Newsletter. It has been almost two months since the first issue of the newsletter was sent out. Some of you will be getting the newsletter for the first time. Once again, I'd like to ask each one of you to send me the names and addresses of other people you know who would like to receive this newsletter.

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Shortly after sending the last newsletter to you, I went to Americus, Georgia at the invitation of the Sumter County Movement, the Americus civil rights group that sponsored demonstrations there.

I went with Representatives Benjamin Brown, Bill Alexander and John Hood. We spoke at three Americus churches that morning, met with leaders of the movement that afternoon, and spoke at a mass meeting that night. Representative Brown and myself joined a march to the county courthouse also.

I met with a group of professional men - doctors, lawyers, and so on - who are interested in improving job opportunities for Negroes in federal agencies in the Atlanta area. Shortly after that meeting, another meeting was held with the heads of each federal agency here.

On August 20, I went to Louisville, Kentucky, to speak at a Human Relations Seminar sponsored by the Southern Project of the National Student Association. On August 11, I met with Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen at his invitation to discuss the possibility of riots in Atlanta like those in Los Angeles and Chicago and Springfield.

On August 24, 25 & 26 I was in Madison, Wisconsin, speaking to small groups of college students at the National Student Association's Annual Congress.

On September 26, I spoke to the final meeting of the 25th Anniversary Celebration of John Hope Homes. Mrs. Tommie Pye is President of the Tenants Association.

On September 27, Representatives Benjaim Brown, John Hood, Bill Alexander and myself met with Georgia Governor Carl Sanders in his office. We asked him to improve hiring of Negroes in all levels of state government, from the lowest - where Negroes already have most of the jobs - to the highest, where we have none.

I have attended several meetings of post office employees who have complaints about hiring and promotion of Negroes in the Atlanta post office. Although Negroes represent 40% of the total employees of the post office here, we represent almost 0% of several post office departments. Despite an excellent investigation of the post office by the Atlanta NAACP several years ago, and despite several promotions of long term Negro employees, there is still much discrimination there.

On September 30, a group of employees at the post office met with myself, Representative Benjamin Brown, Mrs. Jondell Johnson of the Atlanta Inquirer and Wyche Fowler, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Charles Weltner. The postmen told Fowler they were holding Weltner responsible for any discrimination in the post office and that they expected him to solve their problems.

On October 1, I met with a group of Neighborhood Aides who work for Atlanta's War on Poverty. All of them are worried because they were not included in a pension plan for War on Poverty Employees. Some of them were worried because they don't think Atlanta's War on Poverty is doing everything that it could do.

The Aides scheduled another meeting and have talked to top officials of the War on Poverty here.

(over)

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STATEMENT BY JULIAN BOND
REPRESENTATIVE-ELECT -- GEORGIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
JANUARY 10, 1966

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
CONTACT SNCC COMMUNICATIONS
360 Nelson Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia
688-0331

Before I begin my remarks I want to thank my friends and associates who have guided me toward reaching a position.

After a thorough search of my conscience, and with understanding for those who have counseled with me, I must say that I sincerely feel that I have done no wrong, but I am right in expressing my views, on whatever subject I wish to speak.

My first obligation is to my constituents, and I have released a statement to them. I wish to read it.

"A message to my constituents

There has been, during the past few days, a great deal of public discussion about me, my right to serve in the Georgia House of Representatives, and my right to speak my mind.

I stand here as a citizen, elected by other citizens, to a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives.

I stand before you today, charged with intering into public discussion on matters of national interest.

I hesitate to offer explanations for my actions or deeds, for no charge has been levied other than the charge that I have chosen to speak my mind, and no explanation is called for, for no member of the House has ever, to my knowledge, been called upon to explain his public statements or public postures as a prerequisite to admission to that body.

I therefore offer to my constituents a statement of my views: I have not counseled burning draft cards, nor have I burned mine. I have suggested that congressionally outlined alternatives to military service be extended to include building democracy at home.

The posture of my life for the past five years has been calculated to give Negroes the ability to participate in the formulation of public policies. The fact of my election to public office does not lessen my duty or desire to express my opinions, even when they differ from those held by others.

As to the current controversy, because of convictions that I have arrived at through examination of my conscience, I have decided that I personally cannot participate in war.

I stand here with intentions to take an oath that will dispel any doubts about my convictions and loyalties."

Ladies and gentlemen, the fundamental issue involved here is the right of any person in our country to dissent and to criticize governmental policy, be it national, state or local. I reaffirm my right to do this. I hope that throughout my life I shall always have the courage to dissent. Morality in politics shall always guide me in making decisions, regardless of the voices that wish to stifle protest.

I know that attacks on my integrity result from the fact that I work as the information director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and that I am dedicated to the cause of human rights. I have worked on voter registration in many parts of this state, along with my fellow workers, .Many of you sitting here will recall that four years ago I attempted to sit in the galleries of this chamber. I was refused the right to watch the deliberation of my state government. People within the civil rights movement, especially the Atlanta student movement, were deeply involved in

. . . attempts to integrate the seating facilities of the gallery of this chamber where I now stand. Moreover, many of you know that a man reported to be a Representative of the State of Georgia pushed myself and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and then ran into the chambers of the House where we could not pursue him. Because of this incident and the many other acts of terror I have seen inflicted upon Negroes in Georgia and throughout the South, I was very apprehensive about my personal safety this morning as I approached the Capitol and sat in my seat.

This feeling was accentuated because one of my fellow workers, Sammy Younge, Jr., was recently killed in Alabama as he sought to exercise his constitutional rights. Other civil rights workers have been beaten in our own state and people have been killed in Georgia in the process of exercising their rights.

I am black and I feel these injustices. I am black and I remember my treatment in this House. I know there are Negroes still in Georgia who are afraid to register to vote. I know there are public accommodations in the State of Georgia which are still segregated. I know that veterans and soldiers are still fearful for their lives as they ride down our highways.

Therefore I ran for election in the 136th Assembly District because I want to fight racial injustice in the State of Georgia and in the United States. I know that this body has the power to change the course of race relations in Georgia and thereby in the United States.

I intend to help do this within and without the legislature, seated or unseated. I have promised my constituents that I shall not relinquish the struggle for human dignity. I intend to keep that promise.

There are those who would say civil rights is one thing and politics is another. I reject that concept. I contend that we must build a new politics in Georgia, a humanistic politics concerned with the needs of people. This approach must transcend race, creed, or status in life.

While I personally know that many of my opponents would deny those of my race their constitutional rights and have aligned themselves with racist politicians, I do not wish to dignify their attacks. In a telegram of support for my position to the Governor and to the Speaker of the House, Dr. Martin Luther King said:

"It is interesting to note that many of Mr. Bond's political colleagues and critics did not feel that they were violating the U.S. Constitution when they sought to perpetuate racial segregation from their vaunted positions, or at the very least, turned a deaf ear when their friends and colleagues supported segregation and blatent racial discrimination."

Dr. King also said:

"I can vividly recall back in 1954, when the same Georgia legislature resounded with criticism of the U.S. Supreme Court and its decision on school segregation, but there was no such question of loyalty then."

I do not wish to open the past. I am willing to look forward to the future. But I must assert, assert with passion, that Georgia has the opportunity to lead the movement for humanitarian politics. I also assert that history will prove that segregation and discrimination will vanish from this state. My opponents cannot stop that development.

Let us remember that Negroes have died for the right to vote in Georgia. They are now saying what good does it do us to get the right to vote, to elect representatives only if those elected must face "attitude tests" or loyalty oaths.

I further assert this body has no basis to expel me or to censure me. It has the duty to me and to my constituents and to the State of Georgia to quit making a mockery of democracy. This body must recognize the right to dissent. This body must realize that the only just course it can take is to seat.

For at this moment this House decides not just on Julian Bond and his constituents but on whether Georgia will take steps toward a totalitarian state by curbing the right to free speech. This must not occur. It is on these principles I stand. I welcome your support.

The National Broadcasting Company Presents

MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: JULIAN BOND

VOLUME 10 JANUARY 30, 1966 NUMBER 5

Merkle Press Inc. *Printers and Periodical Publishers*

Division of Publishers Co. Inc.

Box 2111, Washington, D. C. 20012

10 cents per copy

Panel: HERBERT KAPLOW, *NBC News*
ROBERT NOVAK, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Syndicate*
MAX ROBINSON, *NBC News*
TOM WICKER, *New York Times*

Moderator: RAY SCHERER, *NBC News*

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. SCHERER: This is Ray Scherer inviting you to MEET THE PRESS. Our guest today is Julian Bond, recently elected by a landslide vote to the Georgia House of Representatives but barred from taking his seat—and who came through Washington's biggest snow storm in years to get here, today. Mr. Bond was one of the founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, known as SNCC, and is its communications director.

We will have the first question now from Robert Novak of the New York Herald Tribune Syndicate.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, there have been a great number of explanations of just why the Georgia House of Representatives refused to seat you.

In your own words, what is your explanation for this?

MR. BOND: I think the people involved in the fight to deny me my seat had different reasons for acting. They charged me with misconduct and questioned my credulity and said that if I took the oath of office, which requires that you swear allegience to the United States Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Georgia, I would not be credible. I could not be believed, and therefore, should not be allowed to take the oath.

MR. NOVAK: You don't feel there were any racist overtones to this?

MR. BOND: Oh, certainly I do. I don't think that race was the sole factor involved, but I think——

MR. NOVAK: You do think it was a factor?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. NOVAK: Do you think a white man taking your position would have been seated?

MR. BOND: I don't know if a white man took my position whether he would be seated, but I think my employment with what some people consider a militant civil rights group, my race,

the statement itself, were all factors involved in the eventual outcome.

MR. NOVAK: Do you feel that your subscribing to the SNCC statement in any way did compromise your loyalty to the United States?

MR. BOND: No, not at all.

MR. NOVAK: Would you fight for your country under any conditions?

MR. BOND: I consider myself a pacifist, if you mean, would I bear arms.

MR. NOVAK: Would you have borne arms in World War II, for example?

MR. BOND: That is sort of a hypothetical question. I don't believe I would.

MR. NOVAK: Then you are not a selective pacifist? There are no conditions under which you would bear arms for your country?

MR. BOND: No.

MR. NOVAK: Would you fight to save your family, your household?

MR. BOND: That again is another hypothetical situation. You know, the usual question put to pacifists is "What would you do if someone began beating your wife?" But no one is beating my wife right now. I think of myself as a pacifist. I believe in non-violence.

MR. NOVAK: Let me ask you a non-hypothetical question: Do you approve of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which is a Negro group which does bear arms and has had close ties with civil rights groups in the South?

MR. BOND: No, I don't approve of anyone anywhere under any circumstances engaging in violence.

MR. NOVAK: When did you become a pacifist, Mr. Bond?

MR. BOND: I began thinking about pacifism and about non-violence in 1957, when I was a student at a Quaker school in Pennsylvania, and since then, since my involvement in the civil rights movement has become deeper and deeper, the feeling has just increased.

MR. NOVAK: When you first applied for the draft, did you list yourself as a pacifist?

MR. BOND: No, I didn't. The Army told me that they weren't interested in my serving with them.

MR. NOVAK: You did not in any way indicate you were a pacifist at that time?

MR. BOND: No, I simply registered.

MR. NOVAK: Why didn't you?

MR. BOND: After I took my physical examination and after

I had taken the mental examination, I was given a status of 1-Y, which I understand means not to be called except in case of national emergency, and I never believed that my service in the military would be in issue.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Bond, you indicated your position on war in general just a moment ago—that you are a pacifist and you believe in non-violence. At the same time when we took it down to the personal level, you indicated you would make a decision on that when and if it happened.

Are you in a sense, then, saying you would support those wars which happened to come up if they go along with your ideas and reject those that you do not agree with?

MR. BOND: No, what I was trying to indicate is that I don't like to answer questions about hypothetical situations because I don't think anyone really knows how he is going to react in a hypothetical situation. I am not a selective pacifist; I don't choose this war over that war. I oppose all wars and I oppose all violence.

MR. ROBINSON: At the same time you indicated when it came down to your family, you would have to wait until that situation took place, although you would oppose all wars in the future as in the past.

MR. BOND: No, that is not what I was saying. I was trying to indicate that, as far as I am concerned, I am a pacifist whether it concerns my family or war in Viet Nam or a war wherever.

MR. ROBINSON: You have been a pacifist for some time, but why didn't you make your position known, as a pacifist, when you were running for office in Georgia, and why didn't you make your views on Viet Nam known during the campaign?

MR. BOND: My views on non-violence were known during the campaign. The question of Viet Nam is not a question that the Georgia House of Representatives, the office that I was aspiring to, addresses itself to. I didn't think it was an issue.

MR. WICKER: Mr. Bond, aside from your general pacifist views, as a thoughtful and aspiring American Negro, do you feel more personal affinity with other aspiring non-white men in Asia and Africa, perhaps, than with the great majority of white Americans?

MR. BOND: I feel an emotional attachment toward Africa and toward colored people, but I don't think that colored people are any better or any worse than white people. I don't feel that because colored people are engaging in a struggle against white people that the colored people must be right.

MR. WICKER: I wasn't suggesting that you were. I was wondering if you felt somehow that across the world, non-white

men had a sort of link, a common struggle against white oppression in some places, white majorities elsewhere, and if these links were beginning to be forced more closely

MR. BOND: I don't want to characterize the oppression as white. It unfortunately is in a great many cases, but I don't think it is that case. I think it is the case that colored people have had in a great many instances, a common struggle against some sort of oppression.

MR. WICKER: To be specific, would you see any striking similarity between the civil rights struggle in the United States in which you have been such an active participant and a revolutionary movement like that of the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: No, I don't see that sort of a similarity. I see a similarity between people—in one case Negroes in the United States, in other cases people who live in Viet Nam—who are struggling. That is one parallel. The other parallel is that Negroes in the United States are struggling against a system of segregation and discrimination and oppression, and the same sort of parallel has been suggested, not by me, as going on in Viet Nam, today.

MR. KAPLOW: Mr. Bond, to follow up what you just said about an affinity of people who are struggling, do you feel that maybe one of the targets of the struggling in Viet Nam not only is what is characterized in this document, which you endorsed and which started this whole thing, from SNCC—not only the United States but also the Communist side? Would you feel that they were also—people were struggling against them?

MR. BOND: The feeling that I have is that people who live in Viet Nam, North and South, are struggling to determine their own destiny in some way or another. The impression I get is that they would like very much to be left alone, not only by the United States but by the Viet Cong as well.

MR. KAPLOW: This document, again, which started all this and which was put out by SNCC, only condemns the United States. It doesn't condemn the North Vietnamese or the Viet Cong or any other group—or the Red Chinese.

MR. BOND: Right. I will condemn them here, but my position in endorsing this document, and I believe, the position of those who drafted it was that we are, after all, Americans who live in this country, and I feel a much greater responsibility toward criticizing or praising the actions of this country than I do toward praising or criticizing the actions of another.

MR. KAPLOW: However, if you make your point that the common bond is struggling peoples, then it doesn't make any difference who is against them, you are against all those who

might be oppressing, whether it is an American or Red Chinese or North——

MR. BOND: That is right.

MR. KAPLOW: How else do you equate civil rights with Viet Nam? A lot of the other civil rights groups—for instance, the head of the Atlanta Chapter of NAACP—say that you shouldn't equate the two.

MR. BOND: I equate it. I think the opposition to the war in Vietnam in this country among a great many people is moral opposition. That is, it is not political opposition; it is opposition of people who feel that war is wrong. It is opposition of people who feel that that particular war is wrong on a moral ground. I think that is the same sort of opposition that the civil rights movement has been engaged in against segregation. It has been moral opposition to segregation as well as political and physical opposition to segregation.

MR. KAPLOW: Again referring back to this document which is sort of becoming, I guess, the Bible for my questioning, anyway, but you say the United States in effect has not done enough or moved quickly enough on civil rights, and you mentioned a couple of laws. You don't feel that legislation in '57 or, I think, '61, '64 and '65 and a whole string of court rulings all favoring desegregation marks progress against segregation?

MR. BOND: No, the document doesn't say there hasn't been progress. It does say that there has not been, in our opinion, enough progress.

MR. KAPLOW: I think that it is stronger than that. I can't read it here, now, but I think it implies that the United States has fallen short of carrying out its commitment. Is that fair?

MR. BOND: Yes, that is fair. That is my belief.

MR. SCHERER: Mr. Bond, I am wondering what you and your friends see as a central issue here in your difficulties with the legislature. Is it perhaps the right to dissent?

MR. BOND: I think it is two important issues. First, it is certainly the right to free speech, the right of dissent, the right to voice an opinion that may be unpopular, but I think a second and equally as important an issue is the right of people—in this case, my constituents—to be represented by someone they chose, their right to make a free choice in a free election, to choose someone to represent them. I think in this instance the Georgia House of Representatives has denied them that right.

MR. SCHERER: How many of your constituents feel the same way you do about Viet Nam, do you know?

MR. BOND: Since this became an issue, I tried to talk with as many as I could, and I've got—or I had, 25,000 constituents, men, women and children, about 6,000 registered voters. In three

days, I must have talked to—not very many people, about 200 or 250 at the most, and their opinions generally were in agreement with this statement and in agreement with my right to express myself on any issue that I saw.

In fact, I might say that some of them—I don't like to use this word, but some of them had opinions about the war in Viet Nam that were more extreme than this document.

MR. SCHERER: You think most of the 6,000 would support this statement?

MR. BOND: I don't know if they would or not. I know that all of those that I talked to did.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, I would like to get into some of the wording of this statement because it is interesting that you mention there could be a position a little more extreme. For example, it says, "We maintain that our country's crusade to preserve freedom in the world is a hypocritcal mask behind which it squashes liberation movements."

What is a liberation movement?

MR. BOND: I think that I have to agree with Senator Young, I think it was, who said that the struggle in Viet Nam was a civil war.

MR. NOVAK: Is the Viet Cong a liberation movement, Mr. Bond?

MR. BOND: I don't know what the Viet Cong are. I have the impression that they are not what I would call a liberation movement.

MR. NOVAK: What liberation movements are we squashing according to the SNCC statement?

MR. BOND: According to this statement and according to my beliefs, the liberation movement that is being squashed in that particular instance is the struggle of people who live in North and South Viet Nam and who want self-determination, who want to rule themselves.

MR. NOVAK: Do you mean this is not the Viet Cong that we are fighting in Viet Nam? Are we fighting someone else beside the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: There are a lot of differences of opinion about who is fighting and whether it is infiltrators from the North or whether it is citizens of the South—whether it is a civil war.

MR. NOVAK: You don't think it is a Communist-led operation, the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: I don't know if it is.

MR. NOVAK: You have made several statements about Viet Nam, Mr. Bond. Have you made any study of the subject?

MR. BOND: I have tried to learn as much about it as I can.

MR. NOVAK: And you don't know whether the Viet Cong is a Communist movement or not?

MR. BOND: No, all the information that I get is that it is. What I am trying to say, if you will give me a second, is that by a liberation movement I mean—and I take this statement to mean—the legitimate aspirations of the people who live in North and South Viet Nam, who, it seems to me, want only to determine their own destiny.

MR. NOVAK: In the Communist parlance, isn't the liberation movement part of the terminology of wars of liberation which have been proclaimed by Peking?

MR. BOND: That may be their analysis of that term. It is not mine.

MR. NOVAK: I just want to ask you another thing in this statement: "We believe the U.S. Government has been deceptive in its claim of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people."

Do you think the United States government has been deceptive in claiming freedom for colored people in the United States? Claiming concern for freedom?

MR. BOND: Concern?

MR. NOVAK: I am quoting from the SNCC statement: "The government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people."

MR. BOND: Right. I do. I don't think, as I said a few minutes ago, that the government of this country has done as much as it might, has gone as far as it might.

MR. NOVAK: But that is deceptive?

MR. BOND: In my opinion, it is.

MR. NOVAK: They have sought to deceive the people on their concern for the colored people, then, you feel?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Bond, you indicated that you had not counseled the burning of draft cards, and you also said you wouldn't burn yours. Do I take it from this statement you're saying that you did not counsel individuals in this country to avoid the draft?

MR. BOND: No. What this statement says and what I have said is that young Americans, young American men who are unwilling to go into the Army, to enter into military service, should seek legal alternatives to the draft, to military service. And in addition we are suggesting in this statement that those alternatives be enlarged to include work in the civil rights movement or work with human relations organizations.

MR. ROBINSON: But you are asking that they go outside of this present area?

MR. BOND: No, we are asking—this was a public statement thrown out to the public. And last weekend, I met with Congressmen, here, and asked them the same sort of thing.

We are asking that draft boards or the Congress or whoever is the determiner make it possible for young men who are unwilling to go into the Army to have legal and valid alternatives to that service.

MR. ROBINSON: In your statement, you said, "We are in sympathy——" or in SNCC's statement—"We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Viet Nam."

At another point you urged all Americans to seek an alternative. In effect aren't you encouraging individuals throughout the country to avoid the draft?

MR. BOND: I think if you take the statement as a whole and not section by section that it says that we believe work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative.

MR. ROBINSON: Just one more thing. You indicated that you admired those individuals who burned their draft cards. Yet you said you wouldn't burn yours. Why wouldn't you?

MR. BOND: Let me say what I said first. I said I admired the courage of people who burned their draft cards, because I understand, I think, why they do it, and I admire them for doing it, knowing that they face very heavy penalties, five years in jail, a fine of $5,000 and if they are in public office they might be expelled. I wouldn't burn mine, because it is against the law to burn mine.

MR. WICKER: Do you think there is any likelihood that the organized Negro movement in America, the several organizations like your own, will become an allied and integral part of the so-called peace movement opposing the Vietnamese war?

MR. BOND: If you mean by allied and integral part that we are about to stop the work that we are engaging in now and become a peace organization as opposed to a civil rights organization, no. I do think that what is going to happen is that more and more members of the individual organizations that make up the civil rights movement—and perhaps more organizations, are going to take a public stand on peace, on war and probably on the war in Vietnam.

MR. WICKER: You feel in short that the civil rights movement as such is becoming—will be devoting a larger share of its

attention than it has to issues like that in Viet Nam? Current issues in Viet Nam?

MR. BOND: Right, but I don't by any means mean to suggest that we are about to drop the things that we are doing now.

MR. WICKER: Would you think that an escalation of the war in any sense—that is, if the war becomes a much hotter war, a great deal more fighting—would you think that this would accelerate this trend that you now see?

MR. BOND: I think so. People in the civil rights movement are worried about the cost of that war for one thing and what the cost of that war is going to mean to the war on poverty in this country, what it is going to mean to social services in this country. I think they are concerned about it, and any escalation I think will increase the concern of people here.

MR. WICKER: Looked at in terms of American politics, if this happens, does it seem to you that a long continuation of the war and perhaps a step-up of the level of the war, would this trend be likely to drive members of the Negro organizations not only into the peace movement but out of the Democratic Party, which, after all, is responsible for the war?

MR. BOND: I like to think I am in the Democratic Party. I ran as a Democrat. I don't think it will have that effect. I don't think that people in the civil rights movement—as I said before—are going to just drop their other work, but I do think that there is going to be increasing participation by people in the civil rights movement in anti-war movements.

MR. KAPLOW: Could you not conceive, then, Mr. Bond, that possibly by becoming active in something else you might dilute the impact of your primary purpose, which was desegregation?

MR. BOND: I can see that, but I don't think it will happen. That is the argument that people have argued against my taking a stand and against SNCC taking a stand and against other people in the civil rights movement who have taken a stand.

MR. KAPLOW: Of the major civil rights organizations, major half-dozen or so, isn't SNCC the only one that has done that, and many of the leaders in respect to your case say, yes, you should have been seated but they disagree with your position on Viet Nam and don't think it should become an issue?

MR. BOND: Right. A great many people have said that.

SNCC is, I believe, the only organization that has taken a public stand on the war in Viet Nam. Dr. Martin Luther King has taken a public stand oposing the war in Viet Nam. James Farmer, when he was executive secretary of CORE took a position as a private citizen, he said, against the war in Viet Nam.

MR. KAPLOW: I would like to go a little bit more into this

business of SNCC as a civil rights group. You sort of put the word "militant" in quotes a few minutes ago when you talked about that adjective for SNCC.

Jim Foreman, who is one of your associates in SNCC, is quoted as calling nine other Negro legislators in the Georgia Legislature "Uncle Toms." Do you know what he meant by that or what he was thinking and do you agree?

MR. BOND: No, I don't agree that the other nine——

MR. KAPLOW: Did he say that, as far as you know?

MR. BOND: I read it in the paper. I wasn't there when he was supposed to have said it. I assume that he did. I don't agree with that characterization.

MR. KAPLOW: What do you think about it?

MR. BOND: About the other nine Negroes in the Georgia House?

MR. KAPLOW: Yes.

MR. BOND: Some of them are friends of mine. Some of them I don't know too well. Most of them made some effort in behalf of my being seated, and I am very appreciative of it.

MR. KAPLOW: Do you feel that they are not making strong enough efforts for desegregation?

MR. BOND: I don't expect everyone in the country to run around——

MR. KAPLOW: Did you mean they are not making——

MR. BOND: Maybe you better ask me that again.

MR. KAPLOW: Do you feel that they are making strong enough efforts for desegregation?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. SCHERER: Mr. Bond, you are out of the Legislature, now. What are your plans for getting back in?

MR. BOND: I have filed a suit with two of my constituents, a woman named Mrs. Keyes and Dr. Martin Luther King, against the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, which will probably be decided sometime in the next three weeks. I am also an announced candidate but not a qualified candidate for a special election that comes up on February 23, to fill the vacancy created when my seat was empty, and beyond that—those are the only things I am doing.

MR. SCHERER: Do you plan to take this all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary?

MR. BOND: If I don't get relief from the three-judge Federal panel, the next step is the Supreme Court, and we will go there.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, your organization, SNCC, is trying to build an all-black political organization in central Alabama which will run under the symbol of the black panther. Do you feel that at a time when the Democratic Party, the white Demo-

cratic Party of Alabama has dropped the White Supremacy slogan and is trying to provide an entry for Negroes, this is intelligent politics?

MR. BOND: It is not for me to say. I think it is, but I think the decision in this case rests with those particular people who live in Lowndes County. They are interested in getting some of the benefits from their city and county government, and they see this as one of the means of getting them, electing their representatives to posts in that government. They don't intend by any means to take over, but they are going to run, I think, four candidates in the upcoming primary.

MR. SCHERER: Less than a minute.

MR. KAPLOW: Mr. Bond, what would you expect the white leadership to do to fulfill what you conceive to be their obligation to the Negro in equality? Now? What more?

MR. BOND: I don't know if we have enough time for that, but generally I think Negroes in this country want the things that white people have as a matter of course, the right to a decent living, the right to——

MR. KAPLOW: Aren't efforts being made to promote that now by the white leadership of this country?

MR. BOND: Certainly they are.

MR. WICKER: What are the prospects you now see, Mr. Bond, for Negroes remaining within the established two-party system?

MR. SCHERER: Sorry, time's up. We will save that for the next time.

Thank you, Mr. Bond, for being with us on MEET THE PRESS.

The Proceedings of

MEET THE PRESS

as broadcast nationwide by the National Broadcasting Company, Inc., are printed and made available to the public to further interest in impartial discussions of questions affecting the public welfare. Transcripts may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope and ten cents for each copy to:

Merkle Press Inc. Box 2111, Washington, D. C. 20013

(Division Publishers Co., Inc.)

MEET THE PRESS is telecast every Sunday over the NBC Television Network. This program originated from the NBC Studios in Washington, D. C.

Television Broadcast 1:00 P.M. EST
Radio Broadcast 6:30 P.M. EST

Rec't 3/28/66

136th DISTRICT NEWS

File
Julian Bond

Vol 1, #4 March 27, 1966 Atlanta, Ga.

I hope that the next issue of the 136th DISTRICT NEWSLETTER will reach you in less time than this one has.

First, a few words about how the suit is going. On March 16, we filed suit in the United States Supreme Court. We asked the court to review the February 10 decision by the three-judge federal court in Atlanta which voted 2 to 1 to allow the Georgia House of Representatives to refuse to seat me. We also asked the court to consider whether my right to free speech was violated and whether you - the voters of the 136th District - were denied your right to vote and to be represented. The suit said I was denied my seat - and you were denied your right to vote and to be represented - only because of my "public statements on matters of national concern."

No one knows when a ruling will come down from the court.

In events closer to home, Speaker of the House George T. Smith has set April 4th as the day a special committee of the House will decide whether I am qualified to take the oath of office after winning the February 23 election. Smith had called the meeting for March 21, but put it off after a suit was filed by lawyers asking the court to order the Georgia House of Representatives to finish reapportioning itself.

So, several things may happen:

- the United States Supreme Court may refuse to hear the case, or:
- they may hear it, and say the Georgia court was right, or:
- they may say the Georgia court was wrong, and order Georgia to give us the seat, or:
- they may not rule until after the elections this fall, or:
- the special committee may rule I cannot take the seat, or"
- they may rule I can.

In news closer to home, Mr. Willie Williams and Mr. Sam Martin, both of Markham Street, are continuing their fight to challenge the Georgia law that says tenants who don't want to be evicted must post a bond. They say the law hurst poor people, who can't afford to post a bond. Two Markham Street families are living in tents now, and someone tried to kill Mr. Williams on the night of March 22.

In Washington, Representative Adam Clayton Powell says he will push for a minimum wage of $1.60 a hour. We should make sure that all of the men who run for the United States House of Representative from Atlanta support this idea before we vote for them this fall.

During a recent session of housing court in Atlanta, eleven slum landlords - including some Negroes - were fined a total of $560, but $207 was suspended. This means the landlords were fined approximately $55 each, and that almost half of that was suspended. This means that men and women who make a good living from slum houses don't have to worry about going to jail or paying big fines, and therefore don't feel they have to fix up their houses.

One out of every nine American men between 10 and 29 years old is a Negro. But two out of every nine American men killed inViet Nam last year were Negroes. Although Negroes make up only 14% of the Army force in Viet Nam, 22% of those killed last year were Negroes. The Army says this is because Negroes are very brave, but I think there are other reasons. What do you think?

If you live in John Eagon, John Hope or University Homes, here are some figures that you might be interested in. Average rent in public housing is $35.96 a month. Average income per family in public housing is $2,509 a year. There are 8,145 units in all of Atlanta's public housing, with 30,269 people living in

them.

I am enclosing in this newsletter a copy of what I said - and the questions I was asked - on MEET THE PRESS.

If you know anyone who would like to receive this newsletter, please tell them to write me, or send their names and addresses to:

Julian Bond
360 Nelson Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Julian Bond

Rec'd 6/2/66

Julian Bond
823 Drummond Street
Atlanta, Georgia

File

Dear Friend:

I am writing to let you know that in a few days I will qualify to run for re-election to the Georgia House of Representatives in the September 13th Democratic primary.

I am letting you know in advance because you were one of the many who helped so much during the last campaign, and because I want to appeal to you for the same sort of help.

This campaign will be a difficult one. There will be other candidates with large sums of money running against us. There will be people telling you - and the voters of the 136th District - that the Georgia House of Representatives will never let me take office.

I am sure, however, that if we win this election you will have representation in your state government. I am sure because my case will be heard in a few months by the United States Supreme Court. I am sure because every legal opinion that I can gather indicates to us that the nation's highest court will rule in our favor. I am sure because the recent action of the Rules Committee of the House in refusing to seat me a second time is a temporary one, and must be approved or rejected by the entire House in January, 1967. And I am sure because I don't think you will let the Georgia House of Representatives make up your mind about who will represent you.

The issues in this coming campaign will be the same as they were last year. I will campaign on a platform and program of real representation for all of the people of the 136th District. I believe now - as I did then - that the people must decide what their representatives must do.

I am writing you now because I want to hear from each of you. I want to know if I can count on your support. I want to know if you will involve yourself in politics and make politics work for you.

I want you to tell me what you think the problems are that your representative must deal with. Please let me hear from you. I hope to contact each of you personally in the weeks ahead.

Sincerely,

Julian Bond

Julian Bond

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Wednesday, July 6, 1966

July 25 Is the Last Day To Register, Voters Told

An appeal for more voter registration during July has been made by Travis Stewart, executive director of the State Democratic party.

He pointed out that July 25 is the last day on which a person may register in order to be qualified to vote in the Sept. 14 primaries.

"Special emphasis," he said, "is being placed upon the fact that Georgia's young people occupy a unique position in that they may vote at age 18.

"Georgia is one of a few states in the nation which accord this privilege to its younger citizens and we are encouraging them to take full advantage of this opportunity by registering and voting, and otherwise fully participating in politics and government."

Stewart added that the deadline for voter registration to participate in the November general election is Sept. 19.

It's worth a try, isn't it?

WOULD YOU LET SOMEONE YOU DIDN'T KNOW:

- tell you where you can live?
- tell you where you can work, and how much money you will be paid?
- decide what kind of education your children will have?
- decide if your street will be paved, or if your garbage will be picked up?
- make laws and rules without asking how you feel?
- spend your tax dollars without asking how you want it spent?

THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT YOU ARE DOING, EVERY ELECTION DAY, IF YOU AREN'T REGISTERED TO VOTE. YOU TAKE A CHANCE WITH YOUR LIFE, A CHANCE THAT SOMEONE ELSE KNOWS WHAT YOU WANT.

IF YOU THINK "SOMEONE ELSE" HAS BEEN DOING A GOOD JOB, DON'T WORRY. BUT IF YOU THINK THINGS COULD BE A LITTLE BETTER, THEN YOU'D BETTER STOP LETTING "SOMEONE ELSE" DO YOUR THINKING FOR YOU.

It's easy to register to vote. You don't have to know how to read or write!

Where

The Fulton County Courthouse
Room 106
Monday - Friday 8:30 - 5:00

West Hunter Branch Library
Every Wedbesday 5:30 - 7:30
Every Saturday 1:00 - 5:30

Rec'd 7/12/66

File

Julian Bond
823 Drummond Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

?

Dear Friend:

I want to begin by thanking you for your response to my last letter to you.

I also want to tell you what the recent ruling by the United States Supreme Court in our case means.

Every letter and call that I received from the people that the last letter was sent to encouraged me to run again. I hope that kind of support will continue and that it can be transalated into action for the election and the September 13 Democratic Primary, so that the people of the 136th District will have a real chance to elect their own representative, instead of having the legislature telling us who we can and who we can't vote for.

The United States Supreme Court ruled on June 20, 1966 that they would hear the suit filed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mrs. Arel Keyes and myself.

They agreed to hear arguments in the case sometime after their new session starts on October 3, 1966.

The state of Georgia had said the United States Supreme Court didn't have any right to hear this case. By agreeing to hear the arguments, the Supreme Court s ems to be saying they do have that right.

We are beginning to knock on doors again, and want to attend meetings of any social, civic or savings club or any other meeting that takes place in the 136th District. If any of you know about any such meetings, I wish you would call me at:

753-6867 (my home)

or

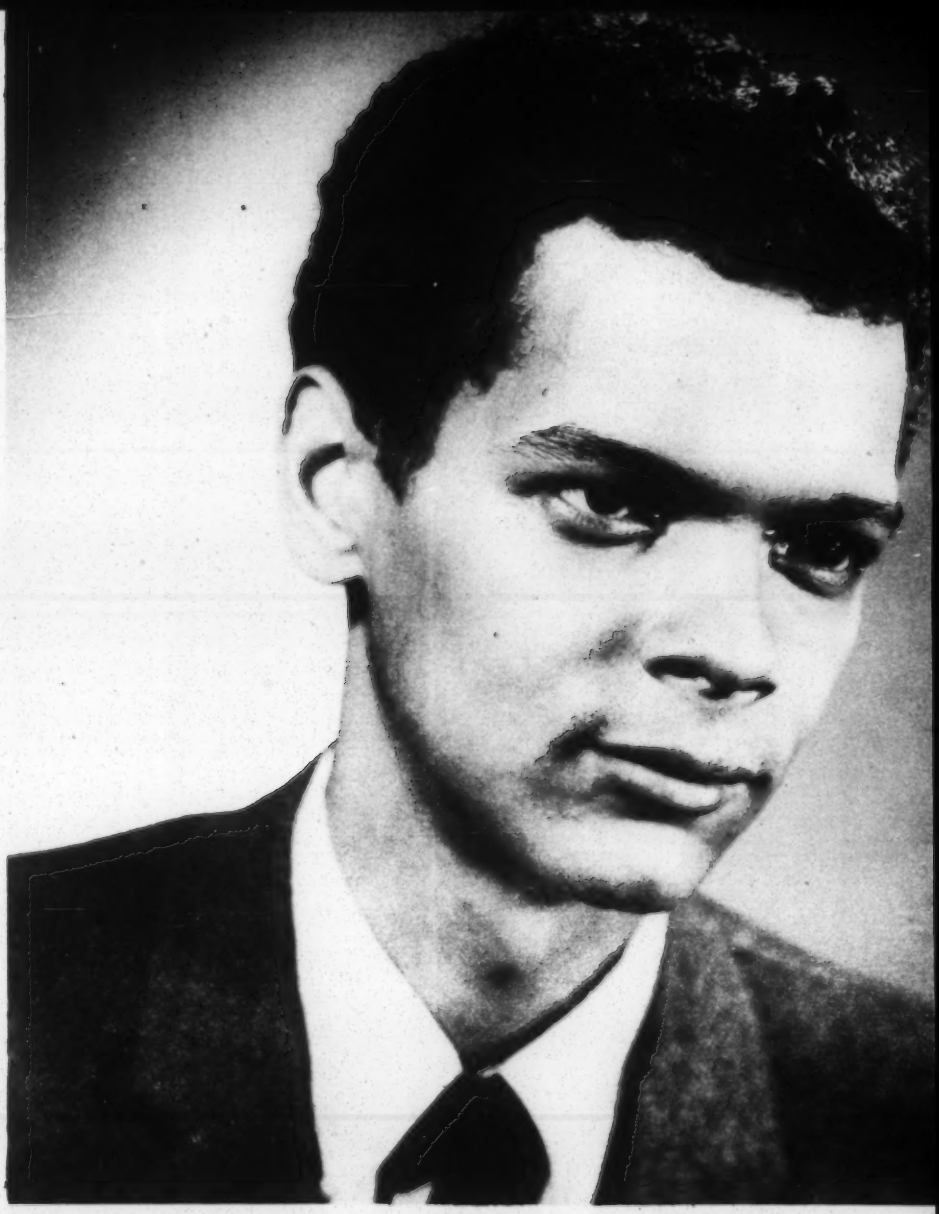
688-0331 (at work)

In the meantime, I hope you can begin to tell everyone you see and talk to about the campaign. Remind them of the date of the election - September 13, 1966 - and urge them to vote and to work to re-elect Julian Bond.

Sincerely,

Julian Bond

Julian Bond



re-elect

JULIAN BOND

Democratic Primary, September 14, 1966. Vo

Don't let the Georgia House of Representativ
tell <u>you</u> who you can vote for.

The people must decide who will represent
them.

The choice is yours.

Cast your vote on September 14 for Julian
Bond.

5-Phase Bill On Civil Rights Due Today

WASHINGTON, March 13 (AP)—Six senators plan to introduce Tuesday a series of bills aimed at ending discrimination in schools, housing, voting and other areas.

The three Democrats and three Republicans said in a joint statement Monday that the bills would carry out all of the 1961 recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission.

They noted also that the commission had recommended executive as well as legislative action, and they urged President Kennedy to take steps against discrimination in areas where he already has the authority, such as federally aided housing.

* * *

ISSUING THE statement were Sens. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., Kenneth B. Keating, R-N.Y., Joseph S. Clark, D-Pa., Hugh Scott, R-Pa., Paul H. Douglas, D-Ill., and Philip A. Hart, D-Mich.

Here is the legislation for five general areas:

VOTING RIGHTS (Keating)—Bills to wipe out property qualifications for voting, substituting six years of grade school education for literacy qualifications, and prohibiting arbitrary denials of the right to register and vote.

EDUCATION (Javits)—Bills requiring school boards to adopt desegregation plans within 180 days if their schools are segregated, authorizing the attorney general to enforce desegregation by injunction, and authorizing financial aid for districts that desegregate.

EMPLOYMENT (Clark)—Bills establishing a commission to enforce equal job opportunities in federal employment and in employment under government contracts or aided by federal funds; and charging unions with unfair labor practices if they discriminate against members on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin.

HOUSING (Scott)—Bills to ban discrimination in mortgage loan, urban renewal and highway clearance programs.

JUSTICE (Hart)—Bills authorizing federal suits to prevent discrimination in jury selection, to make local governments liable with police officers in brutality cases, and provide federal grants for police training.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION NO. 9895

JULIAN BOND, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and MRS. AREL KEYES, for themselves jointly and severally, and for all other similarly situated,

Plaintiffs

v.

JAMES "SLOPPY" FLOYD, WILLIAM J. "BILL" LEE, ED T. FULFORD, J. TERRELL WEBB, W. JONES LANE, and DAVID L. NEWTON, individually and as members of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia and as Representatives of the class of citizens who are presently serving as members of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia; GEORGE T. SMITH, individually and as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia and as Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia and as Chairman of the Challenge Committee appointed to consider the seating of Julian Bond; GLENN W. ELLARD, individually and as Clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia; MADDOX J. HALE, individually and as Speaker Pro-Tem of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia; ELMORE C. THRASH, individually and as Messenger of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia; DAVID PEEPLES, individually and as Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia; and BEN W. FORTSON, individually and as Secretary of State of the State of Georgia; and JACK TYSON, individually and as Sheriff of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia,

Defendants

Before TUTTLE and BELL, Circuit Judges, and MORGAN, District Judge.

BELL, Circuit Judge and MORGAN, District Judge:

OPINION AND ORDER

Mr. Bond, one of the plaintiffs in this matter and a Negro, was refused his seat as a member of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Georgia. He was a Representative-elect, having been duly elected by the voters of House District No. 136 for the session of the General Assembly commencing January 10, 1966. This was a special election for a one year term made necessary by the reapportionment decision of this court. Toombs v. Fortson, N.D., Ga., 1965, 241 F.Supp. 65.

On the first day of the session, at which time Mr. Bond and other members of the House were to take the oath of office, Mr. Bond was asked to step aside because of challenges to his qualifications having been filed by seventy-five of the two-hundred-five members of the House. After the other members were sworn, including seven Negro representatives, petitions protesting the seating of Representative-Elect Bond were referred by the Speaker of the House to a special committee designated to hear the contest. This committee, after a hearing, recommended that he not be seated. This recommendation was accepted by the House and he was denied his seat by a vote of one hundred eighty-four to twelve.

Dr. King and Mrs. Keyes, the other plaintiffs, seek along with Mr. Bond to represent the citizens and voters of House District No. 136 as a class, and it is affirmatively alleged that they are Negro citizens of House District No. 136 and that they are registered voters. They allege that there are common questions of law and fact affecting the civil rights of Negroes to vote and to have members of their race represent them in the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia. It is undisputed that Dr. King and Mrs. Keyes are residents of the district, but it is also undisputed that Dr. King is not

registered to vote in the district but in the House District No. 132.

The defendants are the Speaker of the House, the Speaker Pro-Tem, several members of the House representing the membership, certain officers of the House, and the Secretary of State of the State of Georgia. Jurisdiction for declaratory and injunctive relief is asserted under 28 USCA, §§ 1331, 1343(3), 1343(4), and 2201; and 42 USCA, §§ 1971(d), 1983, and 1988. Three-Judge District Court jurisdiction was premised on 28 USCA, § 2281 by a claim that the provision of the Georgia Constitution which permits the members of the House to judge the qualifications of its members, and House Rule 61 which embodies the same provision are unconstitutionally vague, or were unconstitutionally administered with respect to Mr. Bond.

The additional causes of action set forth in the complaint were refined by briefs into claims that Mr. Bond was barred from membership because he was a Negro; that the action of the House denied him his First Amendment right to free speech; that he was denied procedural due process as guaranteed by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; that he was denied substantive due process in that there was no rational basis for the action of the House; that the House resolution barring Mr. Bond constituted an ex post facto law and a bill of attainder; and that the House action deprived the residents of the House District No. 136 of a republican form of government, equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment, and the right as Negroes under the Fifteenth Amendment to vote. The prayer is that defendants be enjoined from excluding Mr. Bond from membership in the House.

The defendants, by motion, have denied the jurisdiction of the court. Additionally, in the alternative, they have moved

to dismiss Dr. King and Mrs. Keyes as plaintiffs. They have also answered the complaint. It was stipulated that a final judgment might be rendered on the pleadings, the stipulated facts and such other evidence as was introduced on the hearing of this matter. We thus proceed to final disposition.

The facts which gave rise to the challenge to Mr. Bond stem from a statement issued on January 6, 1966 by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an organization active in the civil rights field. Mr. Bond is and was Communications Director of this organization. After the statement was issued, Mr. Bond, upon inquiry, advised the news media that he supported the statement in its entirety. He added that he admired the courage of persons who burned their draft cards; that he was a pacifist who was eager and anxious to encourage people not to participate in the war in Viet Nam for any reason that they might choose; and said that as a second class citizen he did not feel that he should be required to support the war in Viet Nam.

The SNNC statement follows in full:

> "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent with United States foreign policy on an issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to United States' involvement in Viet Nam on these grounds:
>
> "We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.
>
> "We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in

this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by United States government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

"The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Ala., is no different than the murder of peasants in Viet Nam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case the United States government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

"Samuel Young was murdered because United States law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The United States is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires.

"We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypcritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States agression in Viet

Nam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country.

"We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of a supposedly 'free' society where responsibility to freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 percent of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Viet Nam, to preserve a 'democrary' which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask, where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

"We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them lives - as painfully as in Viet Nam."

On the same day a newspaper reporter asked Mr. Bond for his views on the subject of the burning of draft cards. He stated that he would not burn his own but admired the courage of those who did.

During a taped interview with a representative of the media, Mr. Bond, after endorsing the SNCC statement was asked why he endorsed it, and his answer was as follows:

"Why, I endorse it, first, because I like to think of myself as a pacifist and one who opposes that war and any other war and eager and anxious to encourage people not to participate in it for any reason that they choose; and secondly, I agree with this statement because of the reason set forth in it - because I think it is sorta hypocritical for us to maintain that we are fighting for liberty in other places and we are not guaranteeing liberty to citizens inside the continental United States."

When asked if he thought his views were at variance with the duties that might be required of him as a Representative in the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, Mr. Bond replied:

"Well, I think that the fact that the United States Government fights a war in Viet Nam, I don't think that I as a second class citizen of the United States have a requirement to support that war. I think my responsibility is to oppose things that I think are wrong if they are in Viet Nam or New York, or Chicago, or Atlanta, or wherever."

These facts were introduced before the House committee hearing the challenge. Mr. Bond was represented by counsel at the hearing and testified. He reaffirmed his adherence to all of these statements at the hearing and stated that they were still his views. There was no evidence then nor at the hearing before this court that Mr. Bond had receded in any way from his views. However, by way of explanation, he did state to the House committee that he had never suggested or advocated that anyone burn his draft card. He stated his willingness and desire to take the prescribed oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the State of Georgia.

The petitions challenging Mr. Bond which were before the special committee of the House contain several grounds, including the contention that Mr. Bond's actions and statements gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States, and also violated the Selective Service laws, 50 App., USCA, § 462(a) and (b), and tended to bring discredit and disrespect on the House of Representatives.

The challenge was also on the basis that the statements and views of Mr. Bond disqualified him to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia as is required of a member of the House of Representatives. The theory was that Mr. Bond's statements were so repugnant to and inconsistent with his oath as to make it apparent that he could not honestly take the oath. This theory presents the central issue in the case.

PENDING MOTIONS

Defendants moved to dismiss the complaint on the ground that the court lacks jurisdiction over the subject matter. Their view is that the determination of the qualifications of a member of the State House of Representatives is a matter which state law vests in the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the House of Representatives, and that the federal questions asserted are insubstantial. They urge that the absence of any substantial question concerning deprivation of federally protected rights indicates that the action of the House is not subject to federal judicial review.

The extent of review under the circumstances will be discussed hereinafter under the merits of the controversy. However, we do hold that the court has jurisdiction over the subject matter of the complaint. It could hardly be argued that the House could refuse to seat a member because of his race or for any other reason amounting to an invidious discrimination under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Cf. Baker v. Carr, 1962, 369 U.S. 186, 82 S.Ct. 691, 7 L.Ed.2d 663. The denial of a seat to a Negro representative-elect would also violate the Fifteenth Amendment. Cf. Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 1960, 364 U.S. 339, 81 S.Ct. 125, 5 L.Ed.2d 110. We think it follows that the court has jurisdiction over a denial of First Amendment rights by the state, and that the federal rights asserted here are not so insubstantial as to warrant our refusing jurisdiction. The motion of the state to dismiss will be overruled and an order may be presented accordingly.

The defendants also have motions pending to strike the plaintiffs King and Keyes on the ground that they do not have such

a direct interest in the litigation as would give them standing. They base their standing on an absence of representation in the House because Mr. Bond was deprived of his seat. The Governor has called an election for February 23, 1966 to fill the vacant seat.(1)

It is settled that one seeking to challenge the constitutionality of the statute must show that he has sustained or is in danger of sustaining some immediate direct injury. Liverpool, N.Y. and P. Steamship Company v. Comm. of Emigration, 1885, 113 U.S. 33, 5 S.Ct. 352, 28 L.Ed. 899; Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Mellon, 1923, 262 U.S. 447, 43 S.Ct. 597, 67 L.Ed. 1078. Dr. King and Mrs. Keyes have not ". . . alleged such a personal stake in the outcome of the controversy as to assure that concrete adverseness which sharpens the presentation of issues . . ." necessary in determining constitutional questions. Baker v. Carr, supra.

In a case involving the temporary lack of representation because an United States Senator had been denied his seat pending inquiry into his election and qualifications, Barry v. United States, 1929, 279 U.S. 597, 49 S.Ct. 452, 73 L.Ed. 867, the court said:

> "The temporary deprivation of equal representation which results from the refusal of the Senate to seat a member pending inquiry as to his election or qualifications is the necessary consequence of the exercise of a constitutional power, and no more deprives the State of its 'equal suffrage' in the constitutional sense than would a vote of the Senate vacating the seat of a sitting member or a vote of expulsion."

---

(1) Mr. Bond is a candidate for the vacant seat and is the only candidate. The qualifications closed on February 7, 1966. The General Assembly will adjourn its present session on Friday, February 18, 1966. There will be no other regular session of the General Assembly during the year 1966.

We are of the opinion that plaintiffs King and Keyes do not have such a direct interest in the litigation as would give them standing to bring the complaint. This is particularly so in view of the fact that the complaint of Mr. Bond alone will resolve every conceivable issue. Moreover, Dr. King is not a registered voter in the House District in question. The motion of the state to dismiss as to these two plaintiffs will be granted and an order may be presented accordingly.

THE MERITS

The contention that Mr. Bond was denied his seat because of his race was resolved adversely to him from the bench during the hearing of this matter. To support this contention it was urged that Mr. Bond was a Negro; that SNCC was a militant civil rights organization; and that the question of race was inextricably related to each and every statement forming the basis of the challenge. This logic would create license in the name of race. Furthermore, seven Negroes, as stated, were seated on the same day as representatives. Two served on the special challenge committee at the request of Mr. Bond; two Negro senators appeared before the committee as character witnesses for him; and two of the Negro representatives spoke on the floor of the House for him before the final vote. The charge of racial discrimination and thus of denial of equal protection of the law is without foundation in fact.

This ruling also disposes of any claim that Mr. Bond or the citizens and voters of House District No. 136 have been deprived of any right as Negroes under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment or under the Fifteenth Amendment. For the

reasons stated on the standing question we reject also the contention that the action of the House denied them a republican form of government. This is not even a justiciable issue. Baker v. Carr, supra.

The substantial issue in the case rests on the guaranty of freedom of speech or to dissent under the First Amendment as that amendment has long been applicable to the states under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Gitlow v. New York, 1925, 268 U.S. 652, 45 S.Ct. 625, 69 L.Ed. 1138; De Jonge v. Oregon, 1937, 299 U.S. 353, 57 S.Ct. 255, 81 L.Ed. 278. But the inquiry does not end simply on the question of deprivation of First Amendment rights per se. Rather the inquiry must be in the context of two fundamental principles of government: separation of powers and state government under our system of federalism. The right of free speech would not long exist absent a government founded on these principles.

James Madison writing in Federalist No. 47 said with respect to the separation of powers doctrine:

> "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether heredity, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

And from the beginning states have claimed and enjoyed the protection of the separation of powers principle as between their respective branches of government. This, to date, has been a part of our federalism.

Georgia adopted the separation of powers principle in its first Constitution. Art. I, Const. of 1777. McElreath, Constitution of Ga., § 239, p. 229. The Constitution of 1789, Art. I, § XIII, McElreath, supra, § 314, p. 243, provided that each House of the state legislature would be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members and have the power to expel or

punish for disorderly behavior. Similar provisions have been included in every other Georgia Constitution. Ga. Const. of 1798, Art. I, § VIII, McElreath, § 364, p. 253; Const. of 1861, Art. II, § IV, Par. I, McElreath, § 484, p. 286, Const. of 1865, Art. II, § IV, Par. I, McElreath, § 585, p. 304; Const. of 1868, Art. III, § IV, Par. I, McElreath, § 709, p. 328; Const. of 1877, Art. III, § VII, Par. I, McElreath, § 882, p. 361.

> "Each House shall be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its members and shall have power to punish them for disorderly behavior, or misconduct, by censure, fine, imprisonment, or expulsion; but no member shall be expelled, except by a vote of two-thirds of the House to which he belongs."

This language is to be compared with Art. I, § 5, Clauses 1 and 2 of the Constitution of the United States:

> "Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, . . ." (Clause 1)

> "Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member." (Clause 2)

The Georgia courts have consistently refused to take jurisdiction over controversies having to do with the qualifications of legislators. The Senate or House, as happened to be the case, was deemed to have exclusive jurisdiction under the Georgia Constitution.

Rainey v. Taylor, 1928, 166 Ga. 476, 143 S.E. 383; Fowler v. Bostick, 1959, 99 Ga. App. 428, 108 S.E.2d 720; and Beatty v. Myrick, 1963, 218 Ga. 629, 129 S.E.2d 764. This is the general law in this country. Indeed we believe that there is no case to the contrary, federal or state.

Plaintiff recognizes the separation of powers principle as such on both the federal and state levels. He argues however that it exsits on the state level only insofar as it does not conflict with the Federal Constitution and must therefore give way to First Amendment rights in view of the vertical application of those rights to the states through the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This is a correct statement of the law subject to whatever rights were left by the Fourteenth Amendment to the state legislative branches for control of their internal affairs under our system of federalism. We thus must measure Mr. Bond's freedom to speak in this frame of reference.

Before attempting to resolve this new and substantial constitutional question we must concern ourselves with the threshhold question, not asserted by plaintiffs, of whether the legislature had the power under the state Constitution or laws to bar Mr. Bond. Our distinguished and able Chief Judge is of the firm view that no such power existed. He seems to find the power of expulsion, but limits the power of judging qualifications to those expressed in the Georgia Constitution. We believe this to be a restrictive view, unfounded in recognized authority and not in keeping with our history or the principle of separation of powers.

Judge Story gave the reasons for vesting exclusive jurisdiction in the legislative branch in such cases (Story, Comm. on the Const., Vol. II, § 831, p. 294):

> It is obvious, that a power must be lodged somewhere to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of the members of each house composing the legislature; for otherwise there could be no certainty, as to who were legitimately chosen members, and any intruder, or usurper, might claim a seat, and thus trample upon the rights, and privileges, and liberties of the people. Indeed, elections would become, under such circumstances, a mere mockery; and legislation the exercise of sovereignty by any self-constituted body. The only possible question on such a subject is, as to the body, in which such a power shall be lodged. If lodged in any other, than the legislative body itself, its independence, its purity, and even its existence and action may be destroyed, or put into imminent danger. No other body, but itself, can have the same motives to preserve and perpetuate these attributes; no other body can be so perpetually watchful to guard its own rights and privileges from infringement, to purify and vindicate its own character, and to preserve the rights, and sustain the free choice of its constituents. Accordingly, the power has always been lodged in the legislative body by the uniform practice of England and America."

The Supreme Court in Re Chapman, 1897, 166 U.S. 661, 17 S.Ct. 677, 41 L.Ed. 1154, a case involving a senate investigation of the conduct of some of its members, said:

> "Under the Constitution the Senate of the United States has the power to try impeachments; to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; to determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member; and it necessarily possesses the inherent power of self-protection."

We believe a state legislative body necessarily possesses this same inherent power of self-protection if the separation of powers doctrine is to have any real meaning on the state level. And self-protection goes to the process of qualifications as well as expulsion.

In Hiss v. Bartett, 1855, 3 Gray 468, 63 Am. Dec. 768, the question concerned the legislative power to expel a member. The

Massachusetts Constitution contained no such power but did contain the power to judge returns, elections and qualifications. The court said:

> "The authority to be judge of the returns, elections, and qualifications of its own members, does not limit their power; they are judges in other respects, in all respects."

Art. I, § 5, of the United States Constitution, as noted, provides that each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members. Art. I, § 3 provides that no person shall be a representative unless he meets certain age, citizenship and residential requirements. In the Constitutional Convention there was an attempt to set up affirmative qualifications. During the debate on that draft which was later rejected, Mr. Dickinson of Delaware, opposed the formulation because it would be held to be exclusive. He stated that he was "against any recitals of qualifications in the Constitution. It was impossible to make a complete one, and a partial one would, by implication, tie up the hands of the Legislature from supplying omissions." Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania took the same view, saying: "Besides a partial enumeration of cases will disable the Legislature from disqualifying odius and dangerous characters." (Proceedings in Congressional Record, 80th Congress, First Session, January 3, 1947, Vol. 93, p. 12, Senate debate on whether Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was disqualified.)

By way of a historical precedent, Mr. Bilbo was denied his seat in the United States Senate because, among other reasons, his views regarding the right of Negroes to vote were repugnant to the oath he would be required to take. The Senate did not believe that it was limited to the qualifications expressed in the Constitution.

See Willoughby, The Constitutional Law of the United States, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 610, where after discussing in § 340 the subject of qualifications for membership being determined by Congress, the author states:

> "The instances which have been cited make it sufficiently clear that the Senate and House have repeatedly held it to be proper that they should consider whether or not persons should be admitted as Senators or Representatives even though possessing all of the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution for membership and bringing credentials in due form of their election."

In the case of Senator Reed Smoot of Utah who had been seated but whose qualifications to continue as a Senator were questioned, the investigation committee recommended that he be expelled either for reason of his membership in a church that countenanced and encouraged polygamy and united church and state contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, or because he had taken an oath of such a nature and character that he is disqualified from taking the oath of office required of an United States Senator. The question was raised concerning the ability of the Senate to add qualifications other than those enumerated in the Constitution and was answered in the report as follows:

> "If his conduct has been such as to be prejudicial to the welfare of society, of the nation, or its Government, he is regarded as being unfit to perform the important and confidential duties of a Senator, and may be deprived of a seat in the Senate, although he may have done no act of which a court could take cognizance." 1 Hind's Precedents, §§ 481-483.

This situation is analogous to the Georgia Constitution. There is nothing in it which limits qualifications of a legislator to those expressed therein. In point of fact there is at least one disqualification in the Georgia law which is not contained in the Constitution. Ga. Code, § 89-101, § 5, provides:

"The following persons are held and deemed ineligible to hold any civil office, and the existence of any of the following states of facts shall be a sufficient reason for vacating any office held by such person, but the acts of such person, while holding a commission, shall be valid as the acts of an officer de facto, viz:

* * *

"Persons of unsound mind, and those who, from advanced age or bodily infirmity, are unfit to discharge the duties of the office to which they are chosen or appointed."

The qualifications and disqualifications of legislators in the Georgia Constitution are not all inclusive. In sum, we find nothing that would compel the House to seat a member if a reasonable basis, within the context of due process of law as we shall next discuss, exists for the denial.

Having assumed jurisdiction, we come then to the main question of whether Mr. Bond was improperly denied his seat, but this question is prefaced by the test to be applied. With respect to the test, we hold that the free speech issue should be resolved in the context of giving effect to the separation of powers principle, and also our system of federalism to the extent that it permits self-government to the states under the supremacy of the Federal Constitution.

There is some authority for such an approach. On the federal level we have some guidance in the case of Barry v. United States, 1929, 279 U.S. 597, 49 S.Ct. 452, 73 L.Ed. 867. That case arose out of the refusal to seat Senator Vare because of alleged corruption in his election. The issue was over whether the District Court could grant relief to a witness who had been arrested by the Senate because he refused to testify at the subsequent inquiry. The

Supreme Court pointed out that the Senate was acting within its constitutional powers which were judicial in character and refused relief. It was said:

> "Here the question under consideration concerns the exercise by the Senate of an indubitable power; and if judicial interference can be successfully invoked it can only be upon a clear showing of such arbitrary and improvident use of the power as will constitute a denial of due process of law. That condition we are unable to find in the present case."

On the state level, with respect to state elections and thus giving effect to federalism but in no way involving the separation of powers principle, we begin with Wilson v. North Carolina, 1898, 169 U.S. 586, 18 S.Ct. 435, 42 L.Ed. 865. There the governor suspended a railroad commissioner and refused him a hearing. The Supreme Court refused relief. In Snowden v. Hughes, 1944, 321 U.S. 1, 64 S.Ct. 397, 88 L.Ed. 497, a candidate for the state senate alleged that the State Primary Canvassing Board denied him his rights under the equal protection clause by a willful, malicious and arbitrary refusal through a conspiracy to correctly certify the results of a primary election thereby eliminating him as a candidate. He brought his suit in the District Court under the Civil Rights Act of 1871. The Supreme Court refused relief on the ground that his case did not rise to the level of invidious, purposeful discrimination cognizable under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The applicable rule of the case is to be found in the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas, as follows:

> "My disagreement with the majority of the Court is on a narrow ground. I agree that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment should not be distorted to make the federal

courts the supervisor of the state elections. That would place the federal judiciary in a position 'to supervise and review the political administration of a state government by its own officials and through its own courts' (Wilson v. North Carolina, 169 US 586, 596, 42 L ed 865, 871, 18 S Ct 435) - matters on which each State has the final say. I also agree that a candidate for public office is not denied the equal protection of the law in the constitutional sense merely because he is the victim of unlawful administration of a state election law. I believe, as the opinion of the Court indicates, that a denial of equal protection of the laws requires an invidious, purposeful discrimination. But I depart from the majority when it denies Snowden the opportunity of showing that he was in fact the victim of such discriminatory action. His complaint seems to me to be adequate to raise the issue. He charges a conspiracy to wilfully, maliciously and arbitrarily refuse to designate him as one of the nominees of the Republican party, that such action was an 'unequal' administration of the Illinois law and a denial to him of the equal protection of the laws, and that the conspiracy had that purpose. . . ."

Snowden v. Hughes, as well as Baker v. Carr, supra, at least teach that there must be a showing of invidious, purposeful discrimination to give rise to relief under the equal protection clause. Here we have the due process clause and First Amendment rights. We think these cases show that some restraint is to be practiced by the courts in considering state political questions concerning particular offices as distinguished from whole systems such as are prevalent in malapportionment, or racial discrimination. If this premise be correct, then there is room for a balance between the separation of powers principle, a system of federalism and individual rights afforded under the federal Constitution.

Being of this view, we conclude that a reasonable test under circumstances such as are presented in this case would be to assume jurisdiction for the purpose of determining whether Mr. Bond

was denied due process of law, either procedural or substantive. Notice, an opportunity to be heard, to be represented by counsel, to testify and to offer evidence and to cross-examine adverse witnesses are envisioned in procedural due process. The transcript of the hearing which was held on the challenge to Mr.Bond demonstrates no absence of due process. It is true that there was no subpeona power but no request for an absent witness was made. We reject the contention that procedural or substantive due process was violated by allowing the challengers to vote. A holding to the contrary would do violence to the power to judge qualifications.

As to substantive due process, we conclude that there must be a rational evidentiary basis for the ruling of the House to deny Mr. Bond his seat. The act must not have been arbitrary.

Does the action rest on any evidence which would support the denial? Thompson v. Louisville, 1960, 362 U.S. 199, 80 S.Ct. 624, 4 L.Ed.2d 654; Garner v. Louisiana, 1961, 368 U.S. 157, 82 S.Ct. 248, 7 L.Ed.2d 207.

Mr. Bond's right to speak and to dissent as a private citizen is subject to the limitation that he sought to assume membership in the House. As such he was required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. This is a legitimate requirement. Indeed, the Federal Constitution requires it. Art. VI, § 3. One of the charges against him was that his statements were inconsistent with and repugnant to that oath. Was there any basis for this charge?

The SNCC statement is at war with the national policy of this country: To make certain that every citizen stands equal before the law; to make certain that every citizen has a fair chance

to benefit in the freedom and opportunities and bounties of this country; to export these same principles of democracy to the balance of the world wherever and whenever possible, even to the extent of lending military assistance where self-determination is denied in order that those denied may choose freedom if they so desire. A citizen would not violate his oath by objecting to or criticizing this policy or even by calling it deceptive and false as the statement did.

But the statement does not stop with this. It is a call to action based on race; a call alien to the concept of the pluralistic society which makes this nation. It aligns the organization with ". . . colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodsia . . ." It refers to its involvement in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination . . .". It states that "Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law." It alleges that Negroes, referring to American servicemen, are called on to stifle the liberation of Viet Nam.

The call to action, and this is what we find to be a rational basis for the decision which denied Mr. Bond his seat, is that language which states that SNCC supports those men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft. The fact that the last paragraph calls on them to devote their energies to the alternative of working in the civil rights movement in no way avoids the fact that the organization offers support to men who are unwilling to respond to a military draft. Cf. Gara v. United States, 6 Cir., 1949, 178 F.2d 38.

Mr. Bond was careful to affirm this statement. He went further, and he was more than a private citizen; he was an officer and employee of SNCC and was about to become a member of the House of Representatives of Georgia. He stated that he admired the courage of anyone who burned his draft card. He stated that as a pacifist he was eager and anxious to encourage people not to participate in the war in Viet Nam or in any other war for any reason that they choose, and lastly, he stated that, as a second class citizen, he did not think that he had the requirement to support the war in Viet Nam.

The Congress has the obligation under the Federal Constitution for providing for the common defense of this nation. The Selective Service System is a part of that defense. We are committed in Viet Nam. The Congress approved this course in Public Law 88-408, August 10, 1964, wherein the president was empowered to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression from the campaign being waged by the ". . . Communist regime in North Vietnam." This resolution states that the United States ". . . regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in Southeast Asia."

Whether Mr. Bond should have been seated was a question which presented itself to the House of Representatives of Georgia under our system. Whether the wisest course was followed is not for us to say. The judgment of the court is not to be substituted for that of the House. Our function is to determine whether he has been denied some fundamental federal right to which he was otherwise entitled. We find and hold that his statements and affirmation of the SNCC statement as they bore on the functioning of

the Selective Service System could reasonably be said to be inconsistent with and repugnant to the oath which he was required to take. This suffices as a rational basis for the action of the House. The fact that the statement was otherwise freighted with racial overtones and was at variance with the established national concept of a country accommodating all nationalities and ethnic groups is a part of the basis of our holding only insofar as it relates to the call not to support the Selective Service System.

The charge that the constitutional provision of Georgia authorizing the House to judge the qualifications of its members and the House rule embodying it are unconstitutionally vague is without merit. It follows from what we have said that neither was unconstitutionally applied to Mr. Bond. It also follows from what we have said that the resolution denying Mr.Bond his seat was not an ex post facto law or a bill of attainder. To so hold in the face of a finding that there was a rational basis for the action of the House would be to destroy the constitutional power of judging qualifications.

All relief is denied and the complaint will be dismissed. Defendants may present a judgment accordingly.

This 10 day of February, 1966.

Griffin B. Bell
United States Circuit Judge

Lewis R. Morgan
United States District Judge

JULIAN BOND, ET AL v. JAMES "SLOPPY" FLOYD, ET AL., C.A. NO. 9895 - Three Judge Court

Judge Elbert P. Tuttle dissenting.

TUTTLE, Circuit Judge:

With deference I must dissent. I am convinced that Representative-elect Bond was illegally deprived of his seat in the House of Representatives of Georgia and that this court should so hold.

Julian Bond, the plaintiff in this action, was duly elected by the voters of his General Assembly District No. 136 as their representative in the House of Representatives of the Georgia General Assembly for the session commencing January 1, 1966. This is a one-year session, made necessary by this Court's previous decision requiring a reapportionment of the Georgia State Legislature.

Upon his presenting himself along with the other newly elected members of the House of Representatives, he was asked to step aside because challenges to his qualifications had been filed by some 75 members of the House. After the other members had been duly sworn in, a resolution protesting the seating of Representative-elect Bond was referred by the Speaker of the House to a special committee designated to hear the contest. The committee, after a hearing, recommended that he be not seated. This recommendation was accepted by the House, and he was denied his seat.

Since the first attack that is made is based upon the contention that the House exceeded its authority in voting to reject Bond, we turn first to a consideration of the provisions of the Georgia Constitution dealing with the qualifications and eligibility of members.

Article III, Section VII, Paragraph I, of the Georgia Constitution (§2-1001, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

"Election, returns, etc.; disorderly conduct. -- East House shall be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its members and shall have power to punish them for disorderly behavior, or misconduct, by censure, fine, imprisonment, or expulsion, but no member shall be expelled, except by a vote of two-thirds of the House to which he belongs."

Article III, Section VI, Paragraph I, of the Constitution of the State of Georgia (§2-1801, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

"Qualifications of representatives. -- The Representatives shall be citizens of the United States who have attained the age of twenty-one years, and who shall have been citizens of this State for two years, and for one year residents of the counties from which elected.

Article II, Section II, Paragraph I, of the Constitution of the State of Georgia (§2-801, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

"Registration of electors; who disfranchised. -- The General Assembly may provide, from time to time, for the registration of all electors, but the following classes of persons shall not be permitted to register, vote, or hold any office, or appointment of honor, or trust in this State, to-wit: 1st. Those who shall have been convicted in any court of competent jurisdiction of treason against the State, of embezzlement of public funds, malfeasance in office, bribery or larceny, or of any crime involving moral turpitude, punishable by the laws of this State with imprisonment in the penitentiary, unless such persons shall have been pardoned. 2nd. Idiots and insane persons."

Article III, Section IV, Paragraph VI, of the Georgia Constitution (§2-1606, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

"Eligibility; appointments forbidden. -- No person holding a military commission, or other appointment, or office, having any emolument, or compensation annexed thereto, under this State, or the United States, or either of them except Justices of the Peace and officers of the militia, nor any defaulter for public money, or for any legal taxes required of him shall have a seat in either house; nor shall any Senator, or Representative, after his qualification as such, be elected by the General Assembly, or appointed by the Governor, either with or without the advice and consent of the Senate, to any office or appointment having any emolument annexed thereto, during the time for which he shall have been elected, unless he shall first resign his seat, provided, however, that during the term for which he was elected no Senator or Representative shall be appointed to any civil office which has been created during such term."

Article VII, Section III, Paragraph VI, of the Constitution of the State of Georgia (§2-5606, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

> "Profit on public money. -- The receiving, directly or indirectly, by any officer of State or county, or member or officer of the General Assembly of any interest, profits or perquisites, arising from the use or loan of public funds in his hands or moneys to be raised through his agency for State or county purposes, shall be deemed a felony, and punishable as may be prescribed by law, a part of which punishment shall be a disqualification from holding office."

Article III, Section IV, Paragraph V, of the Georgia Constitution (§2-1605, Ga. Code Ann.) provides as follows:

> "Oath of members. -- Each senator and Representative, before taking his seat, shall take the following oath, or affirmation, to-wit: 'I will support the Constitution of this State and of the United States, and on all questions and measures which may come before me, I will so conduct myself, as will, in my judgment, be most conducive to the interests and prosperity of this State."

The foregoing provisions of the Georgia Constitution are the only stated qualifications or rules of eligibility contained in the State Constitution touching on the membership in either the Senate or the House of Representatives of the Georgia General Assembly.

Julian Bond was denied the right to take his oath as an elected member of the Georgia House of Representatives by a resolution adopted by the said House on January 10, 1966, which said resolution was in the following language:

> "Relative to the matter of the seating of Representative-Elect Julian Bond; and for other purposes.
>
> "WHEREAS, a special committee created pursuant to H.R.No. 7 which was appointed for the purpose of holding a hearing on petitions challenging and contesting the seating of Representative-Elect Julian Bond of the 136th District has conducted a hearing in said matter; and
>
> "WHEREAS, said committee has submitted a report in which it is recommended that Representative-Elect Julian Bond not be allowed to take the oath of office

as a Representative of the House of Representatives and that he not be seated as a member of the House of Representatives.

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES that the report of the aforesaid committee is hereby adopted and the recommendations contained therein shall be followed.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Representative-Elect Julian Bond shall not be allowed to take the oath of office as a member of the House of Representatives and that Representative-Elect Julian Bond shall not be seated as a member of the House of Representatives.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Clerk of the House is hereby instructed to immediately transmit a copy of the aforesaid report and a copy of this resolution to the Governor, to the Secretary of State and to Representative-Elect Julian Bond."

The said resolution expressly "adopted" the report of the special committee which was appointed for the purpose of conducting, and did actually conduct, a hearing on the matter of the challenge to the seating of Representative-Elect Bond. The report of the committee follows:

"The Special Committee appointed pursuant to H.R. #7 conducted a hearing on January 10, 1966, beginning at 2:30 o'clock p.m., in the chamber of the House of Representatives, State Capitol, on the matter of petitions filed challenging and contesting the seating of Representative-Elect Julian Bond of the 136th District.

"Based upon testimony and the evidence and documents before this Committee, the Committee recommends that Representative-Elect Julian Bond not be allowed to take the oath of office as a member of the House of Representatives and that he not be seated as a member of the House of Representatives.

"This 10th day of January 1966."

The contest which was thus submitted to the special committee, and thereafter decided by the House, resulted from charges and specifications filed by certain members of the House of Representatives in two separate petitions which, in essential part, are as follows:

PETITION I

"COUNT I

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an

organization and association of which Representative-Elect Julian Bond is a member, agent, and publicity director, has caused to be made certain statements concerning the position of the United States in the Viet Nam conflict, a copy thereof being attached hereto, marked Exhibit A and by reference made a part hereof, and the said Representative-Elect Julian Bond did publicly endorse, approve and confirm said statement.

"COUNT II

"Said representative-elect has said that he admires the courage of those persons who burn their draft cards.

1.

"The actions and statements of said representative-elect show that he does not and will not support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Georgia, as required by law (Constitution of Georgia, Article III, Section IV, Paragraph V (Code §2-1605)); Constitution of the United States, Article VI, Section 3.

2.

"By said actions and statements, said representative-elect adheres to the enemies of the United States and of the State of Georgia, contrary to the Constitution of Georgia (Article I, Section II, Paragraph II) and of the United States (Article III, Section 3, Cl. 1).

3.

"By said actions and statements, said representative-elect gives aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and of the State of Georgia, contrary to the Constitution of Georgia (Article I, Section II, Paragraph II) and of the United States (Article III, Section 3, Cl. 1).

4.

"Said actions and statements constitute a violation of the United States Code, Title 50, §462(a).

5.

"Said actions and statements constitute a violation of the United States Code, Title 50, §462(b), as amended.

6.

"The statements referred to above are reprehensible and are such as tend to bring discredit to and disrespect of the House of Representatives and constitute actions on the part of Representative-Elect Julian Bond sufficient to prevent him from being seated as a member of the House of Representatives.

7.

"Such actions and statements show that he is unqualified and ineligible to be a member of the House of Representatives."

EXHIBIT A TO PETITION I

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent with United States foreign policy on an issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to United States' involvement in Viet Nam on these grounds:

"We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been

deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

"We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

"We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by United States government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

"The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Ala., is no different than the murder of peasants in Viet Nam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case the United States government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

"Samuel Young was murdered because United States law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The United States is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires.

"We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

"We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

"We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of preserve freedom in the world' is a hypcritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies.

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Viet Nam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country.

"We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of a supposedly 'free' society where responsibility to

freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 percent of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Viet Nam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home.

"We ask, where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

"We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them lives -- as painfully as in Viet Nam."

PETITION II

"(1) That the Constitution of Georgia, Article III, Section VII, Paragraph 1 provides that each House shall be the judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its members,

"(2) That the Constitution of Georgia, Article III, Section IV, Paragraph 5, specifically requires each senator and representative, before taking their seat, to take the following oath or affirmation, to-wit:

> 'I will support the Constitution of this State and of the United States, and on all questions and measures which may come before me, I will so conduct my self, as will, in my judgment, be most conducive to the interest and prosperity of this State.'

"That the said Julian Bond has specifically and publicly endorsed in full a policy statement of an organization known as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which statement reads as follows:

> 'We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Viet Nam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country.'
>
> 'We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of a supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 per cent of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Viet Nam, to preserve a 'democracy' which does not exist for them at home . . .'

"We, therefore, encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives -- as painfully as in Viet Nam.'

"(4) That the said Julian Bond is not qualified under the Constitution of Georgia to take the oath as a Member of the House of Representatives representing the 136th Representative District of Fulton County, Georgia, inasmuch as his full endorsement of the aforesaid policy statement of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is totally and completely repugnant to and inconsistent with the mandatory oath prescribed by the Constitution of Georgia for a Member of the House of Representatives to take before taking his seat.

"(5) That the said Julian Bond cannot justly and honestly take the aforementioned mandatory constitutional oath which requires him to uphold the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Georgia, having endorsed the aforesaid subversive policy statement."

At the Committee hearing, the proponents of the contest sought to substantiate their claim by having played into the record a taped newscaster's interview with Mr. Bond which, although not made by him as a public statement upon his own initiative in the normal manner of making a hortatory expression, was made, it may be assumed, with the knowledge that it would be broadcast by the newscaster. The Committee also invited from Mr. Bond his comment. He stated to the Committee that he "did support" the statement of the SNCC, quoted above, in its entirety.

In support of the charge that Bond had "said that he admires the courage of those persons who burn their draft cards", the following question was asked: "Do you admire the courage of persons who burn their draft cards?" after which, the following question and answers occurred:

"A. I admire people who take an action, and I admire people who feel strongly enough about their convictions to take an action like that knowing the consequences that they will face, and that was my original statement when asked that question.

"Q. Do you still adhere to that statement?

"A. Yes, I do.

"Q. Let me see if I have your statement correct, that you admire people who are willing to take the consequences, to stand up for their principles, is that substantially what you said?

"A. That is correct.

"Q. And does that admiration of such people go to taking such a stand, when such a stand is in violation of a valid law of the United States?

"A. I have never suggested or counseled or advocated that anyone other person burn their draft card. In fact, I have mine in my pocket and will produce it if you wish. I do not advocate that people should break laws. What I simply try to say was that I admired the courage of someone who could act on his convictions knowing that he faces pretty stiff consequences.

"Q. So that you admire the courage of the persons in the given instance who burn their draft cards, or who were willing to take the consequences for burning their draft cards?

"A. That is right."

In a written response to the charges and during the proceedings Representative Bond stated his willingness and desire to take the oath to support the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Georgia as prescribed by the Georgia Constitution.

It is clear that the refusal to seat this elected representative was upon the charge, adequately proven, of his stated support in an interview with a newsman and subsequently in the corridor of the House of Representatives (after the challenge had been referred to the Committee) of the SNCC

statement and his views touching on the draft card matter.

The suit before us challenges the authority of the House of Representatives, under the provision making it "the Judge of the . . . qualifications of its members" to deny an elected member, the right to be seated for any lack of qualifications not specifically prescribed in the Georgia Constitution. Further, the complaint asserts that the actual ground of his rejection as a member was the disapproval by the House of his conduct, to-wit: the expression of the extremely unpopular (characterized as illegal and disloyal by the proponents of the contest) views as above set out; that a denial of his seat because of such conduct constitutes an abridgment by the State of Georgia of Bond's freedom of speech in violation of the guarantee of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, which guarantee is made effective as against State action by "absorption" into the guarantee of due process by the Fourteenth Amendment. See Palko v. Connecticutt, 302 U.S. 319, 324, 326.

The complaint requires the convening of a three-judge District court under Title 28, Section 2281, United States Code Annotated, because it charges that if Article III, Section VII, Paragraph 1 of the Georgia Constitution, supra (making each House the judge of the qualifications of its members), is construed in the manner in which it was applied in this case, then the said Section of the Georgia Constitution is invalid under the Fourteenth Amendment. Once convened properly, such a court has jurisdiction to decide every question involved in the litigation, state as well as federal. Missouri v. Brashear Freight Lines, 312 U.S. 621; R.R. Comm. of Calif. v. Pacific Gas & Electric Company, 302 U.S. 388.

It is a basic principle of jurisprudence that if, by construction of a statute in a manner that will make it constitutional, this avoids the question whether the statute, differently construed, would be unconstitutional, a court should first construe the statute with an eye to the avoiding of the constitutional question if possible. See Rescue Army, et al, v. Municipal Court of Los Angeles, 331 U.S. 549, 568, et seq.

Thus, we look first to determine whether the challenged provision of the Georgia Constitution may properly be construed so as to permit the unseating of Representative-Elect Bond on the grounds stated. Of course, if the Georgia Supreme Court had construed the statute in such a manner this construction of the Georgia Constitution would be binding on us. The Court has not so construed it.

The State of Georgia claims that, at least within the factual context of this contest, the power of the House of Representatives to judge Bond's qualifications is "plenary." It offers, in support of this proposition, three Georgia Court decisions: Rainey v. Taylor, 166 Ga. 476 (1928); Beatty v. Myrick, 218 Ga. 629 (1963); and Fowler v. Bostick, 99 Ga. App. 428 (1959).

In point of fact, in none of these Georgia decisions did the court determine that the House or Senate had absolute and final jurisdiction to judge whether the contesting parties lacked qualifications <u>which are not expressly stated as "qualifications" or rules of "eligibility" in the Georgia Constitution</u>.

The Rainey case dealt with a charge by one Taylor, in a quo warranto proceeding against Rainey, that Rainey was, at the time of his election to the Georgia General Assembly, an acting superintendent of Schools. It being provided in the Georgia Constitution that the "qualifications of members" is to be decided by the House of Representatives, and, the Constitution in what is now Section 2-1606, quoted supra, providing that the holder of another state office "shall not have a seat in either House," it was a question for the General Assembly to judge whether Rainey was disqualified under a stated ground in the constitution. The Court merely held that a rule of "eligibility" was comprehended within the term "qualifications."

In the subsequent case of Beatty v. Myrick, in a headnote opinion, the Supreme Court of Georgia stated that the question was which of two named candidates was legally elected to represent the Third Senatorial District in the State Senate. There was thus no question of testing the "qualifications" of the senator-elect. It was simply a matter of judging who was the winner of the election. This question is expressly confided by the Constitution to the State Senate.

Fowler v. Bostick was in all respects similar to the Rainey case. It was an action for a declaratory judgment seeking to disqualify Bostick as ineligible to be seated as Representative of Tift County because he was, at the time, alleged to hold the office of Clerk of the Superior Court of Tift County. Here, as in Rainey, the court was asked to determine whether an elected member met the qualifications expressly stated in the Georgia Constitution. Of course, no

criticism can be made of such a decision as these three by the Georgia courts. The question, not before the Court there, is whether, under the Georgia Constitution, the Legislature can find a lack of qualifications beyond those expressly provided for in the Constitution itself and as set out above.

In the absence of a strong showing of judicial interpretation to the contrary, it would seem that simple justice would require a holding that where specific qualifications are stated for an office and the Legislature is given the power to judge whether an aspirant for the office is "qualifield", the legislature, as judge, should be required to look to the stated qualifications as the measuring stick. To hold to the contrary and permit the House as judge to go at large in a determination of whether Representative-Elect "A" meets undefined, unknown and even constitutionally questionable standards shocks not only the judicial, but also the lay sense of justice.

It can be readily understood why there are few legal precedents to give guidance in such a situation. In the first place, it can be assumed that members of a state or national legislature are prone to recognize the right of the electorate to choose as their representative whom they want to serve them. Thus, there may not be expected to be many clear precedents. Further it is readily apparent that in those cases in which a legislative body has exceeded its authority the shortness of the term of office may make moot any contest in court.

Nevertheless, there are some legislative precedents. In a New York state general election held on November 4, 1919, five members of the Socialist party were elected as members of the General Assembly of the State of New York.

They appeared and took the oath of office, and thereupon, as soon as the House was organized, a motion was made to deprive them of their rights to participate, or, in other words, to expel them from membership in the House. A resolution for such expulsion was submitted and referred to a committee which conducted hearings resulting in a resolution to expel, and the members were later, by action of the Legislature, expelled from membership.

During the pendency of the hearings, the annual meeting of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York adopted a resolution authorizing appointment of a committee "to appear before the Assembly or its Judiciary Committee and take such action as may in their judgment be necessary to safeguard and protect the principles of representative government guaranteed by the Constitution, which are involved in the proceedings now pending."

This Committee, under the Chairmanship of Honorable Charles E. Hughes, a former Governor of the state of New York and a former member of the United States Supreme Court who resigned to be a candidate for the presidency of the United States in the elections in 1916, and who later was reappointed to the Supreme Court of the United States and became Chief Justice, and including in its membership Honorable Joseph M. Proskauer, later an eminent New York Supreme Court Justice, and Honorable Ogden L. Mills, who later became Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, (the other members, Honorable Morgan J. O'Brien and Honorable Louis Marshall, all doubtless men of similar public spirit and competence, but their names do not at the moment call to mind the character of their other public service) filed a careful brief, because, as the Committee said, they regarded "these proceedings as inimical to our institutions,

because they tend to subvert the very foundation upon which they rest -- representative government." In the course of the discussion of the situation then pending, the Committee made it plain that the action was an action for expulsion rather than an action to determine the qualifications of the members under the provisions of the New York Constitution similar to that of the State of Georgia. In pointing to the reason why they considered the proceedings not a testing of "the qualifications" of the members, they cited from the proceedings of the United States Senate, in which Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, was the subject of proceedings attacking his membership in the United States Senate on the charge that he was one of the twelve apostles of the Mormon Church, and, therefore, a prominent member of the hierarchy, and, though not a polygamist, sanctioned polygamy, a practice prohibited by the organic act of Congress admitting Utah as a state.

In the course of the Smoot proceedings, Senator Philander C. Knox, a distinguished Senator from the state of Pennsylvania, discussed the question of testing the qualifications of a member of the Senate under the United States Constitutional provisions that are similar to those in Article III, Section V, etc., set out above. His statement is a complete answer to the claim that a legislature may require any qualifications it chooses. Senator Knox said:

> "I have intentionally referred to the proposed action against Senator Smoot as expulsion. I do not think the Senate will seriously consider that any question is involved except one of expulsion, requiring a two-thirds vote.[1] There is no question as to Senator Smoot possessing the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution and therefore we cannot deprive him of his seat by a majority vote. He was, at the time of his election, over 30 years of age and had been nine years a citizen

1. Under the United States Constitution, a majority of the Senate could find a Senator not qualified, whereas it required a two-thirds vote to expel a member. This is similar to the Georgia Constitution.

of the United States, and when elected was an inhabitant of Utah. These are the only qualifications named in the Constitution, and it is not in our power to say to the States, 'these are not enough; we require other qualifications,' or to say that we cannot trust the judgment of the states in the selection of Senators, and we, therefore, insist upon the right to disapprove them for any reason. This claim of right to disapprove is not even subject to any rule of the Senate specifying additional qualifications of which the states have notice at the time of selecting their senators, but it is said to be absolute in each case as it arises, uncontrolled by any canon or theory whatever . . . . Subject to these limitations imposed by the Constitution, the states are left untrammeled in their right to choose their senators." (Underscoring supplied.)

The record discloses that the Senate declined to expel or otherwise deny Senator Smoot his right to sit. However, the five members of the New York State Legislature, whose cause was so eloquently presented by the Hughes Committee, did not fare so well. They were denied their seats.

Expressing their own views again on the question of the power of the Legislature to disqualify a member for grounds other than those stated in the Constitution, the Hughes Committee stated:

"We contend that the opinion expressed by Senator Knox in the case of Senator Smoot, supra, correctly defines what is meant by qualification. The constitution expressly specifies a number of disqualifications [as is also true in the Georgia Constitution] . . . The principle of constitutional interpretation applicable to this phase of the subject was elaborated in classic phrase by Chancellor Sanford in Barker v. People, 3 Cowen, 703, which, although decided in 1824, and therefore involving the interpretation of an earlier Constitution, is nevertheless as applicable in principle to the present Constitution: 'Eligibility to public trust, is claimed as a constitutional right, which cannot be abridged or impaired. The Constitution established and defines the right of suffrage; and gives to the electors and to their various authorities, the power to confer public trust . . . . Excepting particular exclusions thus established, the electors and the appointing authorities are, by the Constitution wholly free to confer public stations upon any person, according to their pleasure. The Constitution giving the right of election and the right of appointment;

these rights consisting essentially in the freedom of choice; and the Constitution also declaring, that certain persons are not eligible to office; it follows from these powers and provisions, that all other persons are eligible. Eligibility to office is not declared as a right or principle, by any expressed terms of the Constitution; but it results, as a just deduction, from the expressed powers and provisions of the system. The basis of the principle, is the absolute liberty of electors and the appointing authorities, to choose and to appoint any person, who is not made ineligible by the Constitution . . . I, therefore, conceive it to be entirely clear that the Legislature cannot establish arbitrary exclusions from office or any general regulation requiring qualifications, which the Constitution has not required.' . . . He would be indeed a bold individual who would assert that any American Legislative body can set up an arbitrary standard of qualification of its members that finds no sanction in the general will of the people and that is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution . . . ." Brief of Special Committee appointed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, January 20, 1920. (Underscoring supplied.)

A number of actions of the United States House of Representatives or the United States Senate are cited by the State as illustrative in its argument that the term "qualification," is broad enough to encompass a test of the representative elect's general character and loyalty. Based upon the excerpts from these cases as contained in the State's brief, each of them is to be distinguished.

The first of these cases is that of Victor Berger, a Congressman from Wisconsin, who had served in the House from 1911 to 1913. In 1918, he was again elected to the 66th Congress. Before appearing to be sworn in, he was indicted by the grand jury in the United States District Court for the violation of the Espionage Act. He was found guilty and sentenced to 20 years [illegible] pending at the time he offered to [illegible] the United States [illegible]. The House of Representatives adopted the report of the Committee, which found that "the question was 'whether or not Victor L. Berger was guilty of a violation of the Espionage Act, whether

or not he did give aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States during the war with Germany [which, of course, in time of war, would amount to treason under the Constitution of the United States] and whether or not he was ineligible to a seat in the House of Representatives." The Committee found "after a careful consideration of all the evidence, in the opinion of your committee, the admitted acts, writings, and declarations of Victor L. Berger . . . giving such acts in the language of the writings and declarations their ordinary, everyday meaning, and without considering any other evidence, clearly establishes a conscious, deliberate and continuing purpose and intent to obstruct, hinder and embarrass the government of the United States and the prosecution of the war, and thus to give aid and comfort to the enemies of our country . . . ."

The United States Constitution, in describing the crime of treason provides that "the Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason," Article III, Chapter 3, Section 3[2]. Congress has determined that one of the punishments for treason is that "Every person so convicted of treason shall, moreover, be incapable of holding any office under the United States." This was the language of the statute that was in effect at the time of Berger's contest. The present counterpart is found in 18 U.S.C.A., §2381, in which it says that a person so convicted "shall be incapable of holding any office under the United States."

Thus, although he had been convicted of sedition and not treason, Berger's rejection by the House of Representatives was on a determination by the House that he had committed treason, which if found by a court would be a lack of qualifications prescribed by the United States Constitution. Although in the committee report, it was argued that the House was not limited to constitutionally defined "qualifications" in passing upon Berger's

eligibility, nevertheless the action of the House in rejecting him falls within the pattern of what is permissible under the principles discussed in the Hughes Committee Report, supra. There was no court test of this exclusion.

William Blount, of Tennessee, was expelled from the Senate after having been seated. He was expelled "for conduct inconsistent with his public duty, rendering him unworthy of further continuance of his present public trust." This action was taken under the provision of the United States Constitution which authorizes "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member." Article I, Sec. 5, Clause 2. It has nothing to do with Article I, Section 5, Clause 1, which provides that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members . . . ." This is an important distinction because the authority to expel, unlike the provision relating to qualifications, is not limited by any language in the Constitution prescribing the grounds for expulsion.

John Smith, of Ohio, was cited for treason and misdemeanor as an accomplice of Aaron Burr. The Senate voted 19 for expulsion and 10 against. On the resolution failing to secure the necessary two-thirds, Smith retained his seat. Here, again, it was an action of expulsion. It is no precedent for giving "plenary" power to judge qualification.

John M. Niles, of Connecticut, was examined before taking the oath of office as to his mental capacities. The Committee found that he suffered under a mental physical debility, but that he was able to perform his duties, and he was seated. Of course, as noted above, insanity is a qualification by the Georgia Constitution for members of the House and Senate of this State.

John D. Bright, of Indiana, was expelled because it was found that he had written a certain letter to assist a member of the Confederate states to buy firearms. Note again that this was a matter of expulsion for an act of misconduct while a member and not a matter of determining qualification to be seated.

Joshua Hill and H.V.M. Miller, of Georgia, were refused seats in the United States Senate because of the manner in which the Georgia General Assembly, which had elected Hill and Miller, was conducting its elections. (Of course, this was at a time prior to the adoption of the 16th Amendment, and senators were elected by the State Legislatures.) This, of course, went directly to the question of judging "the election," which is expressly authorized by the United States and Georgia Constitutions. The Reed Smoot case has been discussed previously. It was again, a question of expelling a senator and not one of passing on his qualifications at the time he presented himself.

The most recent case involved Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, who was not administered the oath pending an investigation of charges that his actions dealing with racial policies were said to be "contrary to the public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taint [sic] with fraud and corruption of the credentials."

If a substantial part of the charge was the question of fraud and corruption of the credentials, this, of course, would be a matter of judging "the election," which is specifically authorized. In any event, Senator Bilbo was forced to step aside for an operation and he died before action was taken on his seating.

In 1926, William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, were refused seats for excessive expenditures during their respective election campaigns. Once again this was a question of judging "the election," authority for which is expressly given to the Senate.

If there are other cases involving action by the United States Congress in which it is expressly shown that it has assumed the right to expand the list of qualifications beyond those stated in the United States Constitution, they have not been brought to our attention.

It is quite difficult to ascertain from available materials, which, if any, state cases cited in the briefs of the parties were decided on a basis that explicitly shows that a state House or a state Senate has considered that it can determine a prospective member to be not qualified for grounds other than those stated in the respective constitutions as the qualifications or basis of eligibility for the office.

Representative-Elect Bond was not challenged on the ground that he was not 21 years of age; that he had not been a citizen of the State for the requisite two years and a resident of the county from which he was elected. Nor was he challenged on the ground that he had been convicted of treason against the state, embezzlement of public funds, misfeasance in office, bribery or larceny or any crime punishable by the laws of the state, punishable with imprisonment in the penitentiary. He was not charged with having received any interest, profit or perquisite arising from the use or loan of public funds. He offered to take the prescribed oath of office.

Since it cannot be claimed that he was found

disqualified on some ground other than those of which he was charged, as this would be the clearest sort of deprivation of due process guaranteed not only by the United States Constitution, but also by the Georgia Constitution as well, Article I, Section I, Paragraph III, Constitution of the State of Georgia, Section 2-103, Ga. Code Ann., it is clear that Bond was found disqualified on account of conduct not enumerated in the Georgia Constitution as a basis of disqualification. This was beyond the power of the House of Representatives. It runs counter to the express provisions of the Georgia Constitution giving to the people the right to elect their representatives, and limiting the Legislature in its right to reject such elected members to those grounds which are expressly stated in Georgia's basic document.

As pointed out above, no Georgia decision has held that the courts of this state are helpless to intervene where a House of the Legislature undertakes to disqualify a person on a ground not specified. The decisions thus far reach only the proposition that where the Georgia Constitution authorizes the House to pass upon the qualifications of its members, all of the provisions in the Constitution touching on qualifications may be considered by the House in determining whether a member-elect meets the specified standards. In view of my conclusion that the action of the lower house of the General Assembly was in violation of the State Constitution, it would seem that Article I, Section IV, Paragraph II, would come into play. This section provides: "Legislative Acts in violation of this Constitution, or the Constitution of the United States, are void, and the judiciary shall so declare them." Section 2-402, Ga. Code Ann. Since, therefore, a Georgia court is given the authority to declare such an act void, as in violation of the Georgia

Constitution, pendent jurisdiction places this obligation upon this Court.

While it might be argued that, under normal circumstances, if there were nothing before this Court other than the charge that the State Legislature violated the Georgia Constitution, rules of comity might require that this Court refrain from assuming jurisdiction over such a controversy, this is not such a case. If we were to refrain from acting on the State constitutional question, we would then be faced squarely with the necessity of deciding the grave Federal constitutional question. That question is, whether the plaintiff has been deprived of his First Amendment rights by the action of the Georgia House. The gravity of that question cannot be doubted, since it is clear that it was for expression of his views that Bond was denied his seat. In view of the fact that all of plaintiff's rights can be fully adjudicated by our construction of the Georgia Constitution itself, we need not, and, indeed, we should not, proceed to a consideration of the Federal constitutional issue.

I would find that the act of the Georgia House of Representatives was void as being in violation of the Georgia Constitution and would require that he be seated to the place to which he was elected.

The Supreme Court's "Modern Scientific Authorities" in the Segregation Cases

Let us consider the so-called modern authorities on psychology cited by the Court as its authority to change and destroy the constitutional guaranties of the reserved natural right of the people of the States of the Union to freedom of choice and of the States to regulate their public schools.

Speech of

Hon. James O. Eastland

of Mississippi

in the

Senate of the United States

Thursday, May 26, 1955

Not printed at Government expense

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1955

846518—54674

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1955

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, yesterday I submitted a resolution asking the Senate to endorse an investigation of the alleged scientific authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied to sustain its decision in the school integration cases of last year. As will be revealed in detail in my remarks, there is clear and unmistakable evidence that the Court chose to follow the insidious and false propaganda foisted by alien ideologies rather than rely on the Constitution as written, and long established legal precedents.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my resolution (S. Res. 104) be inserted in my remarks at this point of the RECORD.

THE RESOLUTION

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision on May 17, 1954, in the case of *Brown et al.* v. *Board of Education of Topeka et al.* and four related cases, which admittedly departed from the established law and precedents in declaring the "separate but equal" doctrine of separation of the white and black races was unconstitutional insofar as it applied to public-school facilities; and

Whereas this decision was based solely and alone on psychological, sociological, and anthropological considerations, in that the Court stated: "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority"; and

Whereas the footnote to the opinion lists six allegedly modern authorities and concludes with the sentence: "And see generally Mydral, An American Dilemma (1944)"; and

Whereas a provisional investigation of the authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied reveals to a shocking degree their connection with and participation in the worldwide Communist conspiracy, in that Brameld and Frazier, listed in the group of 6 authorities, have no less than 28 citations in the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives revealing membership in, or participation with, Communist or Communist-front organizations and activities; and

Whereas the book, An American Dilemma, was prepared by a Swedish Socialist, who declared in the book that the United States Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people"; and

Whereas this book was the result of collaboration between Mydral and certain alleged "scholars and experts" assigned him by the Carnegie Corp., of Alger Hiss fame; and

Whereas 16 of these so-called scholars and experts, who contributed to no less than 272 different articles and portions of the book, have been cited numerous times as members of Communist and subversive organizations; and

Whereas the citation of these authorities clearly indicates a dangerous influence and control exerted on the court by Communist-front pressure groups and other enemies of the American Republic and individual members thereof that is inimical to the general welfare and best interest of the Republic; and

Whereas this Senate, the 16 sovereign States whose constitutions were nullified by the illegal decision of the Supreme Court, and all of the people of the United States are now entitled to know beyond doubt and peradventure the complete extent and degree of Communist and Communist-front activity and influence in the preparation of the psuedo "modern scientific authority" which was the sole and only basis for the decision of the Supreme Court: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary should proceed under its presently constituted powers to investigate the extent and degree of participation by individuals and groups identified with the Communist conspiracy, Communist-front organizations, and alien ideologies, in the formation of the "modern scientific authority" upon which the Supreme Court relied in the school integration cases.

SUPREME COURT BRAINWASHED

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, somewhat more than 1 year ago I pointed out in an address on this floor that the Supreme Court had been indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups; that individual members of the Court were influenced by and were guilty of grossly improper conduct in accepting awards and emoluments from groups and organizations interested in political litigation before the Court and bent on changing and destroying our American way of life; that such reprehensible conduct placed a question mark by the validity and the integrity of their decisions in cases in which these groups were interested, of which the school segregation case is one.

Today, I am calling upon the Members of the Senate to consider an even more serious problem. The Court has not only arrogated to itself powers which were not delegated to it under the Constitution of the United States and has entered the fields of the legislative and executive branches of the Government, but they are attempting to graft into the organic law of the land the teachings, preachments, and social doctrines arising from a political philosophy which is the antithesis of the principles upon which this Government was founded. The origin of the doctrines can be traced to Karl Marx, and their propagation is part and parcel of the conspiracy to divide and destroy this Government through internal controversy. The Court adopts this propaganda as "modern scientific authority."

NO PRECEDENT EXCEPT IN RUSSIA

Mr. President, in the long legal history of this country, there has never before been a time when an Appellate Court or Supreme Court of the United States relied solely and alone on scientific authority to sustain a legal decision. I am informed that in the long history of British jurisprudence, there has never been a time when the high courts of England have resorted to such dubious authority, but that their decisions have been based on the law. Mr. President, my information is that the one time when the high appellate court of any major western nation has resorted to text books and the works of agitators to sustain its decision was when the high court of Germany sustained Hitler's racist laws.

What the Bar and the people of the United States are slow to realize is that in the rendition of the opinion on the school segregation cases the entire basis of American jurisprudence was swept away. There is only one other comparable system of jurisprudence which is based upon the winds of vacillating, political, and pseudo scientific opinion—the Peoples Courts of Soviet Russia. In that vast vacuum of liberty, the basis of their jurisprudence is the vacillating, ever-changing winds of pseudo authority. And that today is the basis of American jurisprudence as announced by a unanimous opinion of our Supreme Court.

SUPREME COURT ADMITS INCOMPETENCE

Justice Frankfurter handed down an opinion as late as April 28, 1952, with the concurrence of Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Burton, Minton, and Clark, in which he absolutely denied the competence of the Court to pass upon issues such as those presented in the segregation cases. He said:

Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution for problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of race, color, or religion. * * * Certainly the due-process clause does not require the legislature to be in the vanguard of science—especially sciences as young as human sociology and cultural anthropology. * * *

It is not within our competence to confirm or deny claims of social scientists as to the dependence of the individual on the position of his racial or religious group in the community.

The Supreme Court, unable to relate science to the fifth amendment, has done an unheard of thing. It has now found scientific authorities to attempt to sustain its view of what the 14th amendment should mean. Who are these authorities? From what background do they come? What has been the nature of their work and activities?

THE "MODERN" AUTHORITIES

Let us consider the so-called modern authorities on psychology cited by the Court as its authority to change and destroy the constitutional guaranties of the reserved natural right of the people of the States of the Union to freedom of choice and of the States to regulate their public schools.

K. B. CLARK

First, they cited one K. B. Clark, a Negro, so-called social-science expert employed by the principal plaintiff in the segregation cases, the NAACP, whose lawyer argued these cases before the Court. To say the least, it is the most unusual procedure for any court to accept a litigant's paid employee as an authority on anything, let alone as an authority on psychology, to put him above the Constitution itself.

THEODORE BRAMELD

Then, too, we find cited by the Court as another alleged modern authority on psychology to override our Constitution, one Theodore Brameld, regarding whom the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives are replete with citations and information. He is cited as having been a member of no less than 10 organizations declared to be communistic, Communist-front, or Communist dominated. His name has frequently appeared in the news columns of the Daily Worker.

Brameld, according to the Communist Official Daily Worker of February 28, 1949, signed a statement of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy defending the 12 Communist leaders.

Again, on December 10, 1952, the Daily Worker shows that Brameld signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

And, again, on February 10, 1938, the Daily Worker shows Theodore Brameld to have signed a letter in defense of the appointment of Simon W. Gerson, a Communist, to the staff of Stanley Isaacs.

His name appears on a brief submitted by Cultural Workers to the Supreme Court in October 1949, on behalf of the 10 convicted defendants engaged in the motion-picture industry, who were charged with contempt of a congressional committee for refusing to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party in response to committee questions.

He was affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown by the Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, which committee was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released on June 1 and September 21, 1948, and was redesignated by Attorney General Brownell, April 29, 1953, under provisions of Executive Order 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

346518—54674

He was listed by the Daily Worker on January 11 and 25, 1938, as a supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The American League for Peace and Democracy was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" and "was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International."

This is shown by report of Attorney General Biddle, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942; by report of Attorney General Clark—letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; and by Attorney General Brownell in his memorandum of April 29, 1953. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States," by its report of January 3, 1939, and other reports cited March 29, 1944.

Brameld was one of those who issued a statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated December 14, 1949, calling for an international agreement to ban the use of atomic weapons. But the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact to further the case of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign, according to a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, April 25, 1951.

He was a sponsor of the Midcentury Conference for Peace, May 29 and 30, 1950, which was cited by the committee as having been "aimed to assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

Brameld was a sponsor of the Conference of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held under auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, New York City, March 25–27, 1949. On April 19, 1949, the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Cultural and Scientific Conference as a Communist-front, which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

Brameld was a sponsor of a conference held October 9 and 10, 1948, by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which was cited as Communist-front in the same committee report on April 18, 1949.

In October 1936 he was a member of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, which organization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front on March 29, 1944.

In 1939, Theodore Brameld also was a sponsor of the Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, which was cited as Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report March 29, 1944.

There is the public record of Theodore Brameld, who was cited by the Supreme Court as a modern authority on psychology in support of its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954. This record not only was available to Chief Justice Warren and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court upon request, but this record of Brameld was made up partly by an Attorney General who is now a member of the Court which rendered that decision, and by official printed report of the administration of

346518—54674

Chief Justice Warren when he was governor of the State of California.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Also cited by the Court as one of its modern authorities on psychology to overthrow the accepted meaning of a provision of the United States Constitution was one E. Franklin Frazier. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives contain 18 citations of Frazier's connection with Communist causes in the United States.

He signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, hailing the War Department's order regarding commissions for Communists. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by the Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Commission on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist and, now listen, Mr. President, as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." On September 2, 1947, the special committee again cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Frazier was a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Frazier published a pamphlet entitled "Seeing Is Believing" in 1947, as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., of which he was a member.

The Council on African Affairs, Inc., was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

E. Franklin Frazier signed an appeal to lift the Spanish embargo sponsored by the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown by the Daily Worker of February 8, 1939. The Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front organization by the Special Committe on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

In 1946, evidence in the House Committee on Un-American Activities showed that Frazier was a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy which was cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization in a letter released April 27, 1949.

The same Frazier, as a member of the Civil Rights Congress, signed a statement defending the Communist Party, as shown by the Communist Daily Worker, April 16, 1947. The Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Congressional Committee, in its report of September 2, 1947, cited the group as "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

Frazier was named in the Communist Daily Worker of July 18, 1949, as one of the sponsors of a group defending the 12 Communist leaders on trial. The same information appeared on the back of a letterhead of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the

12 Communist leaders, dated September 9, 1949; and in the Daily Worker of October 3, 1949.

In 1947, Frazier was a member of the executive board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. By the Special Committee report of March 29, 1944, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist Front Organization; and on June 12, 1947, the Congressional Committee cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front organization "which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in Southern Welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

E. Franklin Frazier was a speaker at the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown by the Communist Daily Worker of January 23, 1937. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affilates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means. It was thus cited by the Attorney General in a letter released December 4, 1947. The group was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee in its report dated January 3, 1940.

Frazier's name appeared in a published signed statement in the Washington Post on May 18, 1948, as opposing the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill.

E. Franklin Frazier was a member of the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder, which was cited by the Attorney General as Communist, in a letter released April 27, 1949, and previously as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 24, 1942. The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the citizens' committee as a Communist-front organization.

Frazier was a sponsor of Social Work Today, in 1940, and he was one of those credited, by its publication in February 1942, as having made it possible for Social Work Today to strengthen and prepare itself for the supreme test. Social Work Today was cited as a Communist magazine by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944.

E. Franklin Frazier was one of those who signed a statement condemning the "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," as shown by the Communist Daily Worker of April 16 and 20, 1947.

Frazier wrote the book The Negro in the United States, which was favorably reviewed by the Communist social journals, The Worker and Daily People's World, on May 15, 1949, and July 28, 1949; and his book was advertised in the Communist Workers Book Shop Catalogs for 1949 and 1950. Incidentally, Frazier's Communist officially adopted book The Negro in the United States is the same book which was officially adopted and cited as authority by the United States Supreme Court in its racial integration public-school cases on May 17, 1954.

The same Frazier glorified the brazen Negro Communist Paul Robeson, according to the Communist Daily Worker of November 4, 1949, by stating at a public meeting in Turner's Arena "that in American culture the Negro male has never been permitted to play a masculine role. Robeson represents the Negro man in the masculine role as a fearless and independent thinker."

Frazier was vice chairman of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which was cited by the congressional committee, in its report of March 25, 1949, as a Communist-front organization.

E. Franklin Frazier was an endorser of the World Peace Appeal, in September

1950; he was a signer of the Stockholm World Appeal to Outlaw Atomic Weapons, in October 1950. The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950, as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal' "; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world." I refer to the congressional committee House report No. 378 on the Communist "peace" offensive, of April 1, 1951.

The same E. Franklin Frazier, according to the Communist official organs, Daily Worker, of October 19, 1950, and the Daily People's World, of October 23, 1950, was a sponsor of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress. In this connection, his photograph appeared in the Daily People's World. The congressional committee cited the World Peace Congress as a Communist front among the "peace conferences" which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as a part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact."

Frazier signed a letter by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, on March 30, 1950.

The congressional committee, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951, cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed to further the cause of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign.

The same E. Franklin Frazier, adopted by the United States Supreme Court as one of its leading modern authorities on psychology, was also a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which the Attorney General cited, in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, as subversive and Communist, and which the House special committee, in its report on March 29, 1944, cited as a Communist-front organization.

To round out his great career in the Communist cause, the same E. Franklin Frazier, according to the Communist official organ, the Daily Worker of March 5, 1951, signed a letter to President Truman, asking him to recognize the seating of the Communist Peoples Republic of China in the United Nations.

E. Franklin Frazier has been too prominently and frequently connected with Communist and subversive organizations for almost anyone in public life in Washington not to have been put on notice. Certainly, the highest Court of the land was more than careless in defending the Constitution by adopting E. Franklin Frazier as an alleged authority on modern psychology to override and overthrow the fundamental principles of our Constitution.

MYRDAL'S AMERICAN DILEMMA

The Court cited and adopted generally, and without reservation, as its leading authority on modern psychology, Myrdal's book An American Dilemma, when it said—and I quote from Chief Justice Warren's opinion: "And see generally Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 1944."

Let us take a look and see what the Court adopted as its leading authority on modern psychology as the basis for its racial integration decision, when it adopted Myrdal's An American Dilemma.

In 1937 the Carnegie Foundation brought over Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, pro-

fessor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the corporation as a social economist. He called himself a social engineer. He was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause. He admitted he had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States. He was hired to make an investigation of race relations in this country; was given an ample staff and funds for that purpose, and was told to publish his findings. On this project Myrdal naturally found himself in the company of those recommended by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger Hiss fame.

MYRDAL'S CONTEMPT FOR U. S. CONSTITUTION

Myrdal has an utter contempt for the principles upon which the United States was founded and for the political system to which the people adhere. It is incredible that the Supreme Court could have overlooked, if they read it at all, certain remarks that are contained in his book, on which the Court mainly bases its decision. Myrdal stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." This is purely Communist propaganda, which was cited by the Supreme Court, and on which the Chief Justice of the United States based a very far-reaching decision looking to the destruction of our form of government. I have often wondered what was the source of the pro-Communist influence in the Supreme Court.

Myrdal shows that he did not write this 1,400 page book himself. He hedged himself about with many self-imposed restrictions and "value premises," so that the book has no scientific validity, either from the standpoint of biology, sociology, or psychology.

THE COOPERATIVE SOCIAL EXPERTS

Myrdal shows that his book was the work of several so-called social experts furnished him by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger Hiss fame. It would be more in keeping with the facts, if, when Myrdal gave the names of most of these Carnegie Foundation "social experts," he had said that they were taken right out of lists of members of Communist and subversive organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our Constitution and the United States Government, because that is the actual fact.

If Chief Justice Warren had only taken the time and trouble to refresh his memory from his own State's officially printed reports and records of his own administration as governor of his own State, he would have found, and he can still find, the names of these Myrdal "social experts" in the fourth report on un-American activities in California, 1948, and the sixth report published in 1951 on Communist front organizations by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 and 1951 regular California Legislature, when the Chief Justice was governor of the State of California.

Certainly Judge Warren cannot claim unfamiliarity with his own State official reports on such an important subject.

I shall give 16 names furnished by the Carnegie Foundation as "social experts" to Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish "social engineer," for the writing of "An American Dilemma" adopted in full by the Court and their Communist connections according to the official 1948 California report, made at the time the Chief Justice was Governor of California.

The tenor of that book is to the effect that the American form of government has outlived its usefulness, and that the Constitution of the United States is a plot against the common people of this country. That was the message of the principal authority relied on by the Chief Justice of the United States in this far-reaching decision.

NAMES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The names and organizations with which the Myrdal advisers were affiliated are as follows:

Frank Boas was 1 of 17 liberal leaders who signed a letter addressed to American Civil Liberties Union, supporting the Soviet Union; chairman of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, successor to the Communist front, the Scientists' Committee; affiliated with the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; member of the American Committee To Save Refugees; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization; affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; affiliated with Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of the War; member of the Provisional Committee of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; on advisory board of Films for Democracy; member of John Reed Clubs; member of National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights; associated with National Federation for Constitution Liberties; affiliated with People's Peace; supported the Stalin-Hitler Line Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War; member of Russian War Relief, Inc.; signer of the statement defending the Communist Party; and listed as a well-known Communist and sponsor of Young People's Records.

All these Frank Boas organizations were shown to be Communist or Communist-front organizations in the official 1948 California report.

W. E. B. DuBois was a member of the National Committee of All-America Anti-Imperialist League; member of the American Committee for Indonesian Independence; affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; affiliated with Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; consultant to Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy; contributed to the Communist official organ, the Daily Worker; and a signer of the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union.

These organizations are listed as Communist or fronts:

Alain Locke was affiliated with American League for Peace and Democracy; sponsor of China Conference Arrangements Committee; sponsor of Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America; signer of Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union; among the instructors and guest lecturers of Jefferson School of Social Science; associated with National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; signer of Statement Defending the Communist Party; and member of Board of Sponsors of People's Songs, Inc.

All these are listed as Communist fronts and Communist organizations.

Ira dea Reid was affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; affiliated with Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; member of national board of National Share-Croppers Funds; and affiliated with National Citizens' Political Action Committee; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American League Against War and Fascism; Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder; National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

All these organizations are listed as Communist or Communist fronts.

Doxey Wilkerson was consultant to the Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, which is listed as a Communist-front organization.

Ruth Benedict, according to the Daily Worker of March 31, 1947, page 11, was the coauthor of a pamphlet The Races of Mankind, which the War Department banned.

Charles S. Johnson was national vice chairman of National Share-Croppers Fund; affiliated with American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born;

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist fronts.

Clark Foreman was one of the initiators of a National Congress on Civil Rights, out of which emerged the Civil Rights Congress; speaker at conference and vice chairman of National Committee To Win the Peace; and vice chairman of Progressive Citizens of America.

These organizations are listed as Communist fronts.

Arthur Raper was a member of national board of National Sharecroppers Fund; affiliated with Council of Young Southerners; League of Young Southerners; and Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

These organizations were listed as Communist fronts.

Lewis Webster Jones was national sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, successor to the discredited Communist front, the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Rose Nelson was listed as Communist or Communist fellow-traveler, and textbook writer for use in public schools.

Sterling Brown was affiliated with League of American Writers, which is a Communist-front organization.

Eveline Burns was listed as Communist, textbook writer, and member of Citizens' Committee for Better Education, a Communist front.

Thomas Jones was advocate of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, cited as a Communist-front organization.

T. Arnold Hill was cooperator-sponsor of Social Work Today which is a Communist periodical.

One of the so-called social scientists who also contributed to the writing Myrdal's An American Dilemma adopted by the Supreme Court as its authority on modern psychology, was none other than E. Franklin Frazier, whose 18 Communist organizations connections I have already given.

An American Dilemma was written in largest part by American Communist front members, such as E. Franklin Frazier, who contributed to 28 portions of the book, and W. E. B. DuBois, who contributed to 82 different portions of the book. Altogether the Communist front members identified with Myrdal's An American Dilemma contributed to 272 different articles and portions of the book officially adopted by the Communist Party and by the Supreme Court as its authority for its racial integration decision of May 17, 1954.

That is the true picture presented by an analysis from the records of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases.

How can the Court expect the American people to accept its decision to change the accepted meaning of the fundamental principles of our Constitution when its decision is contrary to every other decision of the United States Supreme Court on the same question, and when its decision is now based on its adoption of members of Communist organizations and Communist writings as its authority to change fundamental principles of the Constitution?

This same Gunnar Myrdal has recently appeared in the news as directing the staff of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in the preparation of a report regarding the foreign operation of the American Oil Industry. Myrdal's Commission feels that American oil companies "overcharged" their European customers for Middle Eastern oil, and hinted that some sort of international price control is the indicated remedy.

SATURDAY EVENING POST COMMENT ON MYRDAL

The Saturday Evening Post comments editorially that Myrdal is a Swedish Socialist. I quote:

The author of a report on the race problem in the United States. In the course of

this "monumental work" Myrdal described the adoption of the United States Constitution as "nearly a plot against the common people." It asks, Is Myrdal the best authority a U. N. agency could rely on for a complicated study of the oil industry?

It is a tragic commentary on the intelligence and judgment of the members of the United States Supreme Court that they would override the Constitution on the alleged evidence and opinion of such a "psychological" authority. It is the final indication as to the degree and extent that the Court has been "brainwashed" by pressure groups and is willing to sacrifice the people, the Constitution, and established law to communistic and socialistic dogma and principles.

Mr. President, it is evident that the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases was based upon the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and other enemies of the American form of government. The Chief Justice of the United States actually cites as authority for his decision a book, the thesis of which is that the Constitution of the United States is "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions" and its adoption was "nearly a plot against the common people." Our country has come to a sorry state of affairs when the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking for all the members of the Court, should cite, as his authority for a decision, a book compiled by an alien who advocates the destruction of the American form of government—the very form of government which this Chief Justice and this Court are sworn to uphold.

SOUTH WILL NOT OBEY DECISION

Mr. President, the question is asked, Will the South obey this decision of the Supreme Court? Who is obligated morally or legally to obey a decision whose authorities rest not upon the law but upon the writings and teachings of pro-Communist agitators and people who have a long record of affiliations with anti-American causes and with agitators who are part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country? From the beginning of the Republic, the judiciary, the Congress, the executive branch of the Government, and all the States have recognized that a State has the power under the Constitution to segregate children in its schools because of race. The Supreme Court of the United States has consistently so held throughout the years. Any person is credulous indeed to believe that southern people will permit all this to be swept aside by a Court who relies for its authority not upon the law but upon pro-Communist agitators and enemies of our system of government.

Mr. President, for the welfare of America, the resolution to investigate this setup should be adopted.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I wish to join the Senator from Mississippi in sponsoring the resolution.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I make the request in view of the fact that the Subcommittee on Internal Security has been making a study of the subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

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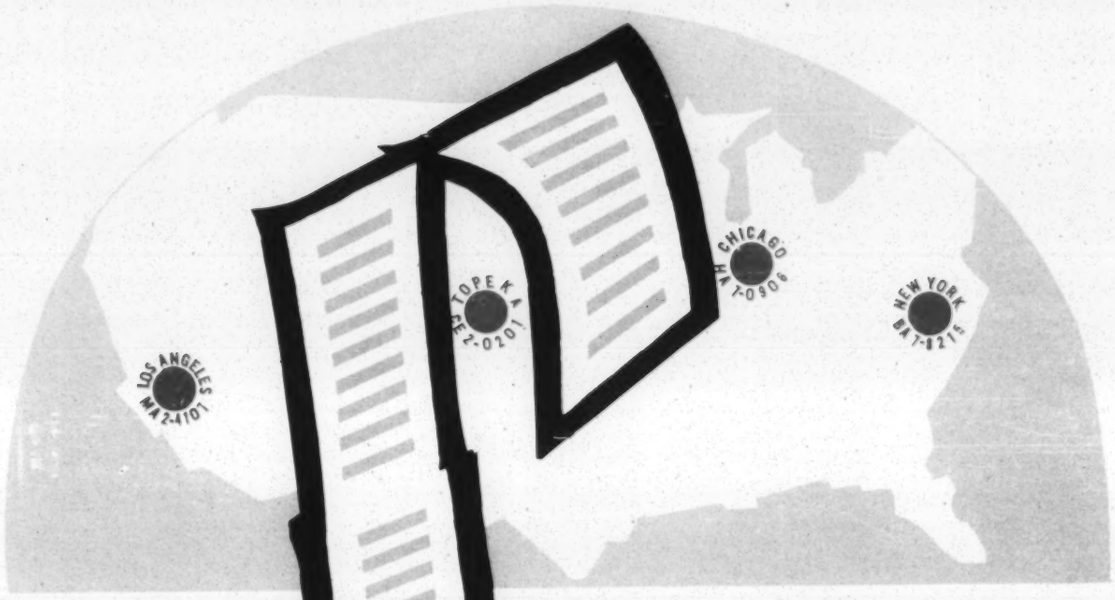

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE DIRECTORY

1962
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PRESENTS

A complete Directory of the 1,800 Daily Newspapers, 9,000 Weekly Newspapers, and 4,200 Trade & Consumer Magazines published in the 50 United States and District of Columbia. It is useful as a mailing list. It is useful as a check-list of the publications read by LUCE PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU. Additional copies may be secured without charge from any LUCE office.

TABLE OF CONTENTS — NEWSPAPERS

State	Daily Papers Page No.	Weekly Papers Page No.	State	Daily Papers Page No.	Weekly Papers Page No.	State	Daily Papers Page No.	Weekly Papers Page No.
Alabama	5	14	Kentucky	8	24	North Dakota	10	33
Alaska	5	14	Louisiana	8	24	Ohio	10	34
Arizona	5	14	Maine	8	25	Oklahoma	11	35
Arkansas	5	15	Maryland	8	25	Oregon	11	35
California	5	15	Massachusetts	8	25	Pennsylvania	11	36
Colorado	6	17	Michigan	8	26	Rhode Island	11	37
Connecticut	6	17	Minnesota	9	27	South Carolina	12	37
Delaware	6	17	Mississippi	9	28	South Dakota	12	37
District of Columbia	6	18	Missouri	9	28	Tennessee	12	38
Florida	6	18	Montana	9	29	Texas	12	38
Georgia	6	18	Nebraska	9	30	Utah	12	40
Hawaii	7	19	Nevada	9	30	Vermont	13	40
Idaho	7	19	New Hampshire	9	30	Virginia	13	40
Illinois	7	19	New Jersey	9	31	Washington	13	40
Indiana	7	21	New Mexico	10	31	West Virginia	13	41
Iowa	7	22	New York	10	31	Wisconsin	13	41
Kansas	8	23	North Carolina	10	33	Wyoming	13	42

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CATEGORIES OF MAGAZINES

(Page Numbers Shown in Parenthesis)

Accounting (54)
Advertising (43)
Agricultural Chemicals (50)
Air Conditioning (43)
Amusements (49)
Animals (54)
Architecture (44)
Army (54)
Art (57)
Automation (52)
Automobiles (43)
Aviation (44)

Baking (44)
Banking (45)
Barber (44)
Beauty Supplies (44)
Bedding (51)
Beer (44)
Beverages (44)
Boats & Boating (44)
Book Trade (43)
Bottling (44)
Boys' Clothing (57)
Building (44)
Business (45)
Business Machines (52)
Buses (56)

Cameras (54)
Candy (46)
Canning (51)
Carpets (51)
Cement, Etc. (55)
Cemetery (54)
Ceramics (46)
Chain Stores (56)
Chemical (46)
China (46)
Chiropractic (57)
Church (46)
Cleaning (47)
Clothing (57)
Clubs (47)
Coal (54)
Coin Machines (57)
Commercial (45)
Confectionery (46)
Construction (48)
Consumer (47)
Cosmetics (44)
Creamery (48)

Dairy (48)
Dental (57)
Department Stores (56)
Distilling (44)
Drugs (48)
Dry Goods (57)
Dyeing (47)

Education (58)
Electrical (48)
Electronics (48)
Engineering (48)
Entertainment (49)
Export (55)

Fabrics (56)
Farm Equipment (49)
Farm Publications (49)
Fashions (47)
Feed (50)
Fertilizer (50)
Films (49)
Financial (45)
Florists (50)
Food (51)
Food Processing (51)
Foreign Trade (55)
Forestry (53)
Fraternal (47)
Funeral Directors (54)
Fur Trade (51)
Furniture (51)

Gardening (50)
Gas (51)
Gifts (56)
Glassware (46)
Government (51)
Grain & Feed (50)
Grocery (51)

Hardware (52)
Health (57)
Heating (54)
Highways (48)
Hobbies (56)
Home Economics (52)
Home Furnishings (51)
Hospitals (57)
Hotels (52)

Ice & Refrigeration (43)
Imports (55)
Industrial (52)
Institutions (52)
Instrumentation (52)
Insurance (52)
Iron & Steel ((53)

Jewelry (53)
Journalism (43)

Labor (53)
Laundry (47)
Leather (53)
Legal (45)
Lighting (48)
Liquor (44)
Literary (43)
Livestock (49)
Luggage (53)
Lumber (53)

Machinery (53)
Manufacturing (52)
Marine (44)
Marketing (43)
Meat Packing (53)
Medical (57)
Men's Clothing (57)
Merchandising (56)
Metals (53)
Military (54)
Milk & Milk Products (48)
Milling (50)
Mining (54)
Mortuary (54)
Motels (52)
Motion Pictures (49)
Motorcycles (54)
Municipal (51)
Music (57)

Navy (54)
Novelties (56)
Nucleonics (52)
Nursery (50)
Nursing (57)

Office Equipment (54)
Oil (51)
Optical (54)

Packaging (54)
Painting (54)
Paper Industry (54)
Petroleum (51)
Pets & Pet Supplies (54)
Pharmaceutical (48)
Photography (54)
Plastics (54)
Plumbing (54)
Poultry (49)
Power (55)
Printing (43)
Produce (55)
Public Relations (43)
Public Utilities (51
Publishing (43)
Purchasing (55)

Radio (49)
Railroad (55)
Real Estate (55)
Recreation (55)
Refrigeration (43)
Religious (46)
Restaurants (55)
Roads (48)
Rock Products (55)
Rubber (55)

Schools (58)
Science (52)
Scientific Instruments (52)
Selling (55)
Shipping (55)
Shoes (53)
Soft Drinks (44)
Sports & Sporting Goods (55)
Stores (56)
Stationery & Office Supplies (54)

Telephone (48)
Telegraph (48)
Television (49)
Textile (56)
Theatre (49)
Tires (55)
Tobacco (56)
Toys (56)
Trailers (54)
Traffic (55)
Transportation (43)
Travel (56)
Trucks (56)

Undertakers (54)

Vending Machines (57)
Ventilating (43)
Veterinary (57)

Wall Paper (54)
Watches (53)
Waterways (44)
Wearing Apparel (57)
Welding (57)
Wines (44)

DAILY NEWSPAPER SECTION

ALABAMA (20)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Birmingham, News	E	188,000
	S	222,000
Birmingham, Post Herald	M	97,000
Mobile, Press	E	70,000
	S	88,000
Montgomery, Advertiser	M	65,000
	S	83,000

OTHER DAILIES (16)

Annistor., Star	E	20,000
	S	20,000
Cullman, Times Democrat	M	7,000
	S	7,000
Decatur, Daily	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Dothan, Eagle	E	24,000
	S	24,000
Florence, Times	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Gadsden, Times	E	25,000
	S	24,000
Huntsville, Times	E	31,000
	S	29,000
Jasper, Mountain Eagle	M	10,000
Mobile, Register	M	41,000
Montgomery, Journal	E	25,000
Opelika, News	E	5,000
Selma, Times-Journal	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Sheffield, Tri Cities Daily	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Talladega, Home	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Troy, Messenger	E	3,000
Troy, Herald (Sunday Messenger)	S	3,000
Tuscaloosa, News	E	18,000
	S	18,000

ALASKA (6)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Anchorage, Times	E	21,000

OTHER DAILIES (5)

Anchorage, News	E	12,000
Fairbanks, News Miner	E	10,000
Juneau, Empire	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Ketchikan, News	E	3,000
Sitka, Sentinel	E	1,000

ARIZONA (15)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Phoenix, Gazette	E	76,000
Phoenix, Republic	M	125,000
	S	185,000
Tucson, Citizen	E	36,000
Tucson, Star	M	37,000
	S	48,000

OTHER DAILIES (11)

Bisbee, Review	M	4,000
	S	4,000
Douglas, Dispatch	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Flagstaff, Sun	E	7,000
Mesa, Tribune	E	7,000
Nogales, Herald	E	3,000
Prescott, Courier	E	5,000
Scottsdale, Progress	E	6,000
Tempe, News	E	4,000
Tucson, Reporter		(N.A.)
Williams, News	E	9,000
Yuma, Sun	E	8,000
	S	8,000

ARKANSAS (36)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Little Rock, Democrat	E	88,000
	S	103,000
Little Rock, Gazette	M	89,000
	S	100,000

OTHER DAILIES (34)

Arkadelphia, Siftings Herald	E	2,000
Batesville, Guard	E	3,000
Blytheville, Courier-News	E	8,000
Camden, News	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Conway, Democrat	E	4,000
DeQueen, Citizen	E	1,000
Eldorado, News	M	11,000
	S	11,000
Eldorado, Times	E	4,000
Fayetteville, Arkansas Traveler	M	4,000
Fayetteville, Times	E	11,000
Forrest City, Times-Herald	E	4,000
Ft. Smith, SW American	M	18,000
Ft. Smith, Times Record	E	18,000
	S	32,000
Harrison, Times	E	3,000
Helena, World	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Hope, Star	E	4,000
Hot Springs, New Era	E	9,000
Hot Springs, Sentinel-Record	M	12,000
	S	16,000
Jonesboro, Sun	E	11,000
Magnolia, Banner-News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Malvern, Record	E	3,000
Mena, Star	E	1,000
Newport, Independent	E	2,000
Paragould, Big Picture	M	3,000
Paragould, Press	E	4,000
Pine Bluff, Commercial	E	19,000
	S	19,000
Rogers, News	E	4,000
Russellville, Courier-Democrat	E	3,000
Searcy, Citizen	E	3,000
Springdale, News	E	5,000
Stuttgart, Leader	E	3,000
Texarkana, Gazette	M	24,000
	S	28,000
Texarkana, News	E	7,000
West Memphis, Times	E	2,000

California (142)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (22)

Fresno, Bee	E	109,000
	S	129,000
Long Beach, Press-Telegram	E	111,000
	S	141,000
Los Angeles, Examiner	M	385,000
	S	678,000
Los Angeles, Herald & Express	E	365,000
Los Angeles, Mirror	E	304,000
Los Angeles, Times	M	532,000
	S	907,000
Oakland, Tribune	E	210,000
	S	238,000
Richmond, Independent	E	33,000
Sacramento, Bee	E	162,000
Sacramento, Union	M	56,000
	S	51,000
San Bernardino, Sun	M	47,000
	S	64,000
San Diego, Tribune	E	126,000
San Diego, Union	M	103,000
	S	209,000
San Francisco, News Call Bulletin	E	200,000
San Francisco, Chronicle	M	278,000
	S	315,000
San Francisco, Examiner	M	276,000
	S	483,000
San Francisco, Wall Street Journal (Pacific Coast Edition)	M	109,000
San Jose, Mercury	M	64,000
	S	101,000
San Jose, News	E	50,000
Santa Ana, Register	E	56,000
	S	65,000
Santa Rosa, Press Democrat	E	34,000
	S	36,000
Stockton, Record	E	59,000

OTHER DAILIES (120)

Alameda, Times-Star	E	9,000
Alhambra, Post-Advocate	E	13,000
Al Tahoe, Tribune	M	5,000
Anaheim, Bulletin	E	16,000
Antioch, Ledger	E	5,000
Bakersfield, Californian	E	42,000
Banning, Pass Observer	E	6,000
Banning, Record	E	5,000
Barstow, Desert Dispatch	E	4,000
Beaumont, Gazette	E	5,000
Berkeley, Californian	M	17,000
Berkeley, Gazette	E	15,000
Beverly Hills, Citizen	E	8,000
Boyes, Hot Springs Review	E	4,000
Brawley, News	E	4,000
Burbank, Review	E	5,000

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU—Publications List

CALIFORNIA
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Chico, Enterprise-Record	E	14,000
Colton, Courier	E	3,000
Colusa, Sun-Herald	E	3,000
Concord, Transcript	E	9,000
Corning, Observer	E	2,000
Corona, Independent	E	4,000
Costa Mesa, Pilot	E	13,000
Culver City, Star News	E	7,000
El Centro, Press	E	9,000
El Centro, Post	M	2,000
	S	9,000
Escondido, Times-Advocate	E	9,000
Eureka, Humboldt Standard	E	16,000
Eureka, Humboldt Times	M	13,000
	S	16,000
Fontana, Herald-News	E	5,000
Fullerton, News Tribune	E	15,000
Garden Grove, News	E	19,000
	S	19,000
Gilroy, Dispatch	E	3,000
Glendale, News-Press	E	23,000
Grass Valley, Union	E	5,000
Hanford, Sentinel	E	7,000
Hayward, Review	E	28,000
	S	29,000
Hollister, Free Lance	E	3,000
Hollywood, Citizen-News	E	36,000
Huntington Beach, Pilot	E	13,000
Huntington Park, Signal	E	25,000
Indio, News	E	6,000
Inglewood, News	E	12,000
Lancaster, Ledger-Gazette	M	8,000
Lodi, News Sentinel	M	8,000
Long Beach, Independent	M	39,000
Los Angeles, News	M	(N.A.)
Los Angeles, Journal	M	4,000
Los Angeles, New Japanese American News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Los Angeles, Southern California Trojan	M	6,000
Los Angeles, UCLA Bruin	M	17,000
Los Gatos, Times Observer	E	4,000
Madera, Tribune	E	4,000
Martinez, Contra Costa Gazette	E	7,000
Marysville, Appeal-Democrat	E	13,000
Merced, Sun Star	E	13,000
Modesto, Bee	E	36,000
	S	36,000
Monrovia, News Post	E	9,000
Monterey, Herald	E	23,000
Napa, Register	E	13,000
Newport Beach, Pilot	E	13,000
North Hollywood, Valley Times Today	E	48,000
Oceanside, Blade-Tribune	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Ontario, Report	E	21,000
	S	21,000
Orange, News	E	8,000
Oroville, Mercury-Register	E	6,000
Oxnard, Press-Courier	E	13,000
Palm Springs, Desert Sun	E	9,000
Palo Alto, Times	E	35,000
Pasadena, Independent	M	24,000
Pasadena, Star-News	E	38,000
	S	59,000
Paso Robles, Press	E	3,000
Petaluma, Argus Courier	E	5,000
Pittsburg, Post Gazette	E	6,000
Pomona, Progress-Bulletin	E	32,000
	S	31,000
Porterville, Recorder	E	4,000
Red Bluff, News	E	5,000
Redding, Record-Searchlight	E	15,000
Redlands Facts	E	6,000
Redondo Beach, Breeze	E	24,000
	S	24,000
Redwood City, Tribune	E	19,000
Riverside, Enterprise	M	24,000
Riverside, Press	E	31,000
	S	55,000
Roseville, Press-Tribune	E	3,000
Salinas, Californian	E	16,000
San Bernardino, Telegram	E	18,000
San Francisco, Commercial News	M	7,000
San Francisco, Golden Gater	M	5,000
San Gabriel, Valley Tribune	E	44,000
	S	45,000
San Jose, Post-Record	E	1,000
San Jose, Spartan Daily	M	7,000
San Leandro, News	M	10,000
San Luis Obispo, Telegram-Tribune	E	14,000
San Mateo, Times	E	31,000
San Pedro, News Pilot	E	15,000
San Rafael, Independent-Journal	E	28,000
Santa Barbara, News-Press	E	30,000
	S	32,000
Santa Clara, Journal	E	5,000
Santa Cruz, Sentinel	E	15,000
	S	15,000
Santa Maria, Times	E	12,000
Santa Monica, Outlook	E	27,000
Santa Paula, Chronicle	E	4,000
Sonora, Union-Democrat	E	3,000
Stanford, Stanford Daily	M	9,000
Sunnyvale, Standard	E	11,000
Taft, Midway Driller	E	4,000
Tulare, Advance Register	E	5,000
Turlock, Journal	E	5,000
Ukiah, Journal	E	4,000
Vallejo, News Chronicle	E	25,000
Vallejo, Times-Herald	M	25,000
	S	25,000
Venice, Vanguard	E	1,000
Ventura, Star-Free Press	E	24,000
Visalia, Times-Delta	E	10,000
Watsonville, Register-Pajoronian	E	8,000
Whittier, News	E	17,000
Willows, Journal	E	3,000
Wilmington, Press-Journal	E	5,000
Woodland, Democrat	E	5,000
Yreka, Siskiyou News	E	3,000

COLORADO (26)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Denver, Post	E	262,000
	S	340,000
Denver, Rocky Mountain News	M	172,000
	S	168,000

OTHER DAILIES (24)

Alamosa, Courier	E	3,000
Boulder, Camera	E	11,000
Boulder, Colorado Daily	M	10,000
Canon City, Record	E	4,000
Colorado Springs, Free Press	M	11,000
	S	11,000
Colorado Springs, Gazette-Telegraph	E	29,000
	S	30,000
Durango, Herald	E	4,000
	S	5,000
Fort Collins, S. C. U. Collegian	M	6,000
Ft. Collins, Coloradoan	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Ft. Morgan, Times	E	4,000
Grand Junction, Sentinel	E	16,000
	S	16,000
Greeley, Tribune	E	12,000
La Junta, Tribune-Democrat	E	4,000
Lamar, News	E	3,000
Leadville, Herald-Democrat	E	2,000
Longmont, Times-Call	E	5,000
Loveland, Reporter-Herald	E	4,000
Montrose, Press	E	3,000
Pueblo, Chieftain	M	23,000
Pueblo, Star-Journal	E	20,000
	S	41,000
Rocky Ford, Gazette	E	2,000
Salida, Mountain Mail	E	2,000
Sterling, Journal-Advocate	E	6,000
Trinidad, Chronicle-News	E	4,000

CONNECTICUT (27)

METROPOLITAN DALIES (4)

Bridgeport, Post	E	81,000
	S	71,000
Hartford, Courant	M	114,000
	S	153,000
Hartford, Times	E	124,000
New Haven, Register	E	99,000
	S	105,000

OTHER DAILIES (23)

Ansonia, Sentinel	E	14,000
Bridgeport, Telegram	M	13,000
Bristol, Press	E	14,000
Danbury, News-Times	E	21,000
Greenwich, Time	E	10,000
Manchester, Herald	E	13,000
Meriden, Journal	E	9,000
Meriden, Record	M	18,000
Middletown, Press	E	18,000
Naugatuck, News	E	5,000
New Britain, Herald	E	31,000
New Haven, Journal-Courier	M	26,000
New Haven, Yale Daily News	M	2,000
New London, Day	E	28,000
Norwalk, Hour	E	18,000
Norwich, Bulletin	M	27,000
	S	23,000
Stamford, Advocate	E	26,000
Storrs, Connecticut Campus	M	5,000
Torrington, Register	E	11,000
Waterbury, American	E	41,000
Waterbury, Republican	M	23,000
	S	49,000
Willimantic, Chronicle	E	7,000
Winsted, Citizen	E	4,000

DELAWARE (3)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Wilmington, Journal-Every Evening	E	73,000
Wilmington, News	M	32,000

OTHER DAILIES (1)

Dover, State News	E	11,000

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (4)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Washington, News	E	179,000
Washington, Post & Times-Herald	M	403,000
	S	457,000
Washington, Star	E	280,000
	S	313,000
Washington, Wall Street Journal	M	110,000

FLORIDA (45)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (10)

Ft. Lauderdale, News	E	64,000
	S	64,000
Jacksonville, Journal	E	106,000
Jacksonville, Times-Union	M	173,000
	S	177,000
Miami, Herald	M	305,000
	S	363,000
Miami, News	E	140,000
	S	122,000
Orlando, Sentinel	M	80,000
	S	107,000
Pensacola, Journal	M	51,000
	S	57,000
St. Petersburg, Times	M	112,000
	S	113,000
Tampa, Times	E	43,000
Tampa, Tribune	M	143,000
	S	161,000

OTHER DAILIES (35)

Brandenton, Herald	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Clearwater, Sun	E	23,000
	S	21,000
Cocoa, Tribune	E	5,000
Daytona Beach, Journal	M	28,000
Daytona Beach, News	E	23,000
	S	35,000
De Land, Sun-News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Ft. Myers, News-Press	M	18,000
	S	19,000
Ft. Pierce, News-Tribune	E	9,000
	S	8,000
Gainesville, Sun	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Hollywood, Sun-Tattler	E	16,000
Key West, Citizen	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Lakeland, Ledger	E	20,000
	S	21,000
Lake Wales, Highlander	E	3,000
Leesburg, Commercial	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Marianna, Floridian	M	3,000
Melbourne, Times	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Miami Beach, Sun	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Ocala, Star-Banner	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Orlando, Star	E	29,000
Palatka, News	E	5,000
Panama City, Herald	E	14,000
Panama City, News	M	7,000
	S	18,000
Pensacola, News	E	34,000
Pompano Beach, Sun Sentinel	M	8,000
Pompano Beach, Town News	M	13,000
	S	12,000
St. Augustine, Record	E	6,000
	S	7,000
St. Petersburg, Independent	E	34,000
	S	35,000
Sanford, Herald	E	6,000
Sarasota, Herald-Tribune	M	17,000
	S	21,000
Sarasota, Journal	E	7,000
Sarasota, News	E	11,000
	S	12,000
Tallahassee, Democrat	E	19,000
	S	19,000
West Palm Beach, Post	M	35,000
	S	45,000
West Palm Beach, Times	E	25,000
Winter Haven, News Chief	E	6,000
	S	7,000

GEORGIA (29)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (5)

Atlanta, Constitution	M	199,000
	S	502,000
Atlanta, Journal	E	259,000
Augusta, Chronicle	M	47,000
	S	58,000
Macon, Telegraph	M	44,000
	S	60,000
Savannah, News	M	56,000
	S	62,000

OTHER DAILIES (24)

Albany, Herald	E	28,000
	S	27,000
Americus, Times-Recorder	E	5,000
Athens, Banner-Herald	E	7,000
	S	8,000

GEORGIA
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Atlanta, World	M	29,000
Augusta, Herald	E	20,000
Brunswick, News	E	10,000
Cartersville, Tribune-News	E	4,000
Columbus, Enquirer	M	27,000
Columbus, Ledger	E	29,000
	S	49,000
Cordele, Dispatch	E	4,000
Dublin, Courier-Herald	E	6,000
Gainesville, Times	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Griffin, News	E	7,000
LaGrange, News	E	6,000
Macon, News	E	22,000
Marietta, Journal	E	13,000
	S	13,000
Moultrie, Observer	E	7,000
Rome, News-Tribune	E	13,000
	S	14,000
Savannah, Press	E	25,000
Thomasville, Times-Enterprise	E	8,000
Tifton, Gazette	E	9,000
Valdosta, Times	E	13,000
Waycross, Journal-Herald	E	10,000
West Point, Times-News	E	5,000

HAWAII (3)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Honolulu, Advertiser	M	64,000
	S	81,000
Honolulu, Star-Bulletin	E	105,000
	S	111,000

OTHER DAILIES (1)

Hilo, Tribune-Herald	E	10,000
	S	10,000

IDAHO (13)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Boise, Statesman	M	37,000
	E	11,000
	S	44,000

OTHER DAILIES (12)

Blackfoot, News	E	2,000
Burley, Herald Bulletin	E	3,000
Caldwell, News-Tribune	E	5,000
Coeur d'Alene, Press	E	6,000
Idaho Falls, Post-Register	M	5,000
	E	14,000
	S	20,000
Kellogg, News	E	3,000
Lewiston, Tribune	M	16,000
	S	17,000
Moscow, Idahonian	E	4,000
Nampa, Free Press	E	6,000
Pocatello, State Journal	E	12,000
	S	12,000
Twin Falls, Times-News	M	21,000
	S	21,000
Wallace, Press	E	3,000

ILLINOIS (85)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (14)

Bloomington, Plantagraph	E	40,000
	S	36,000
Chicago, Chicago's American	E	444,000
	S	558,000
Chicago, News	E	539,000
Chicago, Sun Times	M	566,000
	S	648,000
Chicago, Tribune	M	870,000
	S	1,187,000
Chicago Wall Street Journal (Midwest Edition)	M	211,000
Danville, Commercial News	E	35,000
	S	35,000
Decatur, Herald	M	36,000
	S	54,000
Joliet, Herald-News	E	34,000
	S	33,000
Peoria, Journal-Star	M	35,000
	E	66,000
	S	95,000
Quincy, Herald-Whig	E	33,000
	S	33,000
Rockford, Register-Republic	E	33,000
Rockford, Star	M	53,000
	S	71,000
Springfield, State Journal	M	52,000
	S	68,000

OTHER DAILIES (71)

Alton, Telegraph	E	33,000
Aurora, Beacon-News	E	30,000
	S	32,000
Beardstown, Illinoisian-Star	E	3,000
Belleville, News-Democrat	E	24,000
Belvidere, Republican	E	5,000
Benton, News	E	5,000
Cairo, Citizen	E	7,000
Canton, Ledger	E	10,000
Carbondale, Illinoisan	E	23,000
	S	23,000
Carmi, Times	E	6,000
Casey, Reoprter	E	2,000
Centralia, Sentinel	E	13,000
Champaign, Courier	E	32,000
	S	32,000
Champaign, Illini	M	3,000
Champaign, News-Gazette	E	30,000
	S	31,000
Charleston, Courier-News	E	4,000
Chicago, Calumet	E	12,000
Chicago, Defender	M	21,000
Clinton, Journal-Public	E	3,000
Decatur, Review	E	29,000
DeKalk, Chronicle	E	12,000
Dixon, Telegraph	E	10,000
DuQuoin, Call	E	6,000
East St. Louis, Journal	E	34,000
	S	34,000
Edwardsville, Intelligencer	E	7,000
Effingham, News	E	8,000
Eldorado, Journal	E	4,000
Elgin, Courier-News	E	24,000
Evanston, Northwestern	M	5,000
Flora, News-Record	E	4,000
Freeport, Journal-Standard	E	18,000
Galesburg, Register-Mail	E	22,000
Harrisburg, Register	E	6,000
Hoopeston, Chronicle-Herald	E	3,000
Jacksonville, Courier	E	7,000
	S	14,000
Jacksonville, Journal	M	7,000
Kankakee, Journal	E	27,000
	S	27,000
Kewanee, Star-Courier	E	12,000
LaSalle News-Tribune	E	16,000
Lawrenceville, Record	E	4,000
Lincoln, Courier	E	8,000
Litchfield, News-Herald	E	5,000
Macomb, Journal	E	11,000
Marion, Republican	E	5,000
Marseilles, Press	E	2,000
Mattoon, Journal-Gazette	E	10,000
Moline, Dispatch	E	29,000
Monmouth, Review Atlas	E	6,000
Morris, Herald	E	5,000
Mt. Carmel, Republican-Register	E	4,000
Mt. Vernon, Register-News	E	11,000
Olney, Mail	E	6,000
Ottawa, Republican-Times	E	13,000
Paris, Beacon-News	E	7,000
Paxton, Record	E	1,000
Pekin, Times	E	18,000
Peoria, Record	M	1,000
Pontiac, Leader	E	5,000
Robinson, News	E	6,000
Rock Island, Argus	E	26,000
Savanna, Times-Journal	E	2,000
Shelbyville, Union	E	4,000
Springfield, State Register	E	24,000
Sterling, Gazette	E	13,000
Streator, Times-Press	E	12,000
Taylorville, Breeze-Courier	E	7,000
Watseka, Times	E	4,000
Waukegan, News-Sun	E	31,000
West Frankfort, American	E	5,000
Wheaton, Journal	E	5,000
Woodstock, Sentinel	E	7,000

INDIANA (92)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (11)

Evansville, Courier	M	61,000
	S	94,000
Evansville, Press	E	42,000
Ft. Wayne, Journal-Gazette	M	64,000
	S	95,000
Ft. Wayne, News-Sentinel	E	76,000
Gary, Post Tribune	E	61,000
	S	59,000
Hammond, Times	E	57,000
	S	58,000
Indianapolis, News	E	167,000
Indianapolis, Star	M	212,000
	S	334,000
Indianapolis, Times	E	89,000
	S	101,000
Lafayette, Journal & Courier	E	41,000
South Bend, Tribune	E	112,000
	S	116,000

OTHER DAILIES (81)

Alexandria, News	E	1,000
Alexandria, Times-Tribune	E	2,000
Anderson, Bulletin	E	18,000
Anderson, Herald	M	18,000
	S	20,000
Attica, Ledger-Tribune	E	2,000
Auburn, Star	E	4,000
Bedford, Times-Mail	E	11,000
Bicknell, News	E	3,000
Bloomfield, World	E	3,000
Bloomington, Herald-Telephone	E	14,000
Bloomington, Indiana Student	M	4,000
Bluffton, News-Banner	E	5,000
Brazil, Times	E	6,000
Chesterton, Tribune	M	3,000
Clinton, Clintonian	E	4,000
Columbia City, Commercial Mail	E	1,000
Columbia City, Post	E	3,000
Columbus, Republican	E	14,000
Connersville, News-Examiner	E	7,000
Crawfordsville, Journal-Review	E	11,000
Decatur, Democrat	E	5,000
Edinburg, Courier	E	2,000
Elkhart, Truth	E	23,000
Elwood, Call-Leader	E	5,000
Evansville, Times		(N.A.)
Frankfort, Times	M	7,000
	S	8,000
Franklin, Star	E	5,000
Goshen, News	E	9,000
Greencastle, Banner	E	5,000
Greenfield, Reporter	E	5,000
Greensburg, News	E	9,000
Hartford City, News-Times	E	4,000
Huntington, Herald-Press	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Huntington, News	E	3,000
Indianapolis, Butler Collegian	M	2,000
Jasper, Herald	E	5,000
Jeffersonville, News	E	8,000
Kendallville, News-Sun	E	4,000
Kokomo, Tribune	E	24,000
	S	24,000
Lafayette, Purdue Exponent	M	4,000
LaPorte, Herald-Argus	E	12,000
Lebanon, Reporter	E	6,000
Linton, Citizen	E	6,000
Logansport, Pharos Tribune	E	12,000
	S	18,000
Logansport, Press	M	8,000
Madison, Courier	E	7,000
Marion, Chronicle	E	15,000
	S	23,000
Marion, Leader-Tribune	M	9,000
Martinsville, Reporter	E	5,000
Michigan City, News Dispatch	E	15,000
Monticello, Herald-Journal	E	4,000
Mt. Vernon, Democrat	E	4,000
Muncie, Press	E	20,000
Muncie, Star	M	30,000
	S	32,000
New Albany, Tribune	E	9,000
	S	8,000
New Castle, Courier-Times	E	12,000
Noblesville, Ledger	E	6,000
Peru, Tribune	E	9,000
Plymouth, Pilot News	E	8,000
Portland, Commercial Review	E	5,000
Princeton, Clarion-Democrat	E	5,000
Rensselaer, Republican	E	4,000
Richmond, Palladium-Item	E	28,000
	S	28,000
Rochester, News-Sentinel	E	4,000
Rushville, Republican	E	4,000
Rushville, Telegram	E	1,000
Seymour, Tribune	E	7,000
Shelbyville, News	E	9,000
Spencer, World	E	3,000
Sullivan, Times	E	5,000
Terre Haute, Star	M	28,000
Terre Haute, Tribune	E	30,000
	S	46,000
Tipton, Tribune	E	4,000
Union City, Times-Gazette	E	3,000
Valparaiso, Vidette-Messenger	E	9,000
Vincennes, Sun-Commercial	E	14,000
	S	15,000
Wabash, Plaindealer	E	8,000
Warsaw, Times-Union	E	10,000
Washington, Herald	E	5,000
Washington, Times	E	5,000
Winchester, Journal-Herald & News	E	4,000

IOWA (45)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (6)

Cedar Rapids, Gazette	E	66,000
	S	68,000
Des Moines, Register	M	225,000
	S	513,000
Des Moines, Tribune	E	128,000
Dubuque, Telegraph-Herald	E	39,000
	S	40,000
	E	19,000
Sioux City, Journal	M	54,000
	S	55,000
Waterloo, Courier	E	51,000
	S	51,000

OTHER DAILIES (39)

Ames, Iowa State Daily	M	10,000
Ames, Tribune	E	7,000
Atlantic, News-Telegraph	E	6,000
Boone, News Republican	E	6,000
Burlington, Hawkeye	E	20,000
	S	20,000
Carroll, Times-Herald	E	5,000
Cedar Falls, Record,	E	3,000
Centerville, Iowegian & Citizen	E	5,000
Charles, City Press	E	5,000
Cherokee, Times	E	5,000
Clinton, Herald	E	23,000
Council Bluffs, Nonpareil	E	22,000
	S	23,000

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU—Publications List

IOWA

OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Creston, News-Advertiser	E	6,000
Davenport, Democrat	M	24,000
	S	61,000
Davenport, Times	E	31,000
Estherville, News	E	4,000
Fairfield, Ledger	E	5,000
Ft. Dodge, Messenger & Chronicle	E	22,000
Ft. Madison, Democrat	E	7,000
Iowa City, Iowan	M	4,000
Iowa City, Press-Citizen	E	13,000
Keokuk, Gate City	E	9,000
La Mars, Sentinel	M	6,000
Marshalltown, Times-Republican	E	13,000
Mason City, Globe-Gazette	E	26,000
Missouri Valley, Times	E	2,000
Mt. Pleasant, News	E	3,000
Muscatine, Journal	E	10,000
Nevada, Journal	E	4,000
Newton, News	E	7,000
Oelwein, Register	E	6,000
Oskaloosa, Herald	E	8,000
Ottumwa, Courier	E	19,000
Perry, Chief	E	4,000
Shenandoah, Sentinel	E	4,000
Spencer, Reporter	E	6,000
Times (Sunday Reporter)	S	6,000
Vinton, Times	E	4,000
Washington, Journal	E	4,000
Webster City, Freeman Journal	E	4,000

KANSAS (52)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (3)

Hutchinson, News	M	51,000
	S	52,000
Topeka, Capitol	M	67,000
	S	69,000
Wichita, Eagle	M	107,000
	E	77,000
	S	123,000

OTHER DAILIES (49)

Abilene, Reflector-Chronicle	E	5,000
Arkansas City, Traveler	E	7,000
Atchison, Globe	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Augusta, Gazette	E	2,000
Beloit, Call	E	2,000
Burlington, Republican	E	2,000
Chanute, Tribune	E	6,000
Clay Center, Dispatch	E	4,000
Coffeyville, Journal	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Columbus, Advocate	E	3,000
Concordia, Blade-Empire	E	4,000
Council Grove, Republican	E	3,000
Dodge City, Globe	E	7,000
ElDorado, Times	E	6,000
Emporia, Gazette	E	8,000
Ft. Scott, Tribune-Monitor	E	6,000
Fredonia, Herald	E	2,000
Garden City, Telegram	E	5,000
Goodland, News	E	3,000
Great Bend, Tribune	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Hays, News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Hiawatha, World	E	3,000
Independence, Reporter	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Iola, Register	E	5,000
Junction City, Union	E	6,000
Kansas City, Kansan	E	29,000
	S	29,000
Larned, Tiller & Toiler	E	3,000
Lawrence, Journal-World	E	12,000
Lawrence, University Kansan	M	7,000
Leavenworth, Times	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Liberal, SW Times	E	7,000
Lyons, News	E	3,000
Manhattan, Kansas State Collegian	M	9,000
Manhattan, Mercury	E	9,000
	S	9,000
McPherson, Sentinel	E	5,000
Neodesha, Sun	E	2,000
Newton, Kansan	E	7,000
Norton, Telegram	E	3,000
Olathe, News	M	4,000
Ottawa, Herald	E	6,000
Parsons, Sun	E	8,000
Pittsburg, Headlight	E	5,000
Pittsburg, Sun	M	8,000
	S	8,000
Pratt, Tribune	E	5,000
Russell, News	E	4,000
Salina, Journal	E	29,000
	S	29,000
Topeka, State Journal	E	27,000
Wellington, News	E	4,000
Winfield, Courier	E	6,000

KENTUCKY (29)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Louisville, Courier-Journal	M	217,000
	S	318,000
Louisville, Times	E	174,000

OTHER DAILIES (27)

Ashland, Independent	E	17,000
	S	18,000
Bowling Green, News	E	11,000
	S	12,000
Corbin, Tribune	E	5,000
Times (Sunday Tribune)	S	5,000
Covington, Enquirer	M	28,000
	S	38,000
Covington, Post Times-Star	E	58,000
Danville, Advocate-Messenger	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Frankfort, State Journal	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Fulton, Leader	E	3,000
Glasgow, Times	E	6,000
Harlan, Enterprise	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Henderson, Gleaner-Journal	M	7,000
	S	8,000
Hopkinsville, New Era	E	10,000
Lexington, Herald	M	44,000
	S	61,000
Lexington, Kentucky Kernel	M	7,000
Lexington, Leader	E	26,000
Madisonville, Messenger	E	8,000
Mayfield, Messenger	E	7,000
Maysville, Independent	M	6,000
Maysville, Public Ledger	M	6,000
Middlesboro, News	E	6,000
Murray, Democrat	E	3,000
Murray, Ledger & Times	E	3,000
Owensboro, Messenger-Inquirer	M	25,000
	S	24,000
Paducah, Sun-Democrat	E	28,000
	S	29,000
Paris, Enterprise	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Richmond, Register	E	5,000
Winchester, Sun	E	4,000

LOUISIANA (20)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

New Orleans, States-Item	E	159,000
New Orleans, Times-Picayune	M	195,000
	S	313,000
Shreveport, Journal	E	51,000
Shreveport, Times	M	89,000
	S	111,000

OTHER DAILIES (16)

Alexandria, Town Talk	E	25,000
Bastrop, Enterprise	E	5,000
Baton Rouge, Advocate	M	41,000
	S	61,000
Baton Rouge, Reveille	M	10,000
Baton Rouge, State Times	E	34,000
Bogalusa, News	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Crowley, Signal	E	5,000
Hammond, Star	M	27,000
Jennings, News	E	4,000
Lafayette, Advertiser	E	20,000
	S	19,000
Lake Charles, American Press	E	30,000
	S	31,000
Monroe, News-Star	E	17,000
Monroe, World	M	26,000
	S	39,000
New Iberia, Iberian	E	10,000
Opelousas, World	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Ruston, Leader	E	3,000

MAINE (9)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Bangor, News	M	76,000

OTHER DAILIES (8)

Augusta, Kennebec Journal	M	14,000
Bath, Times	E	3,000
Biddeford, Journal	E	9,000
Lewiston, Journal	E	14,000
Lewiston, Sun	M	32,000
Portland, Express	M	29,000
Portland, Press Herald	M	54,000
Telegram (Sunday Press Herald)	S	98,000
Waterville, Sentinel	M	19,000

MARYLAND (12)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Baltimore, News-Post	E	230,000
American (Sunday News-Post)	S	312,000
Baltimore, Sun	M	201,000
	E	219,000
	S	319,000

OTHER DAILIES (10)

Annapolis, Capital	E	10,000
Cambridge, Banner	E	5,000
College Park, Diamondback	M	8,000
Cumberland, News	M	12,000
Cumberland, Times	E	22,000
	S	31,000
Frederick, News	E	9,000
Frederick, Post	M	10,000
Hagerstown, Herald	M	10,000
Hagerstown, Mail	E	19,000
Salisbury, Times	E	23,000

MASSACHUSETTS (50)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (10)

Boston, Christian Science Monitor (Atlantic Ed., Central Ed., Pacific Ed.)	E	158,000
Boston, Globe	M	192,000
	E	144,000
	S	428,000
Boston, Herald	M	177,000
	S	288,000
Boston, Record American	M	373,000
	E	177,000
	S	454,000
Boston, Traveler	E	170,000
New Bedford, Standard-Times	E	63,000
	S	52,000
Springfield, News	E	100,000
Springfield, Union	M	83,000
Springfield, Republican (Sunday News-Union)	S	111,000
Worcester, Gazette	E	93,000
Worcester, Telegram	M	58,000
	S	101,000

OTHER DAILIES (40)

Amesbury, News	E	2,000
Athol, News	E	5,000
Attleboro, Sun	E	11,000
Beverly, Times	E	8,000
Brockton, Enterprise & Times	E	44,000
Cambridge, Harvard Crimson	M	3,000
Chelsea, Record	E	6,000
Clinton, Item	E	3,000
Fall River, Herald News	E	40,000
Fitchburg, Sentinel	E	17,000
Framington, News	E	14,000
Gardner, News	E	7,000
Gloucester, Times	E	10,000
Greenfield, Recorder Gazette	E	13,000
Haverhill, Gazette	E	15,000
Haverhill, Journal	E	10,000
Holyoke, Transcript Telegram	E	26,000
Hudson, Sun	E	3,000
Hyannis, Cape Cod Standard Times	E	19,000
Lawrence, Eagle	M	3,000
Lawrence, Tribune	E	36,000
Leominster, Enterprise	E	5,000
Lowell, Sun	E	43,000
	S	33,000
Lynn, Item	E	32,000
Malden, News	E	10,000
Marlboro, Enterprise	E	6,000
Medford, Mercury	E	7,000
Milford, News	E	8,000
Newburyport, News	E	6,000
North Adams, Transcript	E	13,000
North Attleboro, Chronicle	E	4,000
Northampton, Hampshire Gazette	E	13,000
Pittsield, Berkshire Eagle	E	29,000
Quincy, Patriot Ledger	E	47,000
Salem, News	E	25,000
Southbridge, News	E	5,000
Taunton, Gazette	E	12,000
Wakefield, Item	E	6,000
Waltham, News Tribune	E	15,000
Woburn, Times	E	7,000

MICHIGAN (56)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (14)

Battle Creek, Enquirer-News	E	38,000
	S	38,000
Bay City, Times	E	37,000
	S	37,000
Detroit, Free Press	M	501,000
	S	522,000
Detroit, News	E	482,000
	S	647,000
Flint, Journal	E	95,000
	S	95,000
Grand Rapids, Press	E	125,000
Jackson, Citizen Patriot	E	38,000
	S	38,000
Kalamazoo, Gazette	E	51,000
	S	52,000
Lansing, State Journal	E	66,000
	S	66,000
Muskegon, Chronicle	E	45,000
Pontiac, Press	E	60,000
Port Huron, Times-Herald	E	32,000
	S	31,000
Royal Oak, Tribune	E	45,000
Saginaw, News	E	52,000
	S	52,000

OTHER DAILIES (42)

Adrian, Telegram	E	18,000
Albion, Recorder	E	4,000
Alpena, News	E	9,000
Ann Arbor, Michigan Daily	M	7,000
Ann Arbor, News	E	29,000

MICHIGAN
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Bad Axe, Huron Tribune	E	4,000
Benton Harbor, News-Palladium	E	24,000
Big Rapids, Pioneer	E	3,000
Cadillac, News	E	6,000
Cheboygan, Tribune	E	4,000
Coldwater, Reporter	E	6,000
Detroit, Wayne Collegian	M	10,000
Dowagiac, News	E	3,000
East Lansing, Michigan State News	M	16,000
Escanaba, Press	E	10,000
Grand Haven, Tribune	E	7,000
Greenville, News	E	5,000
Hillsdale, News	E	9,000
Holland, Sentinel	E	13,000
Houghton, Mining Gazette	E	10,000
Ionia, Sentinel Standard	E	4,000
Iron, Mountain News	E	10,000
Ironwood, Globe	E	9,000
Ludington, News	E	6,000
Manistee, News-Advocate	E	5,000
Marquette, Mining Journal	E	15,000
Marshall, Chronicle	E	4,000
Menominee, Herald-Leader	E	5,000
Midland, News	E	12,000
Monroe, News	E	19,000
Mt. Clemens, Monitor-Leader	E	13,000
Mt. Pleasant, Times-News	E	5,000
Niles, Star	E	8,000
Owosso, Argus-Press	E	14,000
Petoskey, News	E	5,000
St. Joseph, Herald-Press	E	7,000
Sault Sainte Marie, News	E	10,000
South Haven, Tribune	E	3,000
Sturgis, Journal	E	8,000
Three Rivers, Commercial	E	5,000
Traverse City, Record-Eagle	E	14,000
Ypsilanti, Press	E	6,000

MINNESOTA (30)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (5)

Duluth, News-Tribune	M	52,000
	S	75,000
Minneapolis, Star	E	298,000
Minneapolis, Tribune	M	230,000
	S	656,000
St. Paul, Dispatch	E	125,000
St. Paul, Pioneer Press	M	95,000
	S	188,000

OTHER DAILIES (25)

Albert Lea, Tribune	E	11,000
	S	10,000
Austin, Herald	E	14,000
Bemidji, Pioneer	E	6,000
Brainerd, Dispatch	E	8,000
Crookston, Times	E	5,000
Duluth, Herald	E	29,000
Fairmont, Sentinel	E	12,000
Faribault, News	E	7,000
Fergus Falls, Journal	E	13,000
Hibbing, Tribune	E	9,000
International Falls, Journal	E	4,000
Little Falls, Transcript	E	5,000
Mankato, Free Press	E	21,000
Minneapolis, Finance & Commerce	M	(N.A.)
Minneapolis, Daily	M	26,000
New Ulm, Journal	E	9,000
Owotonna, People's Press	M	6,000
	S	6,000
Red Wing, Republican-Eagle	E	8,000
Rochester, Post Bulletin	E	25,000
St. Cloud, Times	E	18,000
Stilwater, Gazette	E	3,000
Virginia, Mesabi News	E	11,000
Willmar, Tribune	E	11,000
Winona, News	E	22,000
Worthington, Globe	E	11,000

MISSISSIPPI (19)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Jackson, Clarion-Ledger	M	51,000
	S	87,000
Jackson, News	E	41,000

OTHER DAILIES (17)

Clarksdale, Press Register	E	5,000
Columbus, Commercial Dispatch	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Corinth, Corinthian	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Greenville, Democrat-Times	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Greenwood, Commonwealth	E	5,000
Grenada, Sentinel-Star	E	3,000
Gulfport-Biloxi, Herald	E	29,000
Hattiesburg, American	E	16,000
Jackson, State Times	E	23,000
	S	21,000
Laurel, Leader-Call	E	12,000
McComb, Enterprise-Journal	E	6,000
Meridian, Star	E	21,000
	S	21,000
Natchez, Democrat	M	7,000
	S	7,000
Starkville, News	M	3,200
Tupelo, Journal	M	17,000
Vicksburg, Post	E	10,000
	S	10,000
West Point, Times-Leader	E	5,000

MISSOURI (57)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (7)

Kansas City, Star	E	332,000
	S	356,000
Kansas City, Times	M	328,000
St. Joseph, Gazette	M	44,000
St. Joseph, News-Press	E	49,000
	S	52,000
St. Louis, Globe-Democrat	M	339,000
	S	345,000
St. Louis, Post Dispatch	E	386,000
	S	546,000
Springfield, Leader & Press	E	40,000
Springfield, News & Leader (Sunday Leader & Press)	S	64,000

OTHER DAILIES (50)

Aurora, Advertiser	E	3,000
Boonville, News	E	3,000
Brookfield, News Bulletin	E	4,000
Cameron, News Observer	E	1,000
Cape Girardeau, Southwest Missourian	E	16,000
Carrollton, Democrat	E	3,000
Carthage, Press	E	7,000
Chillicothe, Constitution-Tribune	E	6,000
Clayton, St. Louis Countian	E	1,000
Clinton, Democrat	E	4,000
Columbia, Missourian	E	4,000
Columbia, Tribune	E	11,000
Excelsior Springs, Standard	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Festus, News-Democrat	E	4,000
Flat River, Journal	E	5,000
Fulton, Sun-Gazette	E	4,000
Hannibal, Courier-Post	E	11,000
Independence, Examiner	E	12,000
Independence, News	E	2,000
	S	2,000
Jefferson City, Capital News	M	5,000
Jefferson City, News & Tribune (Sunday Capitol News)	S	15,000
Jefferson City, Post-Tribune	E	10,000
Joplin, Globe	M	31,000
	S	35,000
Joplin, News-Herald	E	12,000
Kansas City, Record	M	1,000
Kennett, Dunklin Democrat	E	5,000
Kirksville, Express & News	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Lamar, Democrat	E	3,000
Lebanon, Record	E	3,000
Lexington, Advertiser-News	E	3,000
Macon, Chronicle-Herald	E	4,000
Marshall, Democrat-News	E	4,000
Maryville, Forum	E	6,000
Mexico, Ledger	E	9,000
Moberly, Monitor-Index	E	9,000
Monett, Times	E	4,000
Neosho, News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Nevada, Mail	E	5,000
Herald, Sunday Mail	S	5,000
Poplar Bluff, American Republic	E	13,000
Rolla, Herald	E	3,000
Rolla, News	E	5,000
St. Charles, Banner-News	E	7,000
St. Louis, Record	M	2,000
Sedalia, Capital	M	4,000
Sedalia, Democrat	E	9,000
	S	13,000
Sikeston, Standard	E	5,000
Springfield, News	M	25,000
Trenton, Republican Times & Gazette	M	4,000
Warrensburg, Star-Journal	E	4,000
Webb City, Sentinel	E	1,000
West Plains, Quill	E	6,000

MONTANA (16)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Great Falls, Tribune	M	34,000
	S	41,000

OTHER DAILIES (15)

Billings, Gazette	M	29,000
	E	11,000
	S	39,000
Bozeman, Chronicle	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Butte, Standard-Post	M	20,000
	S	25,000
Dillon, Tribune	E	2,000
Great Falls, Leader	E	9,000
Hamilton, Ravalli Republican	E	2,000
Havre, News	E	5,000
Helena, Independent-Record	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Kalispell, Interlake	E	6,000
	S	7,000
Lewistown, News	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Livingston, Enterprise	E	3,000
Miles City, Star	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Missoula, Montana Kaimin	M	4,000
Missoula, Missoulian	M	17,000
	S	19,000
Missoula, Sentinel	E	3,000

NEBRASKA (20)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Lincoln, Journal	E	43,000
	S	53,000
Omaha, World-Herald	M	128,000
	E	122,000
	S	260,000

OTHER DAILIES (18)

Alliance, Times-Herald	E	5,000
Beatrice, Sun	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Columbus, Telegram	E	8,000
Fairbury, News	E	5,000
Falls City, Journal	E	5,000
Fremont, Guide & Tribune	E	13,000
Grand Island, Independent	E	19,000
Hastings, Tribune	E	16,000
Holdrege, Citizen	E	3,000
Kearney, Hub	E	7,000
Lincoln, Nebraskan	M	5,000
Lincoln, Star	M	25,000
MaCook Gazette	E	7,000
Nebraska City, News-Press	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Norfolk, News	E	15,000
North Platte, Telegraph-Bulletin	E	12,000
Scottsbluff, Star-Herald	M	14,000
	S	14,000
York, News-Times	E	5,000

NEVADA (8)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Las Vegas, Review-Journal	E	26,000
	S	28,000

OTHER DAILIES (7)

Carson City, Appeal	E	2,000
Elko, Free Press	E	3,000
Ely, Times	E	2,000
Las Vegas, Sun	M	20,000
	S	20,000
Reno, Gazette	E	20,000
Reno, State Journal	M	15,000
	S	25,000
Winnemucca, Star	E	2,000

NEW HAMPSHIRE (10)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Manchester, Union Leader	M	49,000
News, (Sunday Union Leader)	S	42,000

OTHER DAILIES (9)

Claremont, Eagle	E	8,000
Concord, Monitor & Patriot	E	13,000
Dover, Foster's Democrat	E	10,000
Hanover, The Dartmouth	M	3,000
Keene, Sentinel	E	7,000
Laconia, Citizen	E	6,000
Lebanon, Valley News	E	6,000
Nashua, Telegraph	E	12,000
Portsmouth, Herald	E	14,000

NEW JERSEY (28)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (8)

Camden, Courier-Post	E	80,000
Hackensack, Record	E	99,000
Jersey City, Journal	E	94,000
Newark, News	E	274,000
	S	380,000
Newark, Star-Ledger	M	235,000
	S	385,000
Passaic, Herald-News	E	70,000
Trenton, Times	E	65,000
	S	67,000
Union City, Hudson Dispatch	M	63,000

OTHER DAILIES (20)

Asbury Park, Press	E	36,000
	S	35,000
Atlantic City, Press	M	44,000
	S	31,000
Bayonne, Times	E	15,000
Bridgeton, News	E	11,000
Elizabeth, Journal	E	53,000
Lakewood, Times	E	5,000
Long Branch, Record	E	10,000
Millville, Daily	E	6,000
Morristown, Record	E	16,000
New Brunswick, Home News	E	43,000
	S	42,000
New Brunswick, Targum	M	3,000
Paterson, Call	M	31,000
Paterson, News	E	52,000
Perth Amboy, News	E	35,000

NEW JERSEY
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Plainfield, Courier-News	E	40,000
Princeton, Princetonian	M	3,000
Red Bank, Register	E	12,000
Trenton, Trentonian	M	39,000
Vineland, Times-Journal	E	13,000
Woodbury, Times	E	14,000

NEW MEXICO (19)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Albuquerque, Journal	M	47,000
	S	66,000

OTHER DAILIES (18)

Alamogordo, News	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Albuquerque, Tribune	E	32,000
Artesia, Press	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Carlsbad, Current Argus	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Clovis, News Journal	E	8,000
	S	9,000
Farmington, Times	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Gallup, Independent	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Grants, Beacon	E	3,000
Hobbs, News & Sun	E	9,000
	S	10,000
Las Cruces, Sun-News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Las Vegas, Optic	E	4,000
Lovington, Leader	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Portales, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Raton, Range	E	4,000
Roswell, Record	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Santa Fe, New Mexican	E	13,000
	S	14,000
Silver City, Press & Independent	E	5,000
Tucumcari, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000

NEW YORK (91)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (22)

Albany, Knickerbocker News	E	67,000
Albany, Times Union	M	71,000
	S	118,000
Binghamton, Press	E	72,000
	S	71,000
Buffalo, Courier Express	M	160,000
	S	302,000
Buffalo, News	E	285,000
Garden City, Newsday	E	319,000
Jamaica, Long Island Press	E	295,000
	S	375,000
Long Island City, Journal	E	98,000
New York, Herald Tribune	M	337,000
	S	488,000
New York, Journal American	E	619,000
New York, Journal of Commerce	M	32,000
New York, Mirror	M	837,000
	S	1,196,000
New York, News	M	2,021,000
	S	3,221,000
New York, Post	E	317,000
	S	258,000
New York, Telegraph	M	74,000
New York, Times	M	644,000
	S	1,294,000
New York, Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition)	M	272,000
New York, World Telegram & Sun	E	449,000
Rochester, Democrat & Chronicle	M	126,000
	S	184,000
Rochester, Times Union	E	128,000
Syracuse, Herald Journal	E	130,000
Herald-American (Sunday Herald Journal)	S	203,000
Syracuse, Post Standard	M	100,000
	S	104,000

OTHER DAILIES (69)

Amsterdam, Recorder	E	14,000
Auburn, Citizen Advertiser	E	12,000
Batavia, News	E	12,000
Binghamton, Sun	M	31,000
Brooklyn, Daily	M	40,000
Brooklyn, Long Island Advocate	E	20,000
Canandaigua, Messenger	E	5,000
Catskill, Mail	E	4,000
Corning, Leader	E	14,000
Cortland, Standard	E	10,000
Dunkirk-Fredonia, Observer	E	11,000
Ellira, Advertiser	M	12,000
Elmira, Star-Gazette	E	39,000
Telegram (Sunday Gazette)	S	51,000
Geneva, Times	E	11,000
Glens Falls, Times	E	8,000
Glens Falls, Post Star	M	16,000
Gloversville-Johnstown, Leader Herald	E	15,000
Herkimer, Telegram	E	7,000
Hicksville, Centre Island News	E	6,000
Hornell, Tribune	E	11,000
Hudson, Register Star	E	8,000
Ithaca, Cornell Sun	M	4,000
Ithaca, Journal	E	14,000
Jamestown, Post Journal	E	27,000
Jamestown, Sun	M	12,000
Kingston Freeman	E	16,000
Little Falls, Times	E	6,000
Lockport, Union Sun & Journal	E	12,000
Malone, Telegram	E	6,000
Mamaroneck, Times	E	9,000
Medina, Journal Register	E	4,000
Middletown, Times Herald Record	M	19,000
Mt. Vernon, Argus	E	19,000
Newburg, News	E	25,000
New Rochelle, Standard Star	E	19,000
New York Columbia Spectator	M	15,000
Niagara Falls, Gazette	F	37,000
	S	31,000
North Tonawanda, News	E	16,000
Norwich, Sun	E	3,000
Nyack, Journal News	E	14,000
Ogdensburg, Journal	E	5,000
Advance News (Sunday Journal)	S	4,000
Olean, Times Herald	E	17,000
Oneida, Dispatch	E	8,000
Oneonta, Star	M	15,000
Ossining, Citizen Register	E	7,000
Oswego, Palladium Times	E	15,000
Peekskill, Star	E	10,000
Plattsburg, Press Republican	M	13,000
Port Chester, Item	E	15,000
Port Jervis, Union Gazette	M	4,000
Poughkeepsie, Journal	E	29,000
	S	31,000
Rome, Sentinel	E	19,000
Salamanca, Republican Press	E	4,000
Saranac, Lake Adirondack Enterprise	E	4,000
Saratoga Springs, Saratogian	E	11,000
Saugerties Post	E	2,000
Schenectady, Gazette	M	47,000
Schenectady, Union Star	E	35,000
Staten Island, Advance	E	49,000
Syracuse, Orange	M	7,000
Tarrytown, News	E	6,000
Troy, Record	M	7,000
Troy, Times Record	E	41,000
Utica, Observer Dispatch	E	46,000
	S	57,000
Utica, Press	M	28,000
Watertown, Times	E	43,000
Wellsville, Reporter	E	5,000
White Plains, Reporter Dispatch	E	30,000
Yonkers, Herald Statesman	E	43,000

NORTH CAROLINA (49)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (6)

Asheville, Citizen	M	40,000
	S	58,000
Charlotte, News	E	65,000
Charlotte, Observer	M	162,000
	S	180,000
Greensboro, News	M	89,000
	S	100,000
Raleigh, News & Observer	M	126,000
	S	140,000
Winston-Salem, Journal	M	67,000
	S	79,000

OTHER DAILIES (43)

Ahoskie, Daily News	M	(N.A.)
Asheville, Times	E	25,000
Burlington, Times-News	E	19,000
Chapel Hill, Tar Heel	M	7,000
Concord, Tribune	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Dunn, Dispatch	E	4,000
Dunn, Record	E	4,000
Durham, Herald	M	34,000
	S	41,000
Durham, Sun	E	25,000
Elizabeth City, Advance	E	7,000
Fayetteville, Observer	E	28,000
	S	25,000
Gastonia, Gazette	E	23,000
Goldsboro, News-Argus	E	13,000
Greensboro, Record	E	30,000
Greenville, Reflector	E	8,000
Henderson, Dispatch	E	5,000
Hendersonville, Times-News	E	7,000
Hickory, Record	E	22,000
High Point, Enterprise	E	25,000
	S	25,000
Jacksonville, News	E	8,000
Kannapolis, Independent	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Kinston, Free Press	E	10,000
Lenoir, News-Topics	E	7,000
Lexington, Dispatch	E	9,000
Lumberton, Robesonian	E	8,000
Morganton, News Herald	E	6,000
New Bern, Sun-Journal	E	8,000
Raleigh, Times	E	23,000
Reidsville, Review	E	6,000
Roanoke Rapids, Herald	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Rocky Mount, Telegram	E	14,000
	S	15,000
Salisbury, Post	E	19,000
	S	19,000
Sanford, Herald	E	7,000
Shelby, Star	E	12,000
Statesville, Record	E	11,000
Tarboro, Southerner	E	3,000
Thomasville, Times	E	4,000
Tryon, Bulletin	M	2,000
Washington, News	E	5,000
Wilmington, News	E	10,000
Wilmington, Star	M	18,000
	S	25,000
Wilson, Times	E	10,000
Winston-Salem, Sentinel	E	42,000

NORTH DAKOTA (10)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Fargo, Forum	M	29,000
	E	25,000
	S	54,000

OTHER DAILIES (9)

Bismarck, Tribune	E	13,000
Devils Lake, Journal	E	4,000
Dickinson, Press	M	6,000
Grand Forks, Herald	E	34,000
	S	34,000
Jamestown, Sun	E	6,000
Mandan, Pioneer	E	4,000
Minot, News	E	26,000
Valley City, Times Record	E	4,000
Williston, Herald	E	8,000

OHIO (97)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (14)

Akron, Beacon Journal	E	167,000
	S	178,000
Canton, Repository	E	71,000
	S	78,000
Cincinnati, Enquirer	M	217,000
	S	274,000
Cincinnati, Post & Times Star	E	275,000
Cleveland, Plaindealer	M	320,000
	S	504,000
Cleveland, Press and News	E	382,000
Columbus, Citizen-Journal	M	108,000
Columbus, Dispatch	E	209,000
	S	276,000
Dayton, Journal Herald	M	88,000
Dayton, News	E	148,000
	S	182,000
Toledo, Blade	E	182,000
	S	178,000
Toledo, Times	M	34,000
Warren, Tribune-Chronicle	E	36,000
Youngstown, Vindicator	E	103,000
	S	149,000

OTHER DAILIES (83)

Alliance, Review	E	15,000
Ashland, Times Gazette	E	9,000
Ashtabula, Star-Beacon	E	18,000
	S	18,000
Athens, Messenger	E	16,000
	S	18,000
Bellefontaine, Examiner	E	9,000
Bellevue, Gazette	E	4,000
Bowling Green, Sentinel-Tribune	E	9,000
Bryan, Times	E	5,000
Bucyrus, Telegraph-Forum	E	8,000
Cambridge, Jeffersonian	E	14,000
Celina, Standard	E	8,000
Chillicothe, Gazette	E	16,000
Circleville, Herald	E	6,000
Columbus, Ohio State Lantern	E	4,000
Conneaut, News-Herald	E	5,000
Coshocton, Tribune	E	10,000
	S	11,000
Defiance, Crescent News	E	10,000
Delaware, Gazette	E	6,000
Delphos, Herald	E	3,000
Dover, Reporter	E	10,000
East Liverpool, Review	E	17,000
East Palestine, Leader	E	3,000
Elyria, Chronicle Telegram	E	25,000
Fairborn, Herald	E	4,000
Findlay, Republican Courier	M	22,000
Fostoria, Review-Times	E	6,000
Fremont, News Messenger	E	14,000
Galion, Inquirer	E	5,000
Gallipolis, Tribune	E	5,000
Geneva, Free Press	E	2,000
Greenfield, Times	E	4,000
Greenville, Advocate	E	10,000
Hamilton, Journal-News	E	27,000
Ironton, Tribune	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Kent, Kent Stater	M	4,000
Kenton, Times	E	7,000
Lancaster, Eagle-Gazette	E	15,000
Lima, Citizen	E	25,000
	S	25,000
Lima, News	E	25,000
	S	28,000
Lisbon, Journal	E	2,000
Logan, News	E	5,000

OHIO
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

London, Madison Press	M	5,000
Lorain, Journal	E	28,000
Mansfield, News-Journal	E	34,000
	S	38,000
Marietta, Times	E	13,000
Marion, Star	E	22,000
Martins Ferry, Times-Leader	E	21,000
Marysville, Journal-Tribune	E	5,000
Massillon, Independent	E	17,000
Middletown, Journal	E	23,000
	S	22,000
Mt. Vernon, News	E	11,000
Newark, Advocate	E	20,000
New Philadelphia, Times	E	10,000
Niles, Times	E	7,000
Norwalk, Reflector Herald	E	5,000
Painesville, Telegraph	E	19,000
Piqua, Call	E	10,000
Pomeroy, Sentinel	E	4,000
Port Clinton, News	E	5,000
Portsmouth, Times	E	24,000
Ravenna, Record & Courier Tribune	E	17,000
St. Marys, Leader	E	5,000
Salem, News	E	11,000
Sandusky, Register	E	20,000
Shelby, Globe	E	4,000
Sidney, News	E	10,000
Springfield, News	E	29,000
	S	40,000
Springfield, Sun	M	17,000
Steubenville, Herald-Star	E	30,000
Tiffin, Advertiser Tribune	E	10,000
Troy, News	E	8,000
Uhrichsville, Chronicle	E	5,000
Upper Sandusky, Chief Union	E	5,000
Urbana, Citizen	E	7,000
Van Wert, Times-Bulletin	E	7,000
Wapakoneta, News	E	4,000
Washington C.H.,Record-Herald	E	7,000
Wellston, Sentinel	E	3,000
Willoughby, News Herald	E	10,000
Wilmington, News Journal	E	7,000
Wooster, Record	E	20,000
Xenia, Gazette	E	11,000
Zanesville, Times Recorder	M	30,000
	S	20,000

OKLAHOMA (53)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Oklahoma City, Oklahoman	M	158,000
	S	246,000
Oklahoma City, Times	E	117,000
Tulsa, Tribune	E	74,000
Tulsa, World	M	95,000
	S	150,000

OTHER DAILIES (49)

Ada, News	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Altus, Times-Democrat	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Alva, Review Courier	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Anadarko, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Ardmore, Ardmoreite	E	10,000
	S	11,000
Bartlesville, Examiner-Enterprise	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Blackwell, Journal-Tribune	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Chickasha, Express	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Claremore, Progress	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Clinton, News	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Cushing, Citizen	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Duncan, Banner	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Durant, Democrat	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Elk City, News	E	5,000
	S	5,000
El Reno, Tribune	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Enid, Eagle	E	8,000
Enid, News	M	15,000
	S	21,000
Frederick, Leader	E	4,000
Guthrie, Leader	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Guymon, Herald	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Henryetta, Free Lance	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Hobart, Democrat-Chief	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Holdenville, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Hugo, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Lawton, Constitution	E	15,000
	S	21,000
Lawton, Press	M	8,000
McAlester, News-Capital	E	8,000
Miami, News-Record	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Muskogee, Phoenix	M	15,000
	S	18,000
Muskogee, Times-Democrat	E	3,000
Norman, Oklahoma Daily	M	11,000
Norman, Transcript	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Nowata, Star	E	3,000
Okemah, Leader	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Okmulgee, Times	M	6,000
	S	6,000
Pauls Valley, Democrat	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Pawhuska, Journal Capital	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Perry, Journal	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Ponca City, News	E	12,000
	S	12,000
Pryor, Times	E	3,000
Sapulpa, Herald	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Sayre, Headlight Journal	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Seminole, Producer	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Shawnee, News-Star	M	11,000
	S	11,000
Stillwater, News-Press	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Stillwater, O'Collegian	M	9,000
Vinita, Journal	E	4,000
Wewoka, Times	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Woodward, Press	E	5,000
	S	5,000

OREGON (24)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (3)

Eugene, Register-Guard	E	40,000
	S	40,000
Portland, Oregonian	M	200,000
	S	261,000
Portland, Oregon Journal	E	144,000
	S	162,000

OTHER DAILIES (21)

Albany, Democrat-Herald	E	12,000
Ashland, Tidings	E	3,000
Astoria, Astorian-Budget	E	6,000
Baker, Democrat-Herald	E	3,000
Bend, Bulletin	E	6,000
Coos Bay, World	E	14,000
Corvallis, Gazette-Times	E	8,000
Corvallis, Oregon State Barometer	M	7,000
Eugene, Oregon Emerald	M	4,000
Grants Pass, Courier	E	8,000
Klamath Falls, Herald & News	E	14,000
	S	15,000
LaGrande, Observer	E	4,000
Medford, Mail-Tribune	E	18,000
	S	18,000
Oregon City, Enterprise-Courier	M	8,000
	S	8,000
Pendelton, East Oregonian	E	9,000
Portland, Journal of Commerce	M	4,000
Portland, Reporter	M	61,000
Roseburg, News-Review	E	12,000
Salem, Capital Journal	E	20,000
Salem, Statesman	M	24,000
	S	24,000
The Dalles, Chronicle	E	5,000

PENNSYLVANIA (121)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (24)

Allentown, Call	M	80,000
Call-Chronicle (Sunday Call)	S	92,000
Altoona, Mirror	E	34,000
Chester, Times	E	45,000
Easton, Express	E	48,000
Erie, News	M	25,000
Erie, Times	E	54,000
	S	70,000
Harrisburg, News	E	76,000
Harrisburg, Patriot	M	41,000
	S	151,000
Johnstown, Tribune Democrat	M	59,000
Lancaster, New Era	E	49,000
Lancaster, Intelligencer-Journal	M	33,000
News (Sunday Intelligencer-Journal)	S	90,000
McKeesport, News	E	39,000
Philadelphia, Bulletin	E	706,000
	S	695,000
Philadelphia, Inquirer	M	619,000
	S	1,015,000
Philadelphia, News	E	271,000
Pittsburgh, Post-Gazette	M	310,000
	S	351,000
Pittsburgh, Press	E	368,000
	S	557,000
Reading, Eagle	E	48,000
Reading, Times	M	37,000
	S	68,000
Scranton, Times	E	56,000
Scranton, Tribune	M	35,000
Scrantonian (Sunday Tribune)	S	48,000
Scranton Scrantonian (Sunday Tribune)	S	47,000
Wilkes-Barre, Times-Leader-News	E	50,000
York, Dispatch	E	37,000
York, Gazette & Daily	M	37,000

OTHER DAILIES (97)

Allentown, Chronicle	E	24,000
Ashland, News	E	3,000
Bangor, News	E	3,000
Beaver, Valley Times	E	28,000
Beaver Falls, News Tribune	E	19,000
Bedford, Gazette	M	5,000
Berwick, Enterprise	E	7,000
Bethlehem, Globe Times	E	27,000
Bloomsburg, Press	M	10,000
Bradford, Era	M	12,000
Bristol, Courier	E	16,000
Brownsville, Telegraph	E	8,000
Butler, Eagle	E	24,000
Canonsburg, Notes	E	5,000
Carlisle, Sentinel	E	10,000
Chambersburg, Public Opinion	E	12,000
Clearfield, Progress	E	13,000
Coatesville, Record	E	10,000
Columbia, News	E	4,000
Connellsville, Courier	E	11,000
Corry, Journal	E	4,000
Danville, News	E	4,000
Donora, Herald American	E	4,000
Doylestown, Intelligencer	E	12,000
DuBois, Courier Express	E	9,000
Ellwood City, Ledger	E	6,000
Franklin, News-Herald	E	9,000
Gettysburg, Times	E	7,000
Greensburg, Tribune Review	M	19,000
Greenville, Record Argus	E	6,000
Hanover, Sun	E	24,000
Hazelton, Standard Speaker	M	16,000
Homestead, Messenger	E	9,000
Huntingdon, News	E	10,000
Indiana, Gazette	E	12,000
Jeanette, News-Dispatch	E	10,000
Jersey Shore, News	E	2,000
Jim Thorpe, Times News	E	2,000
Kane, Republican	E	3,000
Kittanning, Leader Times	E	11,000
Lansdale, Reporter	E	10,000
Lansford, Record	E	5,000
Latrobe, Bulletin	E	10,000
Lebanon, News	E	24,000
Lehighton, Leader	E	3,000
Levittown, Times	E	20,000
Lewistown, Sentinel	E	13,000
Lock Haven, Express	E	9,000
Mahanoy City, Record American	E	6,000
Meadville, Tribune	M	15,000
Milton, Standard	E	5,000
Monessen, Independent	E	15,000
Monongahela, Republican	E	4,000
Mt. Carmel, Item	E	5,000
Nanticoke, Press	E	3,000
New Castle, News	E	23,000
New Kensington, Dispatch	E	12,000
Norristown, Times Herald	E	27,000
Oil City, Derrick	M	14,000
Philadelphia, Daily Pennsylvanian	M	10,000
Philipsburg, Journal	E	3,000
Phoenixville, Republican	E	6,000
Pittston, Gazette	E	4,000
Pottstown, Mercury	M	23,000
Pottsville, Republican	E	27,000
Punxsutawney, Spirit	E	7,000
Quakertown, Free Press	E	6,000
Renovo, Record	E	2,000
Ridgway, Record	E	4,000
St. Marys, Press	E	4,000
Sayre, Times	E	8,000
Shamokin, News-Dispatch	E	11,000
Sharon, Herald	E	24,000
Shenandoah, Herald	E	7,000
Somerset, American	M	6,000
State College, Centre Times	E	12,000
State College, Collegian	M	6,000
Stroudsburg, Record	M	10,000
Sunbury, Item	E	20,000
Susquehanna, Transcript	E	2,000
Tamaqua, Courier	E	5,000
Tarentum, Valley-News	E	24,000
Titusville, Herald	M	7,000
Towanda, Review	M	7,000
Tyrone, Herald	E	3,000
Uniontown, Herald	M	9,000
Uniontown, Standard	E	17,000
Vandergrift, News	E	4,000
Warren, Observer	M	6,000
Warren, Times-Mirror	E	9,000
Washington, Observer	M	15,000
Washington, Reporter	E	9,000
Waynesboro, Record Herald	E	8,000
Waynesburg, Democrat Messenger	M	5,000
West Chester, Local News	E	17,000
Wilkes-Barre, Record	M	25,000
Williamsport, Sun-Gazette	E	29,000

RHODE ISLAND (8)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Providence, Bulletin	E	144,000
Providence, Journal	M	61,000
	S	190,000

RHODE ISLAND

OTHER DAILIES (6)

Newport, News	E	12,000
Pawtucket, Times	E	38,000
Providence, Brown Herald	M	4,000
Westerly, Sun	E	26,000
	S	26,000
West Warwick, Pawtuxet Times	E	8,000
Woonsocket, Call	E	26,000

SOUTH CAROLINA (17)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Anderson, Independent	M	52,000
	S	52,000
Charleston, News & Courier	M	62,000
	S	73,000
Columbia, State	M	87,000
	S	97,000
Greenville, News	M	81,000
	S	85,000

OTHER DAILIES (13)

Aiken, Standard & Review	M	5,000
Anderson, Mail	E	7,000
Charleston, Post	E	36,000
Columbia, Record	E	30,000
Florence, News	M	16,000
	S	17,000
Greenville, Piedmont	E	25,000
Greenwood, Index Journal	E	10,000
Orangeburg, Times-Democrat	M	8,000
	S	9,000
Rock Hill, Herald	E	13,000
Spartanburg, Herald	M	34,000
Herald-Journal (Sunday Herald)	S	41,000
Spartansburg, Journal	E	12,000
Sumter, Item	E	9,000
Union, Times	E	5,000

SOUTH DAKOTA (13)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Sioux Falls, Argus Leader	E	50,000
	S	51,000

OTHER DAILIES (12)

Aberdeen, American-News	E	21,000
	S	21,000
Belle Fourche, Post	M	3,000
Deadwood, Pioneer Times	E	3,000
Huron, Plainsman	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Lead, Call	E	1,000
Madison, Leader	E	3,000
Mitchell, Republic	E	18,000
Pierre, Capital-Journal	E	5,000
Pierre, State News	M	3,000
Rapid City, Journal	E	28,000
	S	28,000
Watertown, Public Opinion	E	13,000
Yankton, Press & Dakotan	E	7,000

TENNESSEE (28)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (9)

Chattanooga, News-Free Press	E	59,000
Chattanooga, Times	M	52,000
	S	81,000
Knoxville, Journal	M	66,000
Knoxville, News-Sentinel	E	103,000
	S	140,000
Memphis, Commercial Appeal	M	216,000
	S	257,000
Memphis, News	M	3,000
Memphis, Press-Scimitar	E	146,000
Nashville, Banner	E	104,000
Nashville, Tennesseean	M	129,000
	S	205,000

OTHER DAILIES (19)

Athens, Post-Athenian	E	5,000
Athens, Press	M	4,000
Clarksville, Leaf-Chronicle	E	9,000
Cleveland, Banner	E	7,000
Columbia, Herald	E	10,000
Dyersburg, State Gazette	E	5,000
Elizabethton, Star	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Greeneville, Sun	E	9,000
Jackson, Sun	E	16,000
	S	16,000
Johnson City, Press-Chronicle	M	6,000
	E	15,000
	S	22,000
Kingsport, News	M	7,000
Kingsport, Times	E	18,000
	S	23,000
Maryville, Times	E	10,000
Morristown, Gazette & Mail	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Murfressboro, News-Journal	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Oak Ridge, Oak Ridger	E	8,000
Paris, Post-Intelligencer	E	5,000
Shelbyville, Times-Gazette	E	5,000
Union City, Messenger	E	5,000

TEXAS (118)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (20)

Amarillo, Globe-Times	E	38,000
Amarillo, News	M	42,000
	S	71,000
Austin, American	M	35,000
	S	54,000
Beaumont, Enterprise	M	66,000
	S	76,000
Corpus Christi, Caller	M	57,000
	S	69,000
Corpus Christi, Times	E	34,000
Dallas, News	M	220,000
	S	235,000
Dallas, Times-Herald	E	190,000
	S	200,000
Dallas, Wall Street Journal (Southwest Edition)	M	60,000
El Paso, Herald-Post	E	45,000
El Paso, Times	M	61,000
	S	82,000
Ft. Worth, Press	E	53,000
	S	54,000
Ft. Worth, Star-Telegram	M	107,000
	E	135,000
	S	208,000
Houston, Chronicle	E	206,000
	S	232,000
Houston, Post	M	218,000
	S	236,000
Houston, Press	E	102,000
Lubbock, Avalanche-Journal	M	47,000
	E	25,000
	S	60,000
San Antonio, Express	M	69,000
	S	110,000
San Antonio, Light	E	110,000
	S	129,000
San Antonio, News	E	73,000

OTHER DAILIES (98)

Abilene, Reporter-News	M	34,000
	E	21,000
	S	45,000
Alice, Echo	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Arlington, News-Texan	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Athens, Review	E	4,000
Austin, Statesman	E	26,000
Austin, Texan	M	16,000
Bay City, Tribune	E	4,000
Baytown, Sun	E	12,000
Beaumont, Journal	E	26,000
Big Spring, Herald	E	10,000
	S	11,000
Bonham, Favorite	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Borger, News Herald	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Breckenridge, American	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Brenham, Banner-Press	E	4,000
Brownsville, Herald	E	13,000
	S	12,000
Brownwood, Bulletin	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Bryan, Eagle	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Childress, Index	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Cleburne, Times-Review	E	7,000
	S	7,000
College Station, Battalion	E	8,000
Conroe, Courier	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Corsicana, Sun	E	9,000
Cuero, Record	E	3,000
	S	4,000
Dalhart, Texan	E	2,000
Del Rio, News-Herald	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Denison, Herald	E	13,000
	S	13,000
Denton, Lass-O	M	3,000
Denton, Record-Chronicle	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Dumas, Moore Co. Daily News		(N.A.)
Edinburg, Review	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Ennis, News	E	4,000
Fort Worth, Commercial Recorder	M	1,000
Freeport, Brazosport Facts	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Gainesville, Register	E	6,000
Galveston, News	M	18,000
	S	22,000
Galveston, Tribune	E	10,000
Garland, News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Gladewater, Mirror	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Gonzales, Inquirer	E	3,000
Grand Prairie, News-Texan	E	7,000
Greenville, Herald Banner	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Harlingen, Valley Star	M	19,000
	S	16,000
Henderson, News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Hillsboro, Mirror	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Hurst, News Texan	M	(N.A.)
Irving, News Texan	M	8,000
Jacksonville, Progress	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Kerrville, Times	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Kilgore, News-Herald	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Killeen, Herald	E	5,000
Lamesa, Reporter	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Laredo, Times	E	16,000
	S	16,000
Levelland, Sun-News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Longview, Journal	M	14,000
Longview, News	E	9,000
	S	23,000
Lufkin, News	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Marlin, Democrat	E	1,000
Marshall, News-Messenger	E	12,000
	S	12,000
Mart, Herald	E	1,000
McAllen, Valley Monitor	E	15,000
	S	15,000
McKinney, Courier-Gazette	E	4,000
Mexia, News	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Midland, Reporter-Telegram	E	19,000
	S	19,000
Mineral Wells, Index	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Mt. Pleasant, Times	E	4,000
Nacogdoches, Sentinel	E	5,000
Odessa, American	E	34,000
	S	34,000
Orange, Leader	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Palestine, Herald & Press	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Pampa, News	E	9,000
	S	9,000
Paris, News	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Pasadena, Citizen	E	10,000
	S	10,000
Plainview, Herald	E	8,000
	S	8,000
Port Arthur, News	E	27,000
	S	27,000
San Angelo, Standard-Times	E	10,000
San Angelo, Standard-Times	M	35,000
	S	36,000
San Antonio, Commercial Recorder	M	1,000
Sherman, Democrat	E	14,000
	S	14,000
Snyder, News	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Stephenville, Empire	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Sulphur Springs, News-Telegram	E	3,000
	S	3,000
Sweetwater, Reporter	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Taylor, Press	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Temple, Telegram	M	19,000
	S	19,000
Terrell, Tribune	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Texas City, Sun	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Tyler, Courier-Times	E	9,000
	S	25,000
Tyler, Telegraph	M	19,000
Vernon, Record	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Victoria, Advocate	M	12,000
	S	12,000
Waco, Lariat	M	(N.A.)
Waco, News-Tribune	M	25,000
	S	47,000
Waco, Times-Herald	E	27,000
Waxahachie, Light	E	6,000
	S	6,000
Weatherford, Democrat	E	4,000
	S	4,000
Weatherford, Herald	E	3,000
Wichita Falls, Record-News	M	27,000
Wichita Falls, Wichita Times	E	20,000
	S	43,000

UTAH (7)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (2)

Salt Lake City, Desert News	E	84,000
Salt Lake City, Tribune	M	101,000
	S	183,000

OTHER DAILIES (5)

Logan, Herald-Journal	E	7,000
	S	7,000
Ogden, Standard-Examiner	E	32,000
	S	32,000

UTAH
OTHER DAILIES (Continued)

Provo, Brigham Young Universe	M	8,000
Provo, Herald	E	14,000
	S	15,000
Salt Lake City, Utah Chronicle	M	9,000

VERMONT (9)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Burlington, Free Press	M	33,000

OTHER DAILIES (8)

Barre, Times-Argus	E	10,000
Bennington, Banner	E	5,000
Brattleboro, Reformer	E	7,000
Burlington, News	E	4,000
	S	12,000
Newport, Express	E	4,000
Rutland, Herald	M	20,000
St. Albans, Messenger	E	3,000
St. Johnsbury, Caledonia-Record	E	6,000

VIRGINIA (32)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (6)

Norfolk, Ledger-Dispatch	E	96,000
Norfolk, Virginia Pilot	M	113,000
	S	145,000
Richmond, News Leader	E	115,000
Richmond, Times-Dispatch	M	138,000
	S	185,000
Roanoke, Times	M	52,000
	S	89,000
Roanoke, World-News	E	44,000

OTHER DAILIES (26)

Alexandria, Gazette	E	14,000
Arlington, Sun	E	23,000
Bristol, Herald-Courier	M	21,000
	S	26,000
Bristol, Tennesseean	E	8,000
Charlottesville, Cavalier	M	5,000
Charlottesville, Progress	E	18,000
Clifton Forge, Review	E	3,000
Covington, Virginian	E	8,000
Danville, Bee	E	15,000
Danville, Register	M	11,000
	S	20,000
Fredericksburg, Free Lance-Star	E	12,000
Harrisonburg, News-Record	M	16,000
Hopewell, News	E	4,000
Lynchburg, Advance	E	18,000
Lynchburg, News	M	18,000
	S	27,000
Martinsville, Bulletin	E	12,000
	S	12,000
Newport News, Press	M	37,000
	S	55,000
Newport News, Times-Herald	E	35,000
Petersburg, Progress-Index	E	19,000
	S	19,000
Pulaski, Southwest Times	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Radford, News Journal	E	4,000
Staunton, Leader	E	13,000
News-Leader (Sunday Leader)	S	13,000
Strasburg, Daily	M	9,000
Suffolk, News Herald	E	5,000
	S	5,000
Waynesboro, News-Virginian	E	9,000
Winchester, Star	E	11,000

WASHINGTON (27)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (4)

Seattle, Post-Intelligencer	M	213,000
	S	247,000
Seattle, Times	E	223,000
	S	252,000
Spokane, Spokesman-Review	M	89,000
	S	135,000
Tacoma, News-Tribune	E	86,000
	S	79,000

OTHER DAILIES (23)

Aberdeen, World	E	17,000
Anacortes, American Bulletin	E	3,000
Bellingham, Herald	E	20,000
	S	21,000
Bremerton, Sun	E	21,000
Centralia, Chronicle	E	10,000
Ellensburg, Record	E	4,000
Ephrata, Journal	E	5,000
Everett, Herald	E	30,000
Longview, News	E	19,000
Moses Lake, Herald	E	6,000
Mt. Vernon, Herald	E	6,000
Olympia, Olympian	E	13,000
	S	13,000
Pasco, Columbia Basin News	M	9,000
Pasco, Tri-City Herald	E	16,000
	S	17,000
Port Angeles, News	E	6,000
Pullman, WSC Evergreen	M	6,000
Seattle, Journal of Commerce	M	5,000
Seattle, University of Washington Daily	M	15,000
Vancouver, Columbian	E	23,000
Walla Walla, Union-Bulletin	M	4,000
	E	13,000
	S	17,000
Wenatchee, World	E	18,000
	S	18,000
Yakima, Herald	M	16,000
	S	33,000
Yakima, Republic	E	17,000

WEST VIRGINIA (32)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (3)

Charleston, Gazette	M	69,000
	S	107,000
Charleston, Mail	E	53,000
Huntington, Herald Dispatch	M	44,000
	S	53,000

OTHER DAILIES (29)

Beckley, Post-Herald	M	19,000
Beckley, Raleigh Register	E	30,000
	S	28,000
Bluefield, Sunset News	E	9,000
Bluefield, Telegraph	M	28,000
	S	38,000
Clarksburg, Exponent	M	13,000
	S	37,000
Clarksburg, Telegram	E	23,000
Elkins, Inter-Mountain	E	5,000
Fairmont, Times	M	13,000
	S	19,000
Fairmont, West Virginian	E	6,000
Grafton, Sentinel	E	4,000
Hinton, News	E	4,000
Huntington, Advertiser	E	20,000
Keyser, News-Tribune	E	4,000
Logan, Banner	E	9,000
Martinsburg, Journal	E	10,000
Morgantown, Athenaeum	M	6,000
Morgantown, Dominion News	M	9,000
Morgantown, Post	E	8,000
Moundsville, Echo	E	3,000
Parkersburg, News	M	16,000
	S	29,000
Parkersburg, Sentinel	E	18,000
Point Pleasant, Register	E	3,000
Princeton, Times	E	5,000
Weirton, Times	E	7,000
Welch, News	E	11,000
Wellsburg, Herald	E	4,000
Wheeling, Intelligencer	M	22,000
Wheeling, News Register	E	31,000
	S	54,000
Williamson, News	E	10,000

WISCONSIN (40)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (7)

Appleton, Post-Crescent	E	40,000
Green Bay, Press-Gazette	E	43,000
LaCrosse, Tribune	E	32,000
	S	32,000
Madison, Capital Times	E	45,000
Madison, State Journal	M	54,000
	S	83,000
Milwaukee, Journal	E	371,000
	S	507,000
Milwaukee, Sentinel	M	195,000
	S	223,000

OTHER DAILIES (33)

Antigo, Journal	E	5,000
Ashland, Press	E	4,000
Baraboo, News-Republic	E	6,000
Beaver Dam, Citizen	E	6,000
Beloit, News	E	21,000
Chippewa Falls, Herald-Telegram	E	8,000
Eau Claire, Leader	M	16,000
	S	16,000
Eau Claire, Telegram	E	11,000
Fond Du Lac, Commonwealth Reporter	E	18,000
Ft. Atkinson, Union	E	4,000
Janesville, Gazette	E	24,000
Kenosha, News	E	24,000
Madison, Cardinal	M	3,000
Manitowoc, Herald Times	E	19,000
Marinette, Eagle-Star	E	8,000
Marshfield, News-Herald	E	11,000
Merrill, Herald	E	5,000
Milwaukee, Reporter	M	(N.A.)
Monroe, Times	E	5,000
Neenah, News Record	E	4,000
Oshkosh, Northwestern	E	21,000
Portage, Register	E	7,000
Racine, Journal-Times	E	33,000
Bulletin (Sunday Journal-Times)	S	32,000
Rhinelander, News	E	4,000
Shawano, Leader	E	6,000
Sheboygan, Press	E	27,000
Stevens Point, Journal	E	8,000
Superior, Telegram	E	20,000
Two Rivers, Reporter	E	4,000
Watertown, Times	E	7,000
Waukesha, Freeman	E	15,000
Wausau, Record-Herald	E	18,000
Wisconsin Rapids, Tribune	E	10,000

WYOMING (10)

METROPOLITAN DAILIES (1)

Casper, Tribune-Herald	E	15,000
	S	18,000

OTHER DAILIES (9)

Casper, Star	M	7,000
Cheyenne, Eagle	M	11,000
Cheyenne, State Tribune	E	11,000
	S	11,000
Laramie, Boomerang	M	5,000
	S	5,000
Rawlins, Times	M	4,000
Riverton, Ranger	E	5,000
Rock Springs, Rocket	M	6,000
Miner (Sunday Rocket)	S	6,000
Sheridan, Press	E	7,000
Worland, Daily News	M	5,000

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER SECTION

ALABAMA (103)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (17)

Attala, News Journal
Bessemer, Advertiser
Birmingham, Eastern Sun
Birmingham, Industrial Press
Birmingham, Mirror
Birmingham, Shades Valley Sun
Birmingham, Thunderbolt
Birmingham, Western Sun
Birmingham, World
Chickasaw, News
Citronelle, Call
Fairfield, Star
Leeds, News
Mobile, Beacon
Montgomery, Home News
Tuscaloosa, Citizen
Tuscaloosa, Graphic

RURAL WEEKLIES (96)

Abbeville, Herald
Albertville, Herald
Albertville, Reporter
Alexander City, Outlook
Andalusia, Star-News
Arab, Tribune
Ashland, Progress
Athens, Courier
Athens, Democrat
Atmore, Advance
Auburn, Bulletin
Bay Minette, Times
Boaz, Leader
Brewton, Standard
Brundidge, Sentinel
Butler, Advocate
Camden, Wilcox Progressive Era
Carrollton, Herald
Centre, Herald
Centreville, Press
Chatom, News
Childersburg, News
Clanton, News
Clanton, Union-Banner
Clayton, Record
Columbiana, Reporter
Cullman, Tribune
Dadeville, Record
Demopolis, Times
Dothan, Herald
Dothan, Tri-State News
Elba, Clipper
Enterprise, Ledger
Eufaula, Tribune
Eutaw, Democrat
Evergreen, Courant
Fairhope, Courier
Fayette, Times
Flomaton, Journal
Florala, News
Florence, Herald
Foley, Onlooker
Ft. Deposit, Lowndes Signal
Fort Payne, News
Fort Payne, Times-Journal
Geneva, Reaper
Georgiana, News
Greensboro, Watchman
Greenville, Advocate
Grove Hill, Democrat
Guntersville, Advertiser-Gleam
Haleyville, Advertiser
Hartford, News-Herald
Hartselle, Enquirer
Headland, Wiregrass Farmer
Heflin, News
Jackson, South Alabamian
Jacksonville, News
Lafayette, Sun
Linden, Democrat-Reporter
Lineville, Tribune
Luverne, Journal
Marion, Times Standard
Monroeville, Journal
Moulton, Advertiser
Moundville, News
Oneonta, Democrat
Opp, News
Ozark, Southern Star
Pell City, News-Aegis
Phenix City, Citizen
Phenix City, Herald
Phenix City, Journal
Piedmont, Journal
Prattville, Progress
Roanoke, Leader
Russellville, Times
Scottsboro, Jackson County, Farmer
Scottsboro, Progressive Age
Scottsboro, Sentinel
Sheffield, Standard and Times
Sylacauga, Advance
Sylacauga, News
Sylacuga, Avondale Sun
Talladega, Reporter
Tallassee, Tribune
Thomasville, Times
Tuscumbia, Reporter
Tuscumbia, Valley Voice
Tuskegee, News
Union Springs, Herald
Vernon, Democrat
Wedowee, Press
Wetumpka, Herald
Winfield, News-Journal
York, Journal

ALASKA (8)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (2)

Kodiak, Mirror
Palmer, Valley Frontiersman

RURAL WEEKLIES (6)

Anchorage, Alaska Spotlight
Fairbanks, Jessen's Weekly
Kechikan, Alaska Chronicle
Nome, Nugget
Petersburg, Press
Wrangell, Sentinel

ARIZONA (53)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (20)

Ajo, Copper News
Buckeye, Buckeye Valley News
Chandler, Arizonian
Gilbert, Enterprise
Glendale, Herald with State Farm News
Glendale, News
Goodyear, Westside Enterprise
Mesa, Sun Valley Shopper
Peoria, Times & News
Phoenix, Arizona News
Phoenix, Arizona Reporter
Phoenix, Arizona Sun
Phoenix, South Phoenix Round Up
Phoenix, Sun
Phoenix, Sunnyslope Journal
Phoenix, Weekly Gazette
Scottsdale, Arizonian
Scottsdale, Progress
Tucson, South Tucson Gazette
Tucson, Sun-News
Tucson, Sunnyside Sun
Wickenburg, Sun

RURAL WEEKLIES (33)

Apache Junction, Sentinel
Ash Fork, Record
Bagdad, Copper Basin News
Benson, News
Bisbee, Brewery Gulch Gazette
Casa Grande, Dispatch
Clifton, Copper Era
Coolidge, Examiner
Cottonwood, Verde Independent
Douglas, Graphic
Eloy, Enterprise
Flagstaff, Sun
Florence, Blade-Tribune
Globe, Arizona Record
Hayden, Copper Basin News
Holbrook, Tribune News
Kingman, Mohave County Miner
Miami, Silver Belt
Nogales, International
Parker, Pioneer
Peoria, Times & News
Prescott, Messenger
Safford, Guardian
Saint Johns, Independent-News
San Manuel, Miner
Show Low, Eagle
Sierra Vista, Gateway Times
Sierra Vista, Huachuca Herald
Superior, Sun
Tombstone, Epitaph

ARIZONA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Willcox, Range News
Williams, News
Winslow, Mail

ARKANSAS (140)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (2)

Little Rock, Southern Mediator Journal
North Little Rock, Times

RURAL WEEKLIES (138)

Alma, News
Arkadelpha, Standard
Ashdown, News
Atkins, Chronicle
Augusta, Advocate
Bald Knob, Banner
Batesville, Record
Beebe, News
Benton, Courier
Benton, News
Bentonville, Benton County Democrat
Berryville, Star-Progress
Booneville, Democrat
Bradley, Pioneer
Brinkley, Argus
Brinkley, Citizen
Cabot, Star-Herald
Calico Rock, Progress
Camden, Times
Carlisle, Independent
Cave City, Record
Charleston, Express
Clarendon, Sun
Clarksville, Democrat Enterprise
Clarksville, Graphic
Clarksville, Herald-Democrat
Clinton, Van Buren County Democrat
Conway, Log Cabin Democrat
Corning, Courier
Cotton Plant, Democrat
Crossett, News Observer
Danville, Record
Dardanelle, Post-Dispatch
Decatur, Herald
DeQueen, Bee
Dermott, News
Des Arc, Journal
De Valls Bluff, Democrat
De Valls Bluff, Times
De Witt, Era-Enterprise
Dumas, Clarion
Earle, Enterprise
El Dorado, Progress
England, Democrat
Eudora, Enterprise
Eureka Springs, Times-Echo
Fordyce, News-Advocate
Foreman, Sun
Forrest City, Chronicle
Fort Smith, Fort Smithsonian
Gentry, Journal Advance
Glenwood, Herald
Gravette, News-Herald
Green Forest, Tribune
Greenwood, Democrat
Gurdon, Times
Hamburg, Leader
Hampton, Calhoun Herald
Hardy, Independent
Harrisburg, News
Harrison, Headlight
Hazen, Herald
Heber Springs, Times
Hot Springs, Ouachita-Observer
Hughes, Star-Herald
Huntsville, Record
Imboden, Journal
Jasper, Informer & Times
Judsonia, Record
Lake Village, Chicot-Spectator
Leachville, Star
Lepanto, News-Record
Lewisville, Herald
Lewisville, Lafayette County Democrat
Lincoln, Leader
Lonoke, Democrat
Magnolia, Weekly Banner-News
Malvern, Meteor-Journal
Mammoth Spring, Democrat
Manila, Sentinel
Marianna, Courier-Index
Marked Tree, Tribune
Marshall, Mountain Wave
McCroy, Arkansas Central Leader
McGehee, Times
Melbourne, Times
Mena, Star
Monette, Sun
Monticello, Advance-Monticellonian
Morrilton, Democrat
Morrilton, Headlight
Mountain Home, Bulletin
Mountain View, Leader
Mount Ida, News
Mulberry, Bulletin
Murfreesboro, Pike County Courier
Nashville, News
Nashville, Spotlight
Newport, Jackson County Democrat
Newport, Weekly Independent
Osceola, Times
Ozark, Spectator
Paris, Express
Paris, Progress
Parkin, Times
Perryville, News
Piggott, Banner
Pocahontas, Star-Herald
Prairie Grove, Enterprise
Prescott, News
Prescott, Picayune
Rector, Democrat
Rison, Herald
Rogers, Democrat
Russellville, Courier-Democrat
Salem, Headlight
Searcy, White County Citizen
Sheridan, Headlight
Siloam Springs, Herald & Democrat
Siloam Springs, Interstate News
Smackover, Journal
Star City, Ledger
Stephens, Star
Sulphur Springs, Beacon
Texarkana, Two States Press
Trumann, Democrat
Tuckerman, Record
Van Buren, Press-Argus
Waldron, Reporter
Walnut Ridge, Times-Dispatch
Warren, Eagle Democrat
West Memphis, Times
West Memphis, World
Wynne, Progress
Yellville, Mountain Echo

CALIFORNIA (701)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (596)

Alameda, Times-Star Advertiser
Albany, Times
Alpine, Sun
Altadena, Altadenan
Altadena, Pasadenan
Anaheim, Gazette
Apple Valley, News
Apple Valley, News-Herald
Arcadia, Bulletin
Arcadia, Tribune & News
Arlington, Times
Artesia, Advocate
Artesia, News
Arvin, Tiller
Avalon, Catalina Islander
Azusa, Herald & Pomotropic
Azusa, North Valley News
Baldwin Park, Bulletin
Beaumont, News Weekly
Bell, Industrial Post
Bell, Post Star
Bell, Review
Bellflower, Herald-American
Bellflower, Herald-Enterprise
Belmont, Courier-Bulletin
Benicia, Benician
Benicia, Herald
Berkeley, Hilltop Mirror
Berkeley, Shopping News
Berkley, Thousand Oaks Times
Beverly Hills, Press
Beverly Hills, Reporter
Beverly Hills, Times
Big Bear Lake, Grizzly
Bloomington, News
Blythe, Palo Verde Valley Times
Blythe, Times
Boron, Enterprise
Brea, Progress
Brentwood, News
Buena Park, News
Burbank, Independent
Burlingame, Advance-Star
Cabazon, Courier
Camarillo, News
Campbell, Press
Canoga Park, Herald
Canoga Park, Shopper
Carlsbad, Journal
Carmel, Pine Cone Cymbal
Carpinteria, Herald
Caruthers, Gazette
Castro Valley, Reporter
Castroville, Times
Ceres, Courier
Chino, Champion
Chula Vista, Star-News
Claremont, Courier
Cloverdale, Reveille
Clovis, Independent
Coachella, Valley Sun
Coalinga, Record
Compton, Herald-American
Concord, Diablo Beacon
Concord, Journal
Concord, Pleasant Hill Post
Corona, Shopping News
Corona Del Mar, Newport Harbor Ensign
Coronado, Journal
Cotati, Cotatian
Covina, Argus-Citizen
Covina, Pictorial Valley News
Covina, Sentinel
Crestline, Courier
Crockett, American
Cucamonga, Times
Culver City, Citizen
Culver City, Journal & News
Cupertino, Courier
Daly City, Record
Daly City, Westlake Times
Danville, Valley Pioneer
Delano, Record & News
Del Mar, Surfcomber
Desert Hot Springs, Desert Sentinel
Dinuba, Alta Advocate
Dinuba, Sentinel
Dixon, Tribune
Downey, Champion
Downey, Herald American
Downey, Leader
Downey, Live Wire
Downieville, Mountain Messenger
Duarte, Dispatch
El Cajon, Valley News
El Centro, Imperial Valley Weekly
El Cerrito, Journal
Elk Grove, Citizen
El Monte, Herald
El Monte, Press
El Segundo, Herald
Elsinore, Valley Sun
Empire, News
Encinitas, Coast Dispatch
Encino, Encinian
Escalon, Times
Escondido, Times-Advocate
Exeter, Sun
Fair Oaks, Orangevale Bulletin
Fair Oaks, San Juan Record
Fairfield, Global Ranger
Fairfield, Solano Republican
Fallbrook, Enterprise
Fillmore, Herald
Firebaugh, Journal
Folsom, Telegraph
Fontana, Bulletin
Fowler, Ensign
Fremont, News Register
Fresno, Guide
Fresno, Star
Galt, Herald
Gardena, News
Gardena, Tribune
Garden Grove, News-Advertiser
Geyserville, Press
Glendale, Foothill Independent
Glendale, Independent
Glendora, Press
Goleta, Gazette
Goleta, Times
Gonzales, Tribune
Granada Hills, Herald Tribune
Granada Hills, Outlook
Greenfield, News
Guerneville, Times
Half Moon Bay, Review
Hawthorne, Tribune
Healdsburg, Tribune
Hemet, News
Hermosa Beach, Review
Highland, Messenger
Hollywood, Advertiser
Hollywood, Canyon Courier
Hollywood, West Hollywood Tribune
Hughson, Chronicle
Huntington Beach, News
Huntington Park, Bulletin
Huron, Bulletin
Imperial Beach, Bay City Press
Imperial Beach, Star
Inglewood, Citizen
Inglewood, News-Advertiser
Inglewood, Rosecrans News-Advertiser
Isleton, Journal
Joshua Tree, Desert Journal
Kerman, News
Kerman, West Side Advance
King City, Rustler-Herald
Kingsburg, Recorder
La Canada, Valley Sun
LaFayette, Sun
Lafayette, Sun Shopping News
Laguna Beach, News
Laguna Beach, Post
Laguna Beach, South Coast News
La Habra, Star
La Jolla, Journal
LaJolla, Light
Lake Arrowhead, News & Mountaineer
Lakewood, Herald-American
La Mesa, Scout
La Mirada, Herald-American
Lamont, Reporter
La Puente, Journal
La Puente, South Valley News
Larkspur, Times
La Verne, Leader

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU—Publications List

CALIFORNIA
URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Lawndale, Tribune
Lemon Grove, Review
Linden, Herald
Lindsay, Gazette
Lindsay, News
Livermore, Herald
Livermore, News
Livermore, Shopping News-Advertiser
Lockeford, Clements Post
Loma Linda, Beacon
Lomita, News
Lomita, Progress
Lompoc, Record
Long Beach, Argus
Long Beach, Graphic
Long Beach, Herald-American
Long Beach, Reporter
Long Beach, Shopping News
Long Beach, Signal Hill Tribune
Los Alamitos, Enterprise
Los Altos, Herald-American
Los Altos, News & Guide
Los Altos, Town Crier & Foothill Focus
Los Angeles, American News
Los Angeles, Angels Mesa News-Advertiser
Los Angeles, Belvedere Citizen
Los Angeles, B'nai B'rith Messenger
Los Angeles, Brooklyn-Belvedere Comet
Los Angeles, California Eagle
Los Angeles, California Jewish Press
Los Angeles, California Jewish Voice
Los Angeles, California Veckoblad
Los Angeles, Courier
Los Angeles, Eagle Rock Sentinel
Los Angeles, East L. A. Gazette
Los Angeles, East Los Angeles Tribune
Los Angeles, Eastside Sun
Los Angeles, El Sereno Star
Los Angeles, Firestone Park News
Los Angeles, Florence Messenger
Los Angeles, Griffith Park News
Los Angeles, Herald-Dispatch
Los Angeles, Heritage
Los Angeles, Highland Park News-Herald
Los Angeles, Independent
Los Angeles, Lincoln Heights Bulletin
Los Angeles, L. A. City News
Los Angeles, L. A. City Press
Los Angeles, Los Felix Hills News
Los Angeles, Morningside News-Advertiser
Los Angeles, Northeast Star-Review
Los Angeles, Northwest Leader
Los Angeles, Pacific Citizen
Los Angeles, Park La Brea News
Los Angeles, Park La Brea Reporter
Los Angeles, Parkside Journal
Los Angeles, Philippines Star Press
Los Angeles, Pico Post
Los Angeles, Reporter
Los Angeles, Sentinel
Los Angeles, Southeast Wave-Star
Los Anegeles, South End Bee
Los Angeles, Southside Journal
Los Angeles, Southwestern Sun
Los Angeles, Southwest Topics-Wave
Los Angeles, Southwest Wave
Los Angeles, Spectator
Los Angeles, Star Review
Los Angeles, Tribune News-Advertiser
Los Angeles, Westchester News-Advertiser
Los Angeles, Westlake Post
Los Angeles, Westwood Hills Citizen
Los Angeles, Westwood Hills Press
Los Angeles, Wilshire Citizen
Los Angeles, Wilshire Press
Los Angeles, Wilshire Reporter
Los Angeles, Wyvernwood Chronicle
Lucerne Valley, Leader
Lynwood, Herald-American
Lynwood, Press
Malibu, Times
Manhattan Beach, Messenger
Manhattan Beach, News
Manteca, Bulletin
Martinez, Standard
Maywood, Journal
McFarland, Press
Menlo Park, Recorder & Gazette
Mentone, Times-Herald
Millbrae, Sun & Leader
Mill Valley, Record
Milpitas, Post
Modesto, Journal
Modesto, Tribune
Mojave, Desert News
Montebello, Messenger
Montebello, News
Monterey Park, Californian
Monterey Park, Progress
Montrose, Ledger
Moorpark, Enterprise
Morgan Hill, Times
Mountain View, Shopping News
Mount Shasta, Herald
National City, Star-News
Needles, Desert Star
Newhall, Signal
Newman, West Side Index
Newport Beach, Free Press
Newport Beach, News-Press
North Hollywood, Graphic
North Hollywood, Valley Jewish News
Northridge, Shopper
North Sacramento, Journal
Norwalk, Call-Advertiser
Norwalk, Call
Norwalk, Herald-American
Novato, Advance
Oakdale, Leader
Oakland, California Voice
Oakland, Claremont Press
Oakland, Montclarian
Oakland, Neighborhood Journal
Oakland, Observer
Oakland, Piedmonter
Ocean Beach, Peninsula News
Oceanside, News
Oildale, News
Ojai, Ojai & Valley News
Ontario-Upland, Record
Orange Cove, News
Orangeville, News
Orinda, Sun
Orosi, Courier
Oroville, Press
Oxnard, News
Pacific Beach, Sentinel
Pacific Grove, Tribune
Pacific Palisades, Palisadian
Pacifica, Tribune
Pacoima, Post
Palm Springs, Star
Palmdale, Press
Palo Alto, Ravenswood Post
Palos Verdes Estates, News
Palos Verdes Estates, Rolling Hills News
Paramount, Herald-American
Paramount, Journal
Parlier, Post
Patterson, Irrigator
Perris, Progress
Pico, News
Pico, Times-Post
Pinedale, Local
Pinole, News
Pixley, Enterprise
Placentia, Courier
Pleasant Hill, News
Pleasant Hill, Sun
Pleasanton, Times
Point Reyes Station, Baywood Press
Port Hueneme, Pilot
Poway, News
Ramona, Sentinel
Rancho Cordova, Cordovan
Rancho Santa Fe, Times
Randsburg, News
Redondo Beach, Record
Redondo Beach, Reflex
Redwood City, Star-Advertiser
Redwood City, Times Gazette
Reedley, Exponent
Reseda, Herald-Tribune
Reseda, Reseda-Tarzana Shopper
Rialto, Record
Richmond, Herald Bee Press
Ridgecrest, Independent
Ridgecrest, Times-Herald
Rio Vista, River News
Ripon, Record
Riverbank, News
Riverdale, Free Press
Riverside, Beacon
Riverside, Magnolia Center News
Riverside, News
Riverside, Record
Rodeo, Tri-City News
Rosemead, Review
Sacramento, East Yolo Record
Sacramento, Wing Tips
Salinas, Democrat
San Anselmo, North Marin Times
San Anselmo, Ross Valley Times
San Bernardino, Airfoil
San Bernardino, Bulletin
San Bernardino, Democrat
San Bernardino, East Valley Times
San Bernardino, Highlander
San Bernardino, Muscoy News
San Bruno, Herald
San Carlos, Enquirer
San Clemente, Post
San Clemente, Sun
San Diego, Californian
San Diego, East Press
San Diego, Independent
San Diego, Light House
San Diego, Southeastern Times
San Diego, Star News
San Dimas, Press
San Fernando, Sun-Reporter
San Francisco, Bay Area Independent
San Francisco, Haight-Cole Journal
San Francisco, Little City News
San Francisco, Progress (Geneva Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Haight Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Ingleside Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Laurel Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Marina Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Mission Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Park-Presidio Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Parkside Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Polk Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Portola-Bayview Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Richmond Edition)
San Francisco, Progress (Sunset Edition)
San Francisco, Richmond Banner
San Francisco, Sun-Reporter
San Gabriel, Garvey Advertiser
San Gabriel, Sun
San Gabriel, Valley Good News
San Gabriel, Valley Independent
Sanger, Herald
San Jacinto, Valley Register
San Jose, Mayfair
San Jose, Greater Westside Resident
San Jose, Shopping News
San Juan Capistrano, Dispatch
San Lorenzo, Sun & Journal
San Marino, Tribune
San Mateo, Post & Shopping Guide
San Pablo, News
San Pedro, News-Advertiser
Santa Ana, Independent
Santa Barbara, Star
Santa Fe Springs, Independent
Santa Maria, Advertiser
Santa Monica, Independent
Santa Paula, News
Santa Rosa, Herald
Santa Rosa, News
Saratoga, News
Sausalito, News
Seal Beach, Post
Seaside, News-Sentinel
Sebastapol, Times
Selma, Enterprise
Shafter, Press
Sharp Park, Breakers
Sharp Park, Tribune
Sherman Oaks, Sun
Sierra Madre, News
Solana Beach, Citizen
Soledad, Bee
Solvang, News
Sonoma, Index-Tribune
South Gate, Press
South Pasadena, Review
South San Francisco, Enterprise-Journal
Spring Valley, Bulletin
Stockton, Lincoln Sun
Stockton, Pathfinder Union
Strathmore, Sentinel
Sunnymead, Butterfield Express
Sun Valley, Chronicle
Tarzana, Herald
Tarzana, Times-Press
Tehachapi, News
Temple City, Times
Terra Bella, News
Thousand Oaks, News
Tiburon, Peninsula Pelican
Topanga, Journal
Torrance, Herald
Torrance, Press
Tracy, Press
Tujunga, Record-Ledger
Tustin, News
Tustin, Orange Belt Shopper
Twentynine Palms, Desert Trial
Union City, Leader
Upland, News
Vacaville, Reporter
Van Nuys, News
Venice, Roberts News
Ventura, News
Victorville, Victor Press
Visalia, Rancher
Vista, News
Vista, Press
Walnut Creek, Sun
Walnut Creek, Times
Walnut Creek, Walnut Kernel
Wasco, News
Waterford, News
West Covina, Tribune
Westminster, Herald
Whittier, East Whittier Review
Whittier, Star-Review
Wilmington, Harbor Mail
Woodlake, Echo
Woodland, Record of Yolo County
Woodland Hills, Herald Tribune
Woodland Hills, Reporter
Woodland Hills, Shopper
Yorba Linda, Star
Yucaipa, News Mirror
Yucca Valley, Hi-Desert Star
Yucca Valley, Progress

RURAL WEEKLIES (105)

Alturas, Modoc County Record
Amador, News
Anderson, Valley News
Angels Camp, Calaveras Californian
Arbuckle, American
Arcata, Union

CALIFORNIA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Armona, Kings County News
Arroyo Grande, Herald-Recorder
Atascadero, News
Atwater, Shopping News
Atwater, Signal
Auburn, Herald
Auburn, Journal-Republican
Biggs, News
Bishop, Inyo Register
Blue Lake, Advocate
Boonville, Anderson Valley Advertiser
Bridgeport, Chronicle-Union
Burney, Shasta County Chronicle
Calexico, Chronicle
Calipatria, Herald
Calistoga, Calistogan
Cambria, Cambrian
Central Valley, Logger Tidings
Chowchilla, News
Colfax, Record
Corcoran, Journal
Crescent City, American
Crescent City, Triplicate
Davis, Enterprise
Delhi, Bulletin
Dorris, Butte Valley Star
Dos Palos, Star
Dunsmuir, News
Fall River Mills, Inter Mountain News
Ferndale, Enterprise
Fort Bragg, Advocate-News
Fortuna, Humboldt Beacon
Garberville, Record
Gerber, Reporter
Greenville, Record
Gridley, Herald
Grover City, Press
Gustine, Standard
Hanford, Kings County News
Herlong, Challenge
Hollister, Advance
Holtville, Tribune
Imperial, Review
Independence, Independent
Ione, Progress-News
Jackson, Amador Dispatch
Jackson, Ledger & Record
Lakeport, Bee
Lakeport, Press & Record
LeMoore, Advance
Lincoln, News-Messenger
Live Oak, Acorn
Livingston, Chronicle
Lone Pine, Progress-Citizen
Loomis, News
Los Banos, Enterprise
Los Molinos, Sun
Lower Lake, Clear Lake Observer
Loyalton, Sierra Booster
Mariposa, Gazette-Miner
Maxwell, Tribune
Mendocino, Beacon
Merced, Express
Middletown, Times-Star
Morro Bay, Coast Beacon
Morro Bay, Sun
Napa, County Record
Napa, Journal
Nevada City, Nugget
Oakhurst, Sierra Star
Orland, Register
Orland, Unit
Paradise, Post
Paso Robles, Journal
Pismo Beach, Times
Placerville, Mountain Democrat
Placerville, Times
Portola, Reporter
Quincy, Bulletin
Saint Helena, Star
San Andreas, Calaveras Prospect
San Juan Bautista, San Juan Mission News
Susanville, Lassen Advocate
Soquel, Herald
Tahoe Valley, News
Truckee, Sierra Sun
Tule Lake, Reporter
Tuolumne, Prospector
Tustin, News
Ukiah, News
Weaverville, Journal
Weed, Press
Williams, Farmer
Willits, News
Willows, Westside Shopper
Winters, Express
Woodland, Mail
Woodland, Record
Yuba City, Independent Herald

COLORADO (140)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (20)

Denver, Athmar Observer
Denver, Barnum News
Denver, Brentwood Herald
Denver, Bulletin Free Press
Denver, Colorado
Denver, Democrat
Denver, Rocky Mountain Herald
Denver, Star
Denver, Statesman
Denver, University Park News
Denver, The Western News
Evergreen, Canyon Courier
Fountain, Security Advertiser
Golden, Outlook
Lakewood, Jefferson Sentinel
Manitou Springs, Pike's Peak Journal
Pueblo, Colorado Tribune
Pueblo, Western Ideal
Thornton, Adams Record
Thornton, Tribune

RURAL WEEKLIES (120)

Akron, News Reporter
Antonito, Ledger-News
Arvada, Enterprise
Aspen, Times
Ault, Progress
Aurora, Advocate
Aurora, Star & News
Berthoud, Bulletin
Breckenridge, Journal
Brighton, Blade
Broomfield, Star Builder
Brush, News-Tribune
Buena Vista, Republican
Burlington, Record
Canon City, Record
Canon City, Sun
Castle Rock, News
Center, Post-Dispatch
Central City, Register-Call
Central City, Tommy-Knawker
Cheyenne Wells, Record
Cortez, Journal
Cortez, Sentinel
Craig, Empire-Courier
Craig, N. W. Colorado Press
Crawford, Chronicle
Cripple Creek, Gold Rush
Deer Trail, Tribune
Del Norte, Prospector
Delta, Independent
Dolores, Star
Dove Creek, Press
Durango, Herald
Eads, Press
Eagle, Eagle Valley Enterprise
Eaton, Herald
Englewood, Herald
Estes Park, Trail
Fairplay, Republican & Flume
Flagler, News
Florence, Citizen
Fort Collins, Times
Fort Lupton, Press
Fowler, Tribune
Frederick, Farmer & Miner
Fruita, Times
Glenwood Springs, Post
Glenwood Springs, Sage
Golden, Transcript
Granby, News
Grand Valley, News
Greeley, Booster
Greeley, Journal
Greeley, Tribune
Gunnison, Courier
Gunnison, Globe
Gunnison, News-Champion
Haxtun, Harvest
Hayden, Press
Holly, Chieftain
Holyoke, Enterprise
Hotchkiss, Herald
Hugo, Plainsman
Idaho Springs, Mining Journal
Ignacio, Chieftain
Johnstown, Breeze
Julesburg, Grit-Advocate
Keenesburg, Sun
Kim, Country-Record
Kiowa, Elbert County News
Kit Carson, Press
Kremmling, Times
LaFayette, Leader
La Jara, Gazette
La Junta, Arkansas Valley Journal
La Salle, Leader
Las Animas, Democrat
Las Animas, Leader
Leadville, Carbonate Chronicle
Limon, Leader
Littleton, Arapahoe Herald
Littleton, Independent
Longmont, Ledger
Louisville, Times
Loveland, News
Loveland, Reporter
Mancos, Times-Tribune
Manzanola, Sun
Meeker, Herald
Middletown, Bulletin
Monte Vista, Journal
Nucla, Forum
Olathe, Criterion
Ordway, New Era
Otis, Independent
Ouray, Herald
Pagosa Springs, Sun
Palisade, Tribune
Paonia, Paonian
Platteville, Herald
Rangely, Times
Rifle, Telegram
Saguache, Crescent
Salida, Record
San Luis, Free Press
Silverton, Standard & The Miner
Simla, Farmer
Springfield, Plainsman-Herald
Steamboat Springs, Steamboat Pilot
Sterling, High Plains Journal
Strasburgh, Eastern Colorado News
Stratton, Press
Telluride, San Miguel Forum
Walden, Star
Walsenburg, Huerfano World
Westcliffe, Tribune
Westminster, Journal
Windsor, Beacon
Wray, Gazette
Yuma, Pioneer

CONNECTICUT (57)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (45)

Branford, Review
Bridgeport, Herald
Brookfield, Journal
Canaan, Western News
Cheshire, Herald
Colchester, News-Citizen
Darien, Review
East Hartford, Gazette
Fairfield, Fairfield County Fair
Fairfield, Town Crier
Glastonbury, Citizen
Groton, Life
Guilford, Shore Line Times
Hamden, Hamden Chronicle
Hartford, Connecticut Jewish Ledger
Lakeville, Journal
Litchfield, Enquirer
Meriden, Durham Tri-Area News
Meriden, Independent
Milford, Citizen
New Canaan, Advertiser
Newington, Town Crier
New London, Life
New Milford, Times
Newtown, Bee
Niantic, News
Oakville, Town Times
Old Greenwich, Gazette
Plainville, News
Ridgefield, Press
Seymour, Record
Southington, News
Stamford, Mail
Stonington, Compass
Stratford, News
Thomaston, Express
Thompsonville, Press & News
Wallingford, Post
West Hartford, News
West Haven, Town Crier
Westport, Town Crier
Wethersfield, Post
Wilton, Bulletin
Windsor, News Weekly
Windsor Locks, Journal

RURAL WEEKLIES (12)

Clinton, Recorder
Danielson, Transcript
Deep River, New Era
East Hampton, News
Moosup, Journal-Press
Putnam, Observer
Putnam, Patriot
Rockville, Journal
Rockville, Leader
Saybrook, Pennysaver
Simsbury, Herald
Stafford Springs, Press

DELAWARE (15)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (5)

Middletown, Transcript
Newark, Post
New Castle, Gazette
Rehoboth Beach, Delaware Coast Press
Wilmington, Suburban News

RURAL WEEKLIES (10)

Bridgeville, News
Delmar, Bi-State Weekly
Dover, Index
Georgetown, Sussex Countian
Harrington, Journal

DELAWARE
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Laurel, State Register
Milford, Chronicle
Seaford, Leader-News
Selbyville, Delmarva-News
Smyrna, Times

DISTRICT of COLUMBIA (7)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (7)

Washington, Afro-American
Washington, Courier
Washington, Gaily News
Washington, Georgetowner
Washington, National Jewish Ledger
Washington, Pentagram News
Washington, Uptown Citizen

FLORIDA (146)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (62)

Auburndale, Star
Bartow, Democrat
Belle Glade, Herald
Boca Raton, News
Boynton Beach, News
Canal Point, Everglades News
Coral Gables, Times-Guide
Dania, Press
Daytona Beach, Examiner
Daytona Beach, Observer
Delray Beach, News-Journal
Dunedin, Times
Fort Meade, Leader
Frostproof, Highland News
Haines City, Herald
Hialeah, Home News
Hollywood, Herald
Homestead, Leader-Perrine Post
Homestead, News
Jacksonville, Breeze
Jacksonville, Chronicle
Jacksonville, Florida Star
Jacksonville, Florida Tattler
Jacksonville, Southern Jewish Weekly
Lakeland, American-Press
Lakeland, Polk Shopper
Lake Wales, News
Lake Worth, Herald
Lake Worth, Illustrated Tropical Leader
Largo, Sentinel
Miami, Courier
Miami, Guide of South Dade
Miami, Jewish Floridan
Miami, Times
Miami Beach, Times
Mulberry, Press
North Miami Beach, News Post
Opa-Locka, Carol City Crier
Opa-Locka, North Dade Hub
Orlando, Corner Cupboard
Orlando, Florida Sun
Pahokee, Glades Observer
Pensacola, Citizen
Pensacola, Escambia County Press
Plant City, Brandon News
Plant City, Courier
Port Tampa City, Beacon
Port Tampa City, Ruskin Planter
Riviera Beach, Gulf Stream News
Safety Harbor, Herald
Saint Petersburg, Journal
Saint Petersburg, Shopping News
Saint Petersburg, Tribune
South Miami, Reporter
Tampa, Free Press
Tampa, Indepedent
Tampa, Sentinel-Bulletin
Tarpon Springs, Leader
Warrington, Sun
Winter Garden, Times
Winter Haven, Herald
Winter Park, Sun-Herald

RURAL WEEKLIES (84)

Apalachicola, Times
Apopka, Chief
Arcadia, Arcadian
Avon Park, Sun
Blountstown, Record
Bonifay, Advertiser
Bradenton, Shopping Guide
Bristol, Free Press
Bronson, Journal
Brooksville, Sun Journal
Bunnell, Flagler Tribune
Bushnell, Times
Callahan, Record
Chattahoochee, News
Chiefland, Citizen
Chippley, News
Clermont, Press
Clewiston, News
Crawfordville, News
Crescent City, Putnam County Courier-Journal
Crestview, Okaloosa News-Journal
Cross City, Advocate
Dade City, Banner
De Funiak Springs, Herald
Englewood, Herald
Englewood, Progress
Eustis, News
Fernandina Beach, News Leader
Fort Walton Beach, News
Graceville, News
Green Cove Springs, Crescent
Groveland, Press
Havana, Herald
High Springs, Herald
High Springs, Telegram
Inverness, Chronicle
Islamorada, Florida Keys Sun
Jasper, News
Key West, Coral Tribune
Kissimmee, Gazette
La Belle, News
Lake Butler, Times
Lake City, Reporter and Columbia Gazette
Lake Placid, Journal
Live Oak, Suwannee Democrat
Macclenny, Press
Madison, Enterprise Recorder
Marathon, Keynoter
Marianna, Jackson County Democrat
Mayo, Free Press
Milton, Press Gazette
Monticello, News
Moore Haven, Democrat
Mt. Dora, Topic
Naples, News
Naples, Shopper
New Port Richey, Press
New Smyrna Beach, News
New Smyrna Beach, Observer
New Smyrna Beach, Pelican
Ocala, Sun
Okeechobee, News
Orange Park, Breeze
Ormond Beach, Tribune
Palatka, Sun
Palmetto, News
Panama City, Bulletin
Perry, News-Herald
Pierson, Journal
Port St. Joe, Star
Punta Gorda, Herald
Quincy, Times
St. Cloud, News
Sebastian, News
Sebring, News
Starke, Telegraph
Stuart, News
Tavares, Citizen
Titusville, Star-Advocate
Trenton, Journal
Venice, Gondolier
Vero Beach, Press-Journal
Wauchula, Herald-Advocate
Wewahitchka, Breeze
Williston, News
Zephyrhills, News

GEORGIA (204)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (18)

Atlanta, Advertiser
Atlanta, Courier
Atlanta, Metropolitan Herald
Atlanta, North Side News
Atlanta, Southern Israelite
Atlanta, Star
Augusta, Richmond County Times
Augusta, Weekly Review
Chamblee, North DeKalb Record
Columbus, Bayonet
Columbus, Georgia Tribune
Decatur, DeKalb New Era
Decatur, News
East Point, Reporter
Lithonia, Observer
Roswell, North Fulton Herald
Savannah, Herald
Savannah, Sun

RURAL WEEKLIES (186)

Abbeville, Chronicle
Adel, News
Alamo, Eagle
Albany, Journal
Alma, Times
Americus, Times-Recorder
Arlington, Courier
Ashburn, Wiregrass Farmer
Austell, Enterprise
Bainbridge, Post-Search Light
Barnesville, News-Gazette
Baxley, News-Banner
Blackshear, Times
Blairsville, News
Blakely, News
Blue Ridge, Times
Blue Ridge, Summit Post
Bowden, Bulletin
Bremen, Gateway
Buchanan, Tribune
Buena Vista, Patrict
Buford, Advertiser
Butler, Herald
Cairo, Messenger
Calhoun, News
Calhoun, Times
Camilla, Enterprise
Canton, Tribune
Carnesville, Herald
Carrollton, Carrol County Georgian
Carrollton, Times-Free Press
Cartersville, Herald
Cartersville, Weekly Tribune-News
Cedartown, Standard
Chatsworth, Times
Clarkesville, Advertiser
Claxton, Enterprise
Clayton, Tribune
Cleveland, Courier
Cochran, Journal
Comer, News
Commerce, News
Conyers, Citizen
Cornelia, Georgian
Covington, News
Crawfordville, Advocate-Democrat
Cummings, News
Cuthbert, Times
Dahlonega, Nugget
Dallas, New Era
Dalton, Citizen
Dalton, News
Danielsville, Monitor
Darien, News
Dawson, News
Dawsonville, Advertiser
Dawsonville, News
Doerun, Courier
Donalsonville, News
Douglas, Enterprise
Douglas, Progress
Douglasville, Sentinel
Eastman, Times-Journal
Eatonton, Messenger
Edison, News
Elberton, Star
Ellaville, Sun
Ellijay, Times-Courier
Fayetteville, News
Fitzgerald, Herald
Fitzgerald, Leader
Folkston, Herald
Forest Park, Free Press News and Farmer
Forest Park, News
Forsyth, Advertiser
Ft. Gaines, News-Record
Fort Valley, Leader-Tribune
Franklin, News & Banner
Gibson, Record
Glennville, Sentinel
Grantville, Gazette
Gray, News
Greensboro, Herald-Journal
Greenville, Meriwether-Vindicator
Hamilton, Journal
Harlem, News
Hartwell, Sun
Hawkinsville, Dispatch and News
Hazlehurst, Ledger
Hiawassee, Herald
Hinesville, Herald
Hogansville, Herald
Homer, Journal
Homerville, News
Irwinton, Bulletin
Irwinton, News
Jackson, Progress-Argus
Jasper, Progress
Jefferson, Herald
Jeffersonville, New Era
Jessup, Sentinel
Kingsland, Georgian
Knoxville, Post and News
LaFayette, Messenger
Lakeland, News
Lavonia, Times
Lawrenceville, News-Herald
Leesburg, Journal
Lexington, Echo
Lincolnton, Journal
Louisville, News and Farmer
Ludowici, News
Lyons, Progress
Madison, Madisonian
Manchester, Mercury
Manchester, Review
Marietta, Times
McDonough, Advertiser
McRae, Enterprise
Metter, Advertiser
Milledgeville, News
Milledgeville, Union-Recorder
Millen, News
Monroe, Tribune
Montezuma, Chronicle
Montezuma, Citizen and Georgian
Monticello, News
Moultrie, Observer
Mt. Vernon, Monitor
Nahunta, Enterprise
Nashville, Herald
Newman, Times-Herald

GEORGIA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Ocilla, Star
Omega, News
Pearson, Citizen
Pelham, Journal
Pembroke, Journal
Perry, Journal
Pine Mountain, Review
Quitman, Free Press
Reidsville, Journal
Richland, Journal
Ringgold, News
Ringgold, Record
Rockmart, Journal
Rossville, Open Gate
Royston, Record
Saint Marys, Tribune
Sandersville, Progress
Smyrna, Herald
Soperton, News
Sparks, Eagle
Sparta, Ishmaelite
Springfield, Herald
Statesboro, Herald
Statesboro, Times
Summerville, News
Swainsboro, Forest-Blade
Sylvania, News
Sylvania, Telephone
Sylvester, Local
Talbotton, New Era
Tallapoosa, Journal-Beacon
Thomaston, Free Press
Thomaston, Times
Thomasville, Times-Enterprise
Thomson, Progress
Tifton, Gazette
Toccoa, Record
Trenton, Times
Tucker, Tribune
Unadilla, Observer
Vidalia, Advance
Vienna, News
Villa Rica, Villa Rican
Wadley, Herald
Warner Robins, Press
Warner Robins, Sun
Warrenton, Clipper
Washington, News-Reporter
Watkinsville, Enterprise
Waynesboro, True Citizen
Winder, News
Wrens, Jefferson Reporter
Wrightsville, Headlight
Zebulon, Journal

HAWAII (9)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (3)

Honolulu, Waikiki Beach-Press
Honolulu, Weekly Snooper
Honolulu, Windward Reporter

RURAL WEEKLIES (6)

Kailua, Pali Press
Lanai City, Lanaian
Lihue, Garden Island
Wahiawa, Independent
Wahiawa, News
Wailuku, Maui News

IDAHO (76)

RURAL WEEKLIES (76)

Aberdeen, Times
American Falls, Press
Arco, Advertiser
Ashton, Herald
Boise, Garden City Gazette
Boise, Gazette
Boise, Journal
Bonners Ferry, Herald
Buhl, Herald
Cambridge, News-Reporter
Cascade, News
Challis, Messenger
Coeur d'Alene, Kootrnal County Leader
Cottonwood, Chronicle
Council, Leader
Downey, Bannock County News
Driggs, News
Dubois, Enterprise
Eagle, Enterprise
Emmett, Messenger-Index
Fairfield, Courier
Filer, Citizen-Record
Genesee, News
Glenns Ferry, Gazette
Gooding, Leader
Grace, Herald
Grangeville, Free Press
Hailey, Times
Hazelton, First Segregation News
Homedale, Chronicle
Homedale, News
Idaho City, World
Jerome, News
Kamiah, Progress
Kellogg, News-Wardner
Kendrick, Gazette
Kimberly, Advertiser
Kuna, Herald
MacKay, Miner
Malad City, Idaho Enterprise
Marsing, Owyhee Nugget
McCall, Star
Meridian, News-Times
Middleton, Herald
Montpelier, News-Examiner
Mountain Home, News
Mountain Home, Strata Courier
New Plymouth, Sentinel
Nezperce, Herald
Orofino, Tribune
Paris, Post
Parma, Review
Payette, Independent-Enterprise
Pocatello, Intermountain
Preston, Citizen
Priest River, Times
Rathdrum, Tribune
Rexburg, Journal
Rexburg, Standard
Rigby, Star
Roberts, Citizen
Rupert, News
Saint Anthony, News
Saint Maries, Gazette-Record
Salmon, Recorder-Herald
Sandpoint, News-Bulletin
Shelley, Pioneer
Shoshone, Journal
Soda Springs, Sun
Troy, Press
Wallace, Miner
Weiser, American
Weiser, Signal
Wendell, Irrigationist
Wilder, Herald

ILLINOIS (660)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (305)

Addison, Press
Addison, Register
Antioch, Advertiser
Antioch, News
Argo, Des Plaines Valley News
Argo, Summit Times
Arlington Heights, Cook County Herald
Arlington Heights, Herald
Barrington, Courier Review
Batavia, Herald
Beecher, Herald
Belleville, Broadcaster
Bensenville, Du Page County Register
Bensenville, Register
Berwyn, Life
Blue Island, Sun Standard
Blue Mound, Leader
Braidwood, Index
Bridgeview, Southfield Independent
Brimfield, News
Broadlands, News
Brookfield, Citizen
Brookfield, Enterprise
Buffalo, Tri-City Register
Cahokia, Herald
Calumet City, Journal
Caseyville, News
Champaign-Urbana, Times
Chicago, Albany Park Times
Chicago, Austinite
Chicago, Austin News
Chicago, Back of the Yards Journal
Chicago, Belmont Central Leader
Chicago, Belmont Central News
Chicago, Bel-Park Leader
Chicago, Beverly News
Chicago, Beverly Review
Chicago, Booster
Chicago, Bridgeport News
Chicago, Brighton Park Life
Chicago, Broadway Independent
Chicago, Bulletin
Chicago, Calumet Index
Chicago, Community News
Chicago, Community Reporter
Chicago, Courier
Chicago, Cragin Leader
Chicago, Crusader
Chicago, Defender
Chicago, Edgebrook Events
Chicago, Edgewater Uptown News
Chicago, Edison Norwood Review
Chicago, Garfieldian
Chicago, Gold Coast Independent
Chicago, Harlem-Foster-Higgins Pres
Chicago, Harlem Foster Times
Chicago, Harlem Irving Leader
Chicago, Harlem Irving Times
Chicago, Hegewisch News
Chicago, Hyde Park Herald
Chicago, Irving Park News
Chicago, Jefferson Norwood News
Chicago, Jefferson Park Leader
Chicago, Jefferson Park Press
Chicago, Jefferson Park Times
Chicago, Lakeview Booster
Chicago, Lake View Economist
Chicago, Lake View Independent
Chicago, Lawndale News
Chicago, Lawndale Times
Chicago, Lincoln Belmont Booster
Chicago, Logan Booster
Chicago, Logan Square News
Chicago, Mayfair Leader
Chicago, Mayfair News
Chicago, Mayfair Times
Chicago, Midweek New.
Chicago, Midwest Herald
Chicago, Montclare-Leyden News
Chicago, Montclare News
Chicago, Mount Greenwood Express
Chicago, Near Loop Economist
Chicago, Near North News
Chicago, New Crusader
Chicago, New World
Chicago, North Center News
Chicago, North Loop News
Chicago, North Side News
Chicago, Northtown Economist
Chicago, Northtown Independent
Chicago, North Town News
Chicago, Northwest Herald
Chicago, Northwest Journal
Chicago, Northwest Leader
Chicago, Northwest News
Chicago, Northwest Side Press
Chicago, North West Suburban
Chicago, Northwest Sunday Times
Chicago, Northwesttown Booster
Chicago, Norwood Edison Times
Chicago, Norwood Park Citizen
Chicago, Portage Park Leader
Chicago, Portage Park News
Chicago, Portage Park Times
Chicago, Ravenswood Lincolnite News
Chicago, Rogers Park News
Chicago, Sentinel
Chicago, Sheridan Center Booster
Chicago, South East Economist
Chicago, South End Reporter
Chicago, South Shore News
Chicago, South Side News
Chicago, Southtown Economist
Chicago, Southwest News Herald
Chicago, Suburban Economist
Chicago, Suburban Leader
Chicago, Sunday Booster
Chicago, Sunday Star
Chicago, West Belmont Leader
Chicago, West Side Times
Chicago, West Suburban Times
Chicago, West Town Herald
Chicago, Woodlawn Booster
Chicago Heights, Star
Chicago Ridge, Citizen
Chillicothe, Bulletin
Cicero, Life
Clarendon Hills, Doings
Collinsville, Herald
Crete, Record
Decatur, Advertiser
Deerfield, Review
Des Plaines, Journal
Des Plaines, Press
Des Plaines, Suburban Times
Divernon, News
Downers Grove, Reporter
Dundee, Review
Dupo, Herald Tribune
Earlville, Leader
East Moline, Herald
East Peoria, Tazewell County Courier
East St. Louis, Canteen News
East St. Louis, Centreville News
East St. Louis, Progress
Elburn, Herald
Elk Grove, Herald
Elmhurst, Press
Elmwood, Gazette
Evanston, Review
Evergreen Park, Courier
Forest Park, Review
Fort Sheridan, Tower
Fox Lake, Press
Frankfort, Leader
Franklin Park, Journal
Freeburg, Tribune
Geneva, Republican
Glasford, Gazette
Glencoe, News
Glen Ellyn, News
Glenview, Announcements
Granite City, Press
Grayslake, Times
Hampshire, Register
Hanna City, Index
Harvard, Herald
Harvey, Advertiser
Harvey, News-Bee
Harvey, Tribune
Highland, Journal
Highland, News
Highland Park, News
Highwood, News
Hinsdale, Doings

ILLINOIS

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Hoffman Estates, Herald
Homer, Enterprise
Homewood, Star
Illiopolis, Sentinel
Itasca, Register
Joliet, Negro Voice
Joliet, Spectator
La Grange, Citizen
La Grange, Countryside Citizen
La Grange, Park Citizen
La Grange, Pictorial Home
La Grange, Shopper
La Grange, Suburban Life, Central
La Grange, Suburban Life, East
La Grange, Suburban Life, West
Lake Forest, Lake Forester
Lake Zurich, Frontier Enterprise
Lake Zurich, Press
Lansing, Journal
Lansing, Hammond Journal
Lebanon, Advertiser
Leland, Times
Lemont, Lemonter
Libertyville, Independent-Register
Libertyville, News
Lisle, Advertiser
Lisle, Eagle
Lockport, Herald
Lombard, Spectator
Loves Park, Mail
Loves Park, Post
Lyons, Citizen
Lyons, Times
Macon, News
Mahomet, Sucker State
Manhattan, American
Marengo, Republican-News
Marissa, Messenger
Maroa, Prairie Post
Mascoutah, Herald
Maywood, Herald
Melrose Park, Sentinel
Mendota, Reporter and Sun Bulletin
Midlothian, Bremen Township News-Record
Midlothian, Midlothian-Bremen Messenger
Milan, Independent
Millstadt, Enterprise
Mokena, News-Bulletin
Mount Prospect, Herald
Mundelein, News
Naperville, Clarion
Naperville, Sun
New Athens, Journal Press
New Berlin, Bee
Niantic, Observer
Northbrook, Star
North Chicago, Tribune
Northlake, Press
North Riverside, Star-Citizen
Oak Lawn, Independent
Oak Lawn, Scottsdale-Ashburn Independent
Oak Lawn, Southwest Suburbanite
Oak Park, Oak Leaves
Oak Park, Oak Parker
O'Fallon, Progress
Ogden, Courier
Orland Park, Herald
Palatine, Enterprise
Palos Heights, Palos Regional
Palos Hills, Citizen
Park Forest, Reporter
Park Forest, Star
Park Ridge, Advocate
Park Ridge, Herald
Park Ridge, Press
Park Ridge, Spectator
Pawnee, Herald
Peoria Heights, Herald
Peotone, Vedette
Plainfield, Enterprise
Pleasant Plains, Press
Port Byron, Globe
Princeville, Telephone
Prospect Heights, Herald
Rantoul, Press
Reynolds, Press
Richmond, Nu Vue News
Riverdale, Pointer
River Forest, Forest Leaves
River Forest, West Suburbanite
Riverside, News
Rochelle, Leader
Rochelle, News
Rogers Park, News
Rolling Meadows, Herald
Roselle, Register
Round Lake, Journal
Round Lake, News
Rushville, Times
Saint Charles, Chronicle
Saint Joseph, Record
Sidney, Times
Skokie, Life
Skokie, News
Skokie, Review
Southfield, Independent
South Holland, Tribune
Springfield, Illinois Chronicle
Springfield, Press
Steger, News
Stickney, Life
Tinley Park, Times
Villa Park, Argus
Warrenville, News
Wauconda, Leader
West Chicago, Press
Western Springs, Citizen
Westmont, Times
Wheaton, Du Page County Press
Wheaton, Leader
Wheeling, Herald
Williamsville, Sun
Wilmette, Life
Wilmington, Advocate
Winnetka, Talk
Wood River, Journal
Worth, Citizen
Worth, Record
Zion, Zion-Benton News

RURAL WEEKLIES (355)

Abingdon, Argus
Abingdon, Kodak
Adair, Beacon
Albion, Journal-Register
Aledo, Times-Record
Alexis, Argus
Allerton, Sun
Altamont, News
Amboy, News
Anna, Gazette-Democrat
Arcola, Record-Herald
Armington, Helper
Arthur, Graphic-Clarion
Ashland, Sentinel
Ashton, Gazette
Assumption, Tribune
Astoria, Argus-Searchlight
Athens, Free Press
Atkinson, News
Atlanta, Argus
Atwood, Herald
Auburn, Citizen
Augusta, Eagle
Avon, Sentinel
Barry, Adage
Baylis, Guide
Beecher City, Journal
Bement, Register
Benld, Enterprise
Benton, Standard
Bethany, Echo
Blandinsville, Star-Gazette
Bluffs, Times
Bowen, Chronicle
Bradford, Republican
Breese, Journal
Bridgeport, Leader
Brocton, Review
Brookport, Independent
Bunker Hill, Gazette-News
Bushnell, Democrat
Byron, Tribune
Cambridge, Chronicle
Camp Point, Journal
Capron, Courier
Carlinville, Democrat
Carlinville, Enquirer
Carlyle, Democrat
Carlyle, Union Banner
Carrollton, Gazette-Patriot
Carterville, Herald
Carthage, Journal
Casey, Banner-Times
Catlin, Courier
Cerro Gordo, News
Chadwick, Review
Chandlerville, Times
Chatsworth, Plaindealer
Chenoa, Clipper-Times
Chester, Herald-Tribune
Chrisman, Courier
Christopher, Progress
Cissna Park, News
Clay City, Advocate
Clayton, Enterprise
Clifton, Advocate
Clinton, Observer
Coal City, Courant
Colchester, Chronicle
Colchester, Independent
Colfax, Press
Columbia, Clarion
Columbia, Star
Cornell, Journal
Crystal Lake, Herald
Crystal Lake, News & Shopping Guide
Cuba, Journal
Cullom, Chronicle-Headlight-Enquirer
Dallas City, Enterprise
Davis, Leader
Deland, Tribune
Delavan, Times
Dieterich, Special-Gazette
Dongola, Tri-County Record
Du Quoin, News
Durand, Gazette
Dwight, Star and Herald
East Dubuque, Register
Easton, Enterprise
Edinburg, Herald-Star
Elizabeth, News
Elizabethtown, Independent
Elkville, Journal
El Paso, Advertiser-Advance
Emden, News
Emington, Joker
Erie, Review
Essex, Telephone
Eureka, Journal
Evansville, Enterprise
Fairbury, Blade
Fairfield, Press
Fairfield, Record
Fairmount, Star
Farina, News
Farmer City, Journal
Farmington, Bugle
Fisher, Reporter
Fithian, News
Flanagan, Home Times
Forrest, News
Forreston, Journal
Franklin, Times
Fulton, Journal
Galena, Gazette-Advertiser
Galesburg, Knox County Republican
Galesburg, Post
Galva, News
Gardner, Chronicle
Geneseo, Republic
Genoa, Republican
Georgetown, News
German Valley, Bulletin
Gibson City, Courier
Gillespie, News
Gilman, Star
Girard, Gazette
Golconda, Herald-Enterprise
Golden, New Era
Good Hope, Good Hoper
Granville, Record
Grayville, Mercury-Independent
Greenfield, Argus
Greenup, Press
Greenview, Review
Greenville, Advocate
Griggsville, Independent & Press
Hamilton, Press
Hardin, Calhoun News
Hardin, Herald
Hartsburg, Journal
Havana, Democrat
Henry, News-Republican
Herrick, Bulletin
Herrin, Spokesman
Heyworth, Star
Hillsboro, Journal
Hillsboro, News
Hinckley, Review
Hindsboro, News
Hull, West Pike News
Hume, Record
Hutsonville, Herald
Ina, Observer
Industry, Press
Jerseyville, Democrat-News
Johnston City, Progress
Kansas, Journal
Keithsburg, News
Kinmundy, Express
Kirkland, Journal
Knoxville, Republican
Lacon, Home Journal
LaHarpe, Quill
Lanark, Gazette
Lawrenceville, News
Leaf River, Register
Lena, Stephenson Farmer
Leroy, Journal
Lewistown, Democrat
Lewistown, News
Lexington, Unit-Journal
Liberty, Bee
Loda, Times
London Mills, Times
Long Point, Advocate
Louisville, Republican
Lovington, Reporter
Macomb, Times
Manito, Community Express
Manteno, News
Marion, Leader
Marshall, Democrat
Marshall, Herald
Martinsville, Planet
Mason City, Banner-Times
McHenry, Plaindealer
McLeansboro, Times-Leader
Melvin, Press
Mendon, Dispatch-Times
Meredosia, Budget
Metamora, Herald
Metropolis, News
Middletown, Ledger
Milford, Herald-News
Milledgeville, Merchant
Milton, Beacon
Minier, News
Minonk, News-Dispatch

ILLINOIS
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Momence, Progress-Reporter
Monee, Monitor
Monticello, Journal
Monticello, Piatt County Republican
Morrison, News
Morrison, Sentinel
Morrisonville, Times
Morton, News
Mt. Carroll, Mirror-Democrat
Mount Morris, Index
Mount Olive, Herald
Mount Pulaski, Times News
Mt. Sterling, Democrat Message
Moweaqua, News
Nashville, News
Nauvoo, Independent
Neoga, News
New Baden, News
New Canton, Press
New Holland, Journal
New Lenox, Press
Newman, Independent
Newton, Press-Mentor
Nokomis, Free Press-Progress
Normal, Normalite
Norris City, News
Oakland, Messenger
Oblong, Oracle
Odell, Times
Okawville, Times
Onarga, Leader-Reivew
Oquawka, Henderson County Journal
Orangeville, Courier
Oregon, Reporter
Orion, Times
Palestine, Register
Palmyra, Transcript
Pana, News-Palladium
Patoka, Register
Pawpaw, Times
Paxton, Record
Payson, Times
Pearl City, News
Pecatonica, News
Petersburg, Observer
Pinckneyville, Advocate
Pinckneyville, Democrat
Piper City, Journal
Pittsfield, Democrat-Times
Pittsfield, Republican
Plano, News
Pleasant Hill, Weekly Messenger
Pleasant Plains, Press
Plymouth, Scribe
Pocahontas, News-Patriot
Polo, Press
Potomac, Journal
Prairie City, Citizen
Prairie Du Rocher, Sun
Princeton, Republican
Prophetstown, Echo
Ramsey, News-Journal
Rankin, Independent
Raymond, News
Red Bud, Pilgrim
Reddick, Courier
Ridge Farm, Republican
Ridgway, News
Rio, News-Advertiser
Roanoke, Review
Robinson, Argus
Robinson, Constitution
Rochester, Herald
Rockton, Herald
Roodhouse, Record
Roseville, Independent
Roseville, Press
Rossville, Press
Saint Anne, Record
Saint Elmo, Banner
Salem, Times-Commoner
Sandwich, Free Press
San Jose, Journal
Saybrook, Gazette
Seaton, Independent
Sesser, Review
Shabbona, Express
Shannon, Reporter
Shawneetown, Democrat
Sheldon, Journal
Sidell, Journal
Somonauk, Reveille
Sorento, News
Sparta, News-Plaindealer
Spring Valley, Gazette
Staunton, Star-Times
Steeleville, Ledger
Stewardson, Clipper
Stillman Valley, News
Stockton, Herald-News
Stronghurst, Henderson County Graphic-Reporter
Sullivan, News
Sullivan, Progress
Sumner, Press
Sycamore, Tribune
Sycamore, True Republican
Table Grove, Herald
Tampico, Tornado
Teutopolis, Press
Thomson, Review
Tiskilwa, Weekly
Toledo, Democrat
Toluca, Star-Herald
Tonica, News
Toulon, News
Tower Hill, Times
Trenton, News
Trenton, Sun
Troy, Tribune
Tuscola, Journal
Tuscola, Review
Vandalia, Leader
Vandalia, Union
Vermont, Tribune-Union
Vienna, Times
Villa Grove, News
Virden, Recorder
Virginia, Gazette
Walnut, Leader
Warren, Sentinel-Leader
Warsaw, Bulletin
Washburn, Leader
Washington, Reporter
Waterloo, Republican
Waterloo, Times
Watseka, Republican
Waverly, Journal
Weldon, Record
Wenona, Index
Westfield, Review
West Salem, Advocate
Westville, News
White Hall, Republican
Williamsfield, Times
Winchester, Times
Windsor, Gazette
Winnebago, News
Winslow, Register
Woodhull, Dispatch
Wyoming, Post-Herald
Yates City, Banner
Yorkville, Record
Zeigler, News

INDIANA (292)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (51)

Albany, Chronicle
Beech Grove, Weekly
Cedar Lake, Register
Crown Point, Lake County Star
Crown Point, Register
Cumberland, Courier
East Chicago, Calumet News
East Chicago, Press
Gary, American
Gary, Defender
Gary, East Gary Herald
Gary, Glen Park Herald
Gary, Merrillville Herald
Gary, Miller Herald
Gary, Suburban Herald
Gary, Tolleston Herald
Gaston, News
Hammond, Globe-Ledger
Hammond, Journal
Hammond, Lite
Hobart, Gazette
Hobart, Herald
Indianapolis, Eastern Sun
Indianapolis, East Side Herald
Indianapolis, Enterprise
Indianapolis, Harrisonian
Indianapolis, Jewish Chronicle
Indianapolis, Jewish Post & Opinion
Indianapolis, Marion County Courier
Indianapolis, Marion County Mail
Indianapolis, Recorder
Indianapolis, South Side Press
Indianapolis, Spotlight
Indianapolis, West Side Messenger
Lapel, Review
Lawrence, Journal
Lowell, Tribune
Mishawaka, Enterprise
Monroeville, News
New Haven, Times
North Liberty, News
Pendleton, Times
South Bend, Record
South Bend, Tri-County News
South Bend, Weekly
Summitville, Sun
Terre Haute, Advocate
Terre Haute, Saturday Spectator
Walkerton, Independent
Whiting, Times-Graphic

RURAL WEEKLIES (241)

Akron, News
Albion, American
Albion, New Era
Angola, Herald
Angola, Reflector
Angola, Republican
Argos, Reflector
Attica, Fountain-Warren Democrat
Auburn, Courier
Auburn, Dispatch
Aurora, Journal-Bulletin
Avilla, News
Batesville, Herald-Tribune
Berne, Witness,
Bloomfield, News
Bloomingdale, Turkey Run Times
Bloomington, Star-Courier
Boonville, Enquirer
Boonville, Standard
Boswell, Enterprise
Bourbon, News-Mirror
Brazil, Gazette
Bremen, Enquirer
Bristol, Banner
Brook, Reporter
Brookston, Reporter
Brookville, American
Brookville, Democrat
Brownsburg, Record
Brownstown, Banner
Butler, Record-Herald
Cambridge City, Community Press
Cambridge City, National Road Traveler
Cannelton, News
Carlisle, News
Carmel, Suburban
Carthage, Citizen
Cayuga, Herald
Centerville, Echo
Charlestown, Courier
Charlestown, Shopping News
Chesterton, Tribune
Churubusco, Truth
Clay City, News
Coatesville, Herald
Columbus, Herald
Converse, Journal
Converse, Miami Former
Corydon, Democrat
Corydon, Republican
Covington, Friend
Covington, Republican
Cromwell, Advance
Culver, Citizen
Cynthiana, Argus
Dana, News
Danville, Gazette
Danville, Republican
Delphi, Citizen
Delphi, Journal
De Motte, Post
Denver, Tribune
Dunkirk, News & Sun
Ellettsville, Journal
English, Crawford County Democrat
English, News-Messenger
Fairmount, News
Farmersburg, News
Farmland, Enterprise
Ferdinand, News
Flora, Democrat
Ft. Branch, Times
Fortville, Tribune
Fountain City, Times
Fowler, Benton Review
Fowler, Tribune
Francesville, Tribune
Franklin, Republican
Fremont, Eagle
French Lick, Herald
Galveston, Leader
Garrett, Clipper
Gas City, Journal
Geneva, Herald
Greencastle, Graphic
Greenfield, Hancock Journal Democrat
Greenfield, Republican
Greensburg, Times
Greentown, News
Greenwood, News
Hagerstown, Exponent
Hamilton, News
Hazleton, News
Hebron, Herald
Hillsboro, Times
Hope, Star-Journal
Huntingburg, Independent
Huntingburg, Signal
Jamestown, Press
Jasonville, Leader
Jeffersonville, Clark County Journal
Jeffersonville, Post
Jonesboro, Journal
Kentland, Enterprise
Kewanna, Observer
Kingman, Star
Knightstown, Banner
Knox, Democrat
Knox, News
Knox, Republican
Kokomo, Tri-County Clarion
Kouts, Times
La Crosse, Regional News
Lafayette, Leader
La Grange, News
LaGrange, Standard
Lawrenceburg, Press
Lawrenceburg, Register
Liberty, Herald
Liberty, News

INDIANA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Ligonier, Leader
Loogootee, Tribune
Lynn, Herald
Madison, Herald
Marion, News-Herald
Marion, Observer
Martinsville, Democrat
Medaryville, Herald
Mentone, News
Michigan City, Lake Shore Outlook
Middlebury, Independent
Middletown, News
Milford, Mail
Milltown, Clarion
Mitchell, Tribune
Monon, News
Montezuma, Press
Monticello, Times
Montpelier, Herald
Mooresville, Times
Morocco, Courier
Mount Vernon, Republican
Mulberry, Reporter
Nappanee, Advance-News
Nappanee, Farm and Home News
Nashville, Democrat
Newburgh, Register
New Castle, News
New Harmony, Times
New Paris, Farmer's Exhange
Newport, Hoosier State
Noblesville, Times
North Judson, News
North Liberty, News
North Manchester, News-Journal
North Vernon, Plain Dealer
North Vernon, Sun
Oakland City, Journal
Oaktown, Press
Odon, Journal
Orleans, Progress-Examiner
Osgood, Journal
Ossian, Journal
Owensville, Star-Echo
Oxford, Gazette
Paoli, News
Paoli, Republican
Pekin, Banner-Gazette
Perrysville, Highland Herald
Peru, Republican
Petersburg, Press
Pierceton, Press
Plainfield, Friday Caller
Plainfield, Messenger
Portland, Graphic
Poseyville, News
Remington, Press
Rensselaer, News
Richmond, Graphic
Ridgeville, News
Rising Sun, Ohio County News
Rising Sun, Recorder
Roanoke, Review
Rockport, Democrat
Rockport, Journal
Rockville, Republican
Rockville, Tribune
Rosedale, Valley News
Royal Center, Record
Russellville, News
Russiaville, Observer
Saint Joe, News
Salem, Democrat
Salem, Leader
Scottsburg, Chronicle
Scottsburg, Giveaway
Scottsburg, Scott County Journal
Seymour, Republican
Sheridan, News
Sheldon, Sun & Mail
Shipshewana, News
Shirley, Record
Shoals, News
South Whitley, Tribune
Spencer, Owen Leader
Sullivan, Democrat
Sullivan, Union
Swayzee, Press
Syracuse, Syracuse-Wawasee-Journal
Tell City, News
Upland, Courier
Van Buren, News-Eagle
Veedersburg, News
Versailles, Republican
Vevay, Democrat
Vevay, Reveille Enterprise
Wakarusa, Tribune
Wanatah, Mirror
Warren, Tribune
Waterloo, Press
Waveland, Tri-County News
Waynetown, Despatch
West Lebanon, Gazette
Westville, Indicator
Williamsport, Pioneer
Williamsport, Review-Republican
Winamac, Journal
Winchester, Journal-Herald
Winchester, News
Wingate, News
Winslow, Dispatch
Wolcott, Beacon
Wolcottville, Herald
Worthington, Times
Yorktown, Adventure
Zionsville, Times

IOWA (382)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (22)

Altoona, Herald
Anthon, Herald
Bettendorf, Press
Central City, News-Letter
Coggon, Monitor
Correctionville, News
Danbury, Review
Des Moines, American Citizen
Des Moines, Highland Park News
Des Moines, Iowa Bystander
Des Moines, South Des Moines Messenger
Grimes, Citizen
Hudson, Herald
La Porte City, Progress Review
Le Claire, County Shopper & Buyers Guide
Marion, Sentinel
Mitchellville, Index
Mount Vernon, Hawkeye Record
Moville, Record
Polk City, Citizen
Sioux City, Press Dispatch
West Des Moines, Express

RURAL WEEKLIES (360)

Ackley, World-Journal
Adair, News
Adel, News
Afton, Star Enterprise
Akron, Register-Tribune
Albert City, Appeal
Albia, News
Albia, Union-Republican
Algona, Advance
Algona, Upper Des Moines
Allison, Tribune
Alta, Advertiser
Alton, Democrat
Alvord, Register
Anamosa, Eureka
Anamosa, Journal
Anita, Tribune
Arlington, News
Armstrong, Journal
Auburn, Enterprise
Audubon, News-Guide
Aurelia, Sentinel
Avoca, Journal-Herald
Bagley, Gazette
Bancroft, Register
Battle Creek, Times
Baxter, New Era
Bayard, News
Bedford, Times-Press
Belle Plaine, Union
Bellevue, Herald
Bellevue, Leader
Belmond, Independent
Bennett, Gazette
Blairstown, Press
Blakesburg, Excelsior
Bloomfield, Democrat
Bloomfield, Republican
Bonaparte, Record-Republican
Boyden, Reporter
Breda, News
Bridgewater, Times
Brighton, Enterprise
Britt, News-Tribune
Brooklyn, Chronicle
Buffalo Center, Tribune
Cambridge, Leader
Carlisle, Citizen
Carson, Times
Cascade, Pioneer Advertiser
Casey, Vindicator
Chariton, Herald-Patriot
Chariton, Leader
Charter Oak, Times
Cherokee, Courier
Clarence, Sun
Clarinda, Herald-Journal
Clarion, Monitor
Clarksville, Star
Clear Lake, Mirror-Reporter
Colfax, Tribune
Columbus Junction, Gazette
Conrad, Record
Coon Rapids, Enterprise
Coralville, Guide
Corning, Free Press
Corwith, Herald
Corydon, Times-Republican
Creseo, Times-Plain Dealer
Cumberland, Enterprise
Dallas Center, Times
Dayton, Review
Decorah, Journal
Decorah, Public Opinion
Deep River, Record
Denison, Bulletin
Denison, Review
Denver, Times & Journal
DeWitt, Observer
Diagonal, Reporter
Donnellson, Review
Dows, Reporter
Dubuque, Leader
Dumont, Journal
Dunlap, Reporter
Durant, News
Dyersville, Commercial
Dysart, Reporter
Eagle Grove, Eagle
Earlham, Echo
Early, News
Eddyville, Tribune
Eldon, Forum
Eldora, Herald-Ledger
Eldora, Index
Elgin, Echo
Elkader, Register
Elk Horn, Review
Ellsworth, News
Emmetsburg, Democrat
Emmetsburg, Reporter
Essex, Independent
Evansdale, Enterprise
Everly, News
Exira, Journal
Farmington, Tri-County News
Fayette, Leader
Fonda, Times
Fontanelle, Observer
Forest City, Summit
Fredericksburg, News
Fremont, Gazette
Garner, Leader
Garwin, Sun
George, News
Gladbrook, Sun
Gladbrook, Tama Northern
Glenwood, Opinion-Tribune
Glidden, Graphic
Gowrie, News
Graettinger, Times
Grand Junction, Globe-Press
Granger, Citizen
Greene, Recorder
Greenfield, Free Press
Grinnell, Herald-Register
Griswold, American
Grundy Center, Register
Guthrie Center, Guthrian
Guthrie Center, Times
Guttenberg, Press
Hamburg, Reporter
Hampton, Chronicle
Hampton, Times
Harlan, News-Advertiser
Harlan, Tribune
Hartley, Sentinel
Hawarden, Independent
Hedrick, Journal
Hinton, Progress
Holstein, Advance
Hopkinton, Leader
Hubbard, Review
Hull, Index
Humboldt, Independent
Humboldt, Republican
Humeston, New Era
Ida Grove, Pioneer-Record
Independence, Bulletin-Journal
Independence, Conservative
Indianola, Record-Herald
Indianola, Tribune
Inwood, Herald
Iowa Falls, Citizen
Iowa Falls, Times
Ireton, Booster
Irwin, Enterprise
Jefferson, Bee
Jefferson, Herald
Jesup, Herald
Jewell, Record
Kalona, News
Kanawha, Reporter
Kellerton, Globe
Keosauqua, Register
Keota, Eagle
Kingsley, News-Times
Kiron, News
Klemme, Times
Knoxville, Express
Knoxville, Journal
Lake City, Graphic
Lake Mills, Graphic
Lake Park, News
Lake View, Resort
Lakota, Review
Lamoni, Chronicle
Lamont, Leader
Lansing, Allamakee Journal
Laurens, Sun
LeMars, Globe-Post
Lenox, Time Table

IOWA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Leon, Journal-Reporter
Lima Springs, Herald
Lockridge, Times
Logan, Herald-Observer
Lohrville, Enterprise
Lone Tree, Reporter
Lorimor, Lorimorian
Lost Nation, Press
Lowden, News
Luverne, Tribune
Madrid, Register-News
Mallard, Leader
Malvern, Leader
Manchester, Democrat-Radio
Manchester, Press
Manilla, Times
Manly, Signal
Manning, Monitor
Manson, Journal
Mapleton, Press
Maquoketa, Press
Maquoketa, Sentinel
Marathon, Republic
Marcus, News
Marengo, Pioneer-Republican
Massena, News
Maxwell, Tribune
McGregor, North Iowa Times
Mechanicsville, Pioneer Press and Standwood Herald
Mediapolis, New Era
Melbourne, Record
Milford, Mail
Minden, News
Missouri Valley, News
Monona, Leader
Monroe, Mirror
Montezuma, Republican
Monticello, Express
Monticello, Shoppers Guide
Moorhead, Times
Moravia, Union
Morning Sun, News-Herald
Moulton, Tribune
Mt. Ayr, Record-News
Mount Pleasant, Free Press
Nashua, Reporter
Neola, Gazette-Reporter
Newell, Mirror
New Hampton, Economist
New Hampton, Tribune
New London, Journal
New Sharon, Star
New Virginia, New Virginian
Nora Springs, Advertiser
North English, Record
Northwood, Anchor
Norway, Star
Oakland, Acorn
Ocheyedan, Press
Odebolt, Chronicle
Ogden, Reporter
Onawa, Democrat
Onawa, Sentinel
Orange City, Sioux County Capital
Osage, Press-News
Osceola, Sentinel
Osceola, Tribune
Oskaloosa, Tribune-Press
Ossian, Bee
Panoro, Vedette
Parkersburg, Eclipse
Paullina, Times
Pella, Chronicle
Peterson, Patriot
Pleasantville, News
Pocahontas, Record-Democrat
Pomeroy, Herald
Postville, Herald
Prairie City, News
Preston, Times
Primghar, Bell
Radcliffe, Signal
Rake, Register
Randolph, Enterprise
Redfield, Review
Red Oak, Express
Reinbeck, Courier
Remsen, Bell-Enterprise
Renwick, Times
Riceville, Recorder
Richland, Clarion
Ringsted, Dispatch
Rockford, Register
Rock Rapids, Reporter
Rock Valley, Bee
Rockwell City, Advocate
Roland, Record
Rolfe, Arrow
Russell, Union-Tribune
Ruthven, Free Press
Sabula, Gazette
Sac City, Sun
Saint Ansgar, Enterprise
Salem, News
Sanborn, Pioneer
Schaller, Herald
Schleswig, Leader
Scranton, Journal
Seymour, Herald
Sheffield, Press
Shelby, News
Shell Rock, News
Sibley, Gazette-Tribune
Sidney, Argus-Herald
Sigourney, News
Sioux Center, News
Sioux Rapids, Bulletin-Press
Slater, News
Soldier, Sentinel
Solon, Economist
Spirit Lake, Beacon
Stacyville, Monitor
Stanton, Viking
State Center, Enterprise
Storm Lake, Pilot-Tribune
Storm Lake, Register
Story City, Herald
Strawberry Point, Press-Journal
Stuart, Herald
Sumner, Gazette
Sutherland, Courier
Swea City, Herald
Tabor, Beacon
Tama, News-Herald
Thompson, Courier
Thornton, Enterprise
Tipton, Advertiser
Tipton, Conservative
Titonka, Topic
Toledo, Chronicle
Traer, Star-Clipper
Treynor, Record
Tripoli, Leader
Ute, Independent
Vail, Observer
Victor, Record
Villisca, Review
Wall Lake, Blade
Walnut, Bureau
Wapello, Republican
Waucoma, Echo
Waukee, Citizen
Waukon, Democrat
Waukon, Republican-Standard
Waverly, Democrat
Waverly, Independent
Wayland, News
Wellman, Advance
Wellsburg, Herald
West Bend, Journal
West Branch, Times
West Burlington, News
West Liberty, Index
West Point, Bee
West Union, Union
What Cheer, Chronicle
Wheatland, Gazette
Whittemore, Champion
Williamsburg, Journal-Tribune
Wilton Junction, Advocate
Winfield, Beacon
Winterset, Madisonian
Winthrop, News
Woodbine, Twiner
Woodward, Enterprise
Zearing, News

KANSAS (278)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (21)

Bonner Springs, Chieftain
Cheney, Sentinel
Clearwater, News
Derby, Star-Herald
De Soto, News
Gardner, News
Kansas City, Press
Kansas City, Wyandotte County Record
Kansas City, Wyandotte Echo
Mission, Shawnee-Mission Advertiser
Mount Hope, Clarion
Overland Park, Herald
Prairie Village, Prairie Scout
Rossville, Reporter
Shawnee Mission, Advertiser-News
Spring Hill, New Era
Topeka, Forbes Sky Schooner
Topeka, Pictorial Shopper
Valley Center, Index
Wichita, Democrat
Wichita, Sedgwick County News

RURAL WEEKLIES (257)

Alma, Signal-Enterprise
Almena, Plaindealer
Altamont, Journal
Alta Vista, Journal
Altoona, Tribune
Anthony, Republican
Argonia, Argosy
Arma, Record
Ashland, Clipper
Attica, Independent
Atwood, Citizen-Patriot
Axtell, Standard
Baldwin City, Ledger
Barnes, Chief
Baxter Springs, Citizen
Belle Plaine, News
Belleville, Telescope
Beloit, Gazette
Bird City, Times
Blue Rapids, Times
Bucklin, Banner
Burden, Times
Burlingame, Enterprise-Chronicle
Burlington, Times
Burns, News
Burr Oak, Herald
Burrton, Graphic
Bushton, News
Caldwell, Messenger
Caney, Chronicle
Canton, Pilot
Cawker City, Ledger
Cedar Vale, Messenger
Centralia, Journal-Leader
Chapman, Advertiser
Chase, Index
Chetopa, Advance
Cimarron, Jatksonian
Claflin, Clarion
Clay Center, Times
Clifton, News
Clyde, Republican
Coffeyville, Press
Colby, Press-Tribune
Coldwater, Western Star
Columbus, Modern Light
Concordia, Kansan
Conway Springs, Star
Cottonwood Falls, Chase County Leader-News
Courtland, Journal
Cunningham, Clipper
Delphos, Republican
Dighton, Herald
Douglass, Tribune
Downs, News
Edna, Sun
El Dorado, News
Elk City, Sun
Elkhart, Tri-State News
Ellinwood, Leader
Ellis, Review
Ellsworth, Messenger
Ellsworth, Reporter
Emporia, Times
Enterprise, Journal
Erie, Record
Eskridge, Independent
Eureka, Herald
Fair View, Enterprise
Fall River, Star
Florence, Bulletin
Fowler, News
Frankfort, Index
Fredonia, Wilson County Citizen
Galena, Sentinel-Times
Garnett, Anderson Countian
Garnett, Review
Girard, Press
Glasco, Sun
Glen Elder, Sentinel
Goodland, Herald
Gove, Republican-Gazette
Grainfield, Cap Sheaf
Great Bend, Herald-Press
Greenleaf, Sentinel
Greensburg, Signal
Gridley, Light
Grinnell, Record-Leader
Gypsum, Advocate
Halstead, Independent
Hanover, News
Hardtner, Press
Harper, Advocate
Hartford, Times
Harveyville, Monitor
Haven, Journal
Haviland, Journal
Hays, Farmer
Herington, Advertiser-Times
Hesston, Record
Hiawatha, Brown County World
Highland, Vidette
Hill City, Times
Hillsboro, Star-Journal
Hoisington, Dispatch
Holton, Clipper
Holton, Recorder
Holyrood, Gazette
Hope, Dispatch
Horton, Headlight
Howard, Courant-Citizen
Hoxie, Sentinel
Hugoton, Hermes
Humboldt, Union
Hutchinson, Record
Independence, News
Inman, Review
Jamestown, Optimist
Jennings, Journal
Jetmore, Republican
Jewell, Republican
Johnson, Pioneer
Junction City, Republic
Junction City, Union
Kensington, Mirror
Kingman, Journal

KANSAS
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Kingman, Leader-Courier
Kinsley, Mercury
Kiowa, News
LaCrosse, News
LaCygne, Journal
Lakin, Independent
Lawrence, Outlook
Leavenworth, Chronicle
Lebanon, Times
Lebo, Enterprise
Lenora, News
Leon, News
Leonardville, Riley Countian
Leoti, Standard
Le Roy, Reporter
Lewis, Press
Lincoln, Sentinel-Republican
Lindsborg, News-Record
Linn, Record
Little River, Journal
Little River, Monitor
Logan, Republican
Longton, News
Louisburg, Herald
Lucas, Independent
Lyndon, Peoples Herald
Macksville, Enterprise
Madison, News
Mankato, Record
Marion, Record
Marquette, Tribune
Marysville, Advocate
Marysville, News
McCune, Herald
McLouth, Times
McPherson, News
Meade, Globe-Press
Medicine Lodge, Index
Miltonvale, Record
Minneapolis, Messenger
Minneola, Record
Moline, Advance
Montezuma, Press
Morganville, Tribune
Mound City, Republic
Moundridge, Journal
Mound Valley, Times-Journal
Mulberry, News-Journal
Mullinville, News
Mulvane, News
Natoma, Independent
Neodesha, Register
Ness City, News
Nickerson, Argosy
Oakley, Graphic
Oberlin, Herald
Onaga, Herald
Osage City, Journal-Free Press
Osawatomie, Graphic-News
Osborne, Farmer
Oskaloosa, Independent
Oswego, Democrat
Oswego, Independent
Ottawa, Times
Overbrook, Citizen
Oxford, Register
Paola, Republican
Paola, Spirit
Parsons, News
Peabody, Gazette-Herald
Perry, Mirror
Phillipsburg, Review
Plains, Journal
Plainville, Times
Pleasanton, Observer-Enterprise
Pretty Prairie, Times
Protection, Post
Quinter, Advocate
Russell, Record
Sabetha, Herald
Saint Francis, Herald
Saint John, Capital
Saint John, News
Saint Marys, Star
Saint Paul, Journal
Salina, Sun
Sawyer, News
Scandia, Journal
Scott City, News-Chronicle
Sedan, Times-Star
Sedgwick, Pantagraph
Selden, Advocate
Seneca, Courier-Tribune
Severy, Severyite
Sharon Springs, Times
Smith Center, Pioneer
Solomon, Tribune
South Haven, New Era
Spearville, News
Stafford, Courier
Sterling, Bulletin
Stockton, Record
Sublette, Monitor-Chief
Sylvan Grove, News
Sylvia, Press
Syracuse, Journal
Thayer, News
Tonganoxie, Mirror
Toronto, Republican
Towanda, Times
Tribune, Republican
Troy, Chief
Turon, Press
Ulysses, News
Valley Falls, Vindicator
Wakeeney, World
Wamego, Times
Washington, News
Waterville, Telegraph
Wathena, Times
Waverly, Gazette
Weir, Spectator
Wellington, Monitor-Press
Wellsville, Globe
Westmoreland, Recorder
White City, Register
White Water, Independent
Wilson, World
Winchester, Star
Yates Center, News

KENTUCKY (141)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (8)

Jeffersontown, Jeffersonian
Louisville, Defender
Louisville, Illustrated Free Press
Louisville, Irish-American
Louisville, Jefferson Reporter
Louisville, National Jewish Post & Opinion
Louisville, Voice of St. Matthews & Voice of the Highlands
Ludlow, News Enterprise

RURAL WEEKLIES (133)

Adairville, Enterprise
Albany, News
Augusta, Chronicle
Barbourville, Advocate
Bardstown, Standard
Bardwell, News
Beattyville, Enterprise
Beaver Dam, Messenger
Bedford, Trimble Democrat
Bellevue, Advertiser-Courier
Benton, Courier
Benton, Tribune-Democrat
Berea, Citizen
Brandenburg, Messenger
Brooksville, News
Brownsville, News
Burkesville, News
Burlington, Recorder
Cadiz, Record
Calhoun, News
Calvert City, Sun
Campbellsville, News-Journal
Campton, News
Carlisle, Mercury
Carlisle, Star
Carrollton, News-Democrat
Cave City, Progress
Central City, Messenger
Central City, Times Argus
Clay, Tribune
Clay City, Times
Clinton, Hickman County Gazette
Columbia, Adair County News
Cumberland, News
Cynthiana, Democrat
Dawson Springs, Progress
Eddyville, Herald
Edmonton, Herald-News
Elizabethtown, Enterprise
Elizabethtown, News
Elkton, Standard
Falmouth, Outlook
Flemingsburg, Gazette
Flemingsburg, Times-Democrat
Frankfort, Franklin County News
Franklin, Favorite
Fulton, News
Georgetown, Graphic
Georgetown, News
Georgetown, Times
Glasgow, Republican
Grayson, Journal-Enquirer
Greensburg, Record-Herald
Greenup, News
Greenville, Leader
Hardinsburg, Herald-News
Harrodsburg, Herald
Hartford, News
Hawesville, Clarion
Hazard, Herald
Hazard, Messenger
Hickman, Courier
Hodgenville, Herald-News
Hopkinsville, Courier
Horse Cave, Herald
Hyden, News
Hyden, Thousandsticks
Irvine, Estill Herald
Irvine, Times
Jackson, Times
Jamestown, News
La Grange, Oldham Era
Lancaster, Record
Lawrenceburg, News
Lebanon, Enterprise
Leitchfield, Gazette
Leitchfield, News
Liberty, News
London, Sentinel-Echo
Louisa, Big Sandy News
Manchester, Enterprise
Marion Press
McKee, Sun
Monticello, Wayne Co. Outlook
Morehead, News
Morganfield, Advocate
Morgantown, Republican
Mount Sterling, Advocate
Mount Sterling, Sentinel-Democrat
Mount Vernon, Signal
Munfordville, Hart County News
New Castle, Local
Nicholasville, Journal
Olive Hill, Herald
Owenton, News-Herald
Owingsville, News-Outlook
Paintsville, Herald
Paris, Kentuckian-Citizen
Pikeville, News
Pineville, Sun
Prestonburg, Times
Princeton, Leader
Princeton, Times
Providence, Journal-Enterprise
Richmond, Post
Russell, Times
Russell Springs, Times-Journal
Russellville, Auburn News
Russellville, News Democrat
Salyersville, Independent
Sandy Hook, News
Scottsville, Citizen-Times
Scottsville, News
Sebree, Banner
Shelbyville, Sentinel
Shelbyville, Shelby News
Shepherdsville, Pioneer-News
Shively, Newsweek
Somerset, Commonwealth
Somerset, Journal
Springfield, Sun
Stanford, Interior Journal
Stearns, Record
Sturgis, News
Taylorsville, Magnet
Tompkinsville, News
Vanceburg, Herald
Versailles, Woodford Sun
Walton, Advertiser
Warsaw, News
West Liberty, Courier
Whitesburg, Eagle
Wickliffe, Advance-Yeoman
Williamsburg, Whitely Republican
Williamstown, News

LOUISIANA (103)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (14)

De Quincy, News
Glenmora, Patriot
Gretna, Jefferson Democrat
Gretna, Jefferson News
Lake Charles, Beacon
Lake Charles, Skyway Times
New Orleans, Courier
New Orleans, Jefferson Parrish Times
New Orleans, Jewish Ledger
New Orleans, Louisiana Weekly
Pineville, News
Shreveport, Sun
Sulphur, Southwest Builder
Sulphur, Southwest Star

RURAL WEEKLIES (89)

Abbeville, Meridional
Amite, News Digest
Amite, Tangi Talk
Arabi, Voice
Arcadia, Democrat
Bastrop, Clarion
Benton, Banner Progress
Bernice, News-Journal
Bossier City, Planters Press
Bunkie, Record
Cameron, Pilot
Church Point, News
Clinton, Citizen-Watchman
Colfax, Chronicle
Columbia, Watchman
Coushatta, Citizen
Covington, Farmer
Delhi, Dispatch
Denham Springs, News
De Ridder, Enterprise
De Ridder, News
Donaldsonville, Chief
Eunice, News

LOUISIANA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Farmerville, Gazette
Ferriday, Sentinel
Franklin, Banner-Tribune
Franklinton, Era-Leader
Gonzales, Weekly
Greensburg, Echo
Hahnville, Herald
Hammond, Sun
Hammond, Vindicator
Harrisonburg, News
Haynesville, News
Homer, Guardian-Journal
Houma, Courier
Houma, Press
Independence, Independent
Jeanerette, Enterprise
Jena, Times
Jonesboro, Independent
Jonesville, Booster
Kaplan, Journal
Kentwood, Commercial
Kentwood, News
Lafayette, Progress
Lake Providence, Democrat
Laplace L'Observateur
Lecompte, Tribune
Leesville, Leader
Logansport, Interstate-Progress
Lutcher, Journal
Lutcher, News-Examiner
Mansfield, Enterprise
Many, Index
Marksville, News
Minden, Herald
Minden, Press
Morgan City, Review
Napoleonville, Pioneer
Natchitoches, Enterprise
Natchitoches, Times
New Roads, Pointe Coupee Banner
Norco, Herald
Oakdale, Journal
Oak Grove, Gazette
Olla, Signal
Plaquemine, South
Pointe A La Hache, Gazette
Ponchatoula, Enterprise
Ponchatoula, News Herald
Port Allen, Journal
Rayne, Tribune
Rayville, Beacon-News
Ringgold, Record
Ruston, Leader
St. Francisville, Democrat
Saint Helena, Echo
Saint Joseph, Gazette
St. Martinsville, News
Slidell, Times
Springhill, Press News-Journal
Tallulah, Madison Journal
Thibodaux, Comet
Thibodaux, Press
Ville Platte, Gazette
Vivian, Citizen
West Monroe, Citizen
Winnfield, Enterprise
Winnsboro, Sun

MAINE (41)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (6)

Bridgton, News
Brunswick, Record
Dexter, Eastern Gazette
Dexter, Moosehead Gazette
Old Town, Times
Westbrook, American

RURAL WEEKLIES (35)

Bar Harbor, Times
Bath, Independent
Belfast, Republican-Journal
Bethel, Citizen
Boothbay Harbor, Register
Bucksport, Free Press
Calais, Advertiser
Camden, Herald
Caribou, Republican
Damariscotta, News
Dover-Foxcroft, Observer
Ellsworth, American
Farmington, Franklin Journal
Fort Fairfield, Review
Houlton, Pioneer Times
Kennebunk, Star
Kittery, Press
Limestone, Limelite
Lisbon Falls, Enterprise
Livermore Falls, Advertiser
Machias, News-Observer
Madawaska, Valley Times
Norway, Advertiser-Democrat
Pittsfield, Advertiser
Presque Isle, Star-Herald
Richmond, Bee
Rockland, Courier-Gazette
Rumford, Times
Sanford, Tribune-Advocate
Skowhegan, Reporter
South Berwick, Chronicle
Stonington, Island Ad-Vantages
Waldoboro, Press
Wilton, Times
York, York Weekly

MARYLAND (68)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (25)

Annapolis, Waldorf Leaf
Baltimore, Afro-American
Baltimore, Brooklyn News
Baltimore, Enterprise
Baltimore, Guide
Baltimore, Jewish Times
Bethesda, News-Advertiser
Bethesda, Tribune
Catonsville, Herald
Dundalk, Community Press
Glen Burnie, Anne Arundel Star
Glen Burnie, Maryland Gazette
Glen Burnie, Sound Off
Greenbelt, News-Review
Hyattsville, Independent
Hyattsville, Prince George's Post
Kensington, Wheaton Guide
Laurel, News Leader
Reistertown, Community News & Baltimore Countian
Rockville, Montgomery County Sentinel
Silver Spring, News
Silver Spring, Record
Towson, County Paper
Towson, Jeffersonian
Upper Marlboro, Enquirer Gazette

RURAL WEEKLIES (43)

Aberdeen, Hartford Democrat
Bel Air, Aegis
Berlin, Times
Boonsboro, News
Brunswick, Blade-Times
Cambridge, Democrat and News
Centreville, Record-Observer
Chestertown, News
Crisfield, Times
Denton, County Record
Denton, Journal
Easton, Star-Democrat
Elkton, Cecil Democrat
Elkton, Cecil Whig
Ellicott City, Times
Emmitsburg, Chronicle
Federalsburg, Times
Frostburg, Allegany Citizen
Hampstead, Enterprise
Hancock, News
Havre De Grace, Democratic Ledger
Havre De Grace, Record
Hurlock, News
La Plata, Charles County Waldorf Leaf
La Plata, Independent
La Plata, Times-Crescent
Leonardtown, Beacon
Lexington Park, Enterprise
Middletown, Valley Register
Mount Airy, Reporter
Oakland, Republican
Pocomoke City, Worcester Democrat
Prince Fredrick, Independent
Prince Frederick, Journal-Gazette
Princess Anne, Marylander and Herald
Salisbury, Advertiser
Snow Hill, Democrat-Messenger
Sykesville, Herald
Taneytown, Carroll Record
Thurmont, Enterprise
Union Bridge, Pilot
Westminster, Times
Westminster, Democratic Advocate

MASSACHUSETTS (166)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (152)

Acton, Enterprise
Andover, Townsman
Arlington, Advocate
Arlington, News-Press
Auburn, News
Avon, Messenger
Ayer, Public Spirit
Barre, Gazette
Bedford, Enterprise
Bedford, Minute Man & Times
Belmont, Citizen
Belmont, Herald
Boston, Allston Citizen
Boston, Back Bay Ledger
Boston, Charlestown News
Boston, Chronicle
Boston, Codman Square Citizen
Boston, Dorchester Argus-News
Boston, Dorchester Beacon
Boston, Dorchester-Roxbury Record
Boston, East Boston Argus
Boston, East Boston Free Press
Boston, East Boston Leader
Boston, East Boston Times
Boston, Fields Corner Citizen
Boston, Guardian
Boston, Hairenik (Eng. Ed.)
Boston, Hellenic Chronicle
Boston, Hyde Park Tribune
Boston, Italian News
Boston, Jamaica Plain Citizen
Boston, Jewish Advocate
Boston, Mattapan Tribune
Boston, Mid-town Journal
Boston, Parkway Transcript
Boston, Roxbury Citizen
Boston, Roxbury Gazette
Boston, South Boston Gazette
Boston, South Boston Tribune
Boston, South End Citizen
Boston, Times
Boston, Uphams Corner Citizen
Boston, West Roxbury Transcript
Braintree, Observer
Bridgewater, Independent
Brockton, Union
Brookfield, Courier
Brookline, Brighton Citizen
Brookline, Chronicle-Citizen
Brookline, Jewish Times
Cambridge, Chronicle Sun
Cambridge, Courier
Cambridge, Tribune
Canton, Journal
Chelmsford, Newsweekly
Chicopee, Herald
Clinton, Courant
Concord, Enterprise
Concord, Journal
Danvers, Herald
Dedham, Transcript
Easton, Bulletin
Everett, Leader
Fairhaven, Star
Foxboro, Reporter
Franklin, Sentinel
Grafton, News
Great Barrington, Courier
Hamilton, Chronicle
Hingham, Journal
Hingham, Mirror
Holbrook, Times
Holyoke, Democrat
Hull, Nantasket Times
Hull, News
Ipswich, Chronicle
Lawrence, Bee
Lawrence, Sun
Lexington, Minute Man
Lowell, Optic
Malden, Press
Manchester, Cricket
Mansfield, News
Marblehead, Messenger
Maynard, Beacon
Maynard, Enterprise
Medford, Messenger
Melrose, Free Press
Merrimac, Independent
Methuen, Transcript
Middleboro, Gazette
Millbury, Journal
Milton, Record
Milton, Transcript
Natick, Bulletin
Natick, Herald
Natick, Suburban Free Press
Needham, Chronicle
Needham, Times
Newton, Graphic
Newton, Villager and Transcript
North Billerica, News
North Reading, Transcript
Norwood, Messenger
Norwood, Norfolk County Free Press
Norwood, Tribune
Palmer, Journal Register
Peabody, Times
Pepperell, Free Press
Plymouth, Memorial
Randolph, Herald
Reading, Chronicle
Revere, Journal
Rockland, News
Rockland, Standard
Saugus, Advertiser
Scituate, South Shore Weekly Mirror
Sharon, Advocate
Shrewsbury, Times
Somerset, Spectator
Somerville, Chronicle
Somerville, Journal and Press
Springfield, Free Press
Springfield, Jewish Weekly News
Springfield, Shopping News
Stoneham, Independent
Stoneham, Press
Stoughton, Chronicle
Sudbury, Enterprise
Tewksbury, Advertiser
Townsend, Times
Walpole, Times

MASSACHUSETTS
URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Wareham, Courier
Watertown, Herald
Watertown, Press
Watertown, Sun
Webster, Times
Wellesley, Townsman
West Springfield, Record
Westboro, Chronotype
Westboro, Weekly
Westfield, News Advertiser
Weston, Town Crier
Westwood, Press
Westwood, Tribune
Weymouth, Truth
Whitinsville, News
Whitman, Times
Wilmington, Crusader
Wilmington, Town Crier
Winchendon, Courier
Winchester, Star
Winthrop, Sun-Transcript
Worcester, West Boylston Times

RURAL WEEKLIES (14)

Amherst, Journal Record
Amherst, Valley Shopper
Belchertown, Sentinel
Easthampton, Inquirer
Edgartown, Gazette
Falmouth, Enterprise
Hyannis, Barnstable Patriot
Nantucket Island, Inquirer-Mirror
Nantucket Island, Town Crier
Orange, Enterprise and Journal
Orleans, Cape Codder
Provincetown, Advocate
Ware, News
Yarmouth Port, Register

MICHIGAN (346)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (162)

Algonac, Courier
Armada, Times
Athens, Times
Bay City, Democrat
Bay City, Valley Farmer
Belleville, Enterprise
Berkley, Advance
Berkley, Press
Berrien Springs, Journal
Birmingham, Eccentric
Bridgman, Community Enterprise
Brooklyn, Exponent
Buchanan, Berrien County Record
Capac, Journal
Cedar Springs, Clipper
Chelsea, Standard
Chesaning, Argus
Clarkston, News
Clawson, Times
Climax, Crescent
Clio, Messenger
Coloma, Courier
Concord, News
Constantine, Advertiser-Record
Davison, Index
Dearborn, Guide
Dearborn, Independent
Dearborn, Press
Decatur, Republican
Detroit, Brightmoor Journal
Detroit, Courier
Detroit, Community News
Detroit, East Side Booster
Detroit, East Side Express
Detroit, East Side Shopper
Detroit, East Side Star
Detroit, East Side Sun
Detroit, Eastown-Nortown News
Detroit, Ecorse Advertiser
Detroit, Grand River Record
Detroit, Grosse Pointe Press Review
Detroit, Hamtramck North Detroit Citizen
Detroit, Highland Parker
Detroit, Home Gazette
Detroit, Huntington News
Detroit, Jewish News
Detroit, Livonia News
Detroit, Michigan Chronicle
Detroit, New Center News
Detroit, Northeast Detroiter
Detroit, Northland Press
Detroit, Northwest Detroiter
Detroit, Northwest Record
Detroit, Oak Park News
Detroit, Redford Record
Detroit, River Rouge Herald
Detroit, Shopping News
Detroit, Southfield Sun
Detroit, Southwest Journal
Detroit, Township News
Detroit, Tribune
Detroit, Warrendale Courier
Detroit, West Detroit Guide
Detroit, Westown News
Detroit, West Side Courier
Detroit, Westward
Dexter, Leader
Drayton Plains, Tribune
East Detroit, News
Fair Haven, Journal
Farmington, Enterprise
Fenton, Independent
Ferndale, Gazette
Flat Rock, Guardian
Flint, Burton Banner
Flushing, Observer
Frankenmuth, News
Franklin, Four Corners Press
Galesburg, Argus
Garden City, Guardian-Review
Grand Rapids, News
Grand Rapids, Photo Reporter
Grand Rapids, South Kent News
Grand Rapids, Times
Grandville, Southwest Alliance
Grandville, Star
Grass Lake, News
Grosse Ile, Camera
Hanover, Hanover-Horton Local
Harper Woods, Community News
Hazel Park, Madison News
Hazel Park, News
Holly, Herald Advertiser
Homer, Index
Inkster, Guide-Herald
Inkster, Ledger Star
Keego Harbor, Inter-Lake News
Lake Orion, Review
Leslie, Local Republican
Lincoln Park, Allen Parker
Lincoln Park, Ecorse Enterprise
Lincoln Park, Lincoln Parker
Lincoln Park, Melvindale Messenger
Lincoln Park, Southgate Sentinel
Lincoln Park, Southwest Detroiter
Lincoln Park, Township Tribune
Linden, Leader
Livonia, Livonian
Lowell, Ledger
Manchester, Enterprise
Marine City, Independent
Mason, Ingham County News
Memphis, News
Merrill, Monitor
Milan, Leader
Milford, Times
Montague, Observer
Montrose, Times and News
Mount Clemens, Flyer
Mount Morris, Genesee County Herald
New Baltimore, Beacon
New Buffalo, Times
New Haven, Herald
Northville, Record
Novi, News
Oxford, Leader
Parchment, Journal
Parma, News
Pinconning, Journal
Plymouth, Mail
Ravenna, Times
Richmond, Review
Rochester, Clarion
Rockford, Register
Romeo, Observer Press
Saginaw, Press
Saint Charles, Union
Saint Clair, Press
Saint Clair, Saint Clair County Press
Saint Clair Shores, East Detroit Herald
Saint Clair Shores, Fraser Herald
Saint Claire Shores, Harper Woods Herald
Saint Claire Shores, Herald
Saint Claire Shores, Northeast Herald
Saint Claire Shores, Roseville Herald
Saline, Reporter
Schoolcraft, Express
South Lyon, Herald
Sparta, Reminder
Sparta, Sentinel-Leader
Springport, Signal
Stockbridge, Brief-Sun
Swartz Creek, News
Three Oaks, Galien River Gazette
Trenton, Times
Troy, Times
Troy, Tri-City Messenger
Utica, Sentinel
Utica, Tri-City Progress
Vicksburg, Commercial
Watervliet, Record
Wayne, Dispatch
Wayne, Eagle
Whitehall, Forum
Williamston, Enterprise
Wyandotte, News-Herald
Wyandotte, Tribune
Yale, Expositor

RURAL WEEKLIES (184)

Ada, Suburban Life
Allegan, News-Gazette
Alma, Record
Almont, Times-Herald
Atlanta, Tribune
Bad Axe, News
Baldwin, Star
Bangor, Advance
Barryton, Press
Bear Lake, Pioneer Press
Belding, Banner-News
Bellaire, News
Bellevue, Gazette
Benzonia, Benzie-Banner
Bessemer, Herald
Beulah, Benzie Record
Big Rapids, Tri-County Reminder
Blanchard, Banner
Blissfield, Advance
Blissfield, Bulletin
Boyne City, Citizen
Brighton, Argus
Bronson, Journal
Brown City, Banner
Calumet, Copper County News
Camden, Advance
Carleton, Messenger
Caro, Advertiser
Carson City, Gazette
Carsonville, Journal
Cass City, Chronicle
Cassopolis, Vigilant
Central Lake, Torch
Centreville, Observer
Charlevoix, Courier
Charlotte, Republican-Tribune
Charlotte, Shopping Guide
Cheboygan, Observer
Clare, Sentinel
Clarksville, Record
Clinton, Local
Coleman, Tribune
Colon, Express
Constantine, Advertiser-Record
Coopersville, Observer
Corunna, News
Crosswell, Jeffersonian
Crystal Falls, Diamond Drill
Decatur, Republican
Deckerville, Recorder
Dimondale, News
Dundee, Reporter
Durand, Express
East Jordan, News-Herald
East Tawas, Gazette
East Tawas, News
Eaton Rapids, Flashes
Eaton Rapids, Journal
Edmore, Times
Edwardsburg, Argus
Elk Rapids, Progress
Elsie, Sun
Evart, Review
Farwell, News
Fennville, Hamilton Press
Fennville, Herald
Fowler, Post
Fowlerville, Review
Frankfort, Patriot
Freeport, News
Fremont, Times-Indicator
Gaylord, Herald-Times
Gladstone, Delta Reporter
Gladwin, Record
Gobles, News
Grand Ledge, Independent
Grant, Herald-Independent
Grayling, Avalanche
Hamilton, Press
Harbor Beach, Times
Harrison, Cleaver
Harrisville, Review
Hart, Journal
Hartford, Day Spring
Hastings, Banner
Holland, News
Houghton Lake, Resorter
Howell, Press
Hudson, Bi-County Herald
Hudson, Post Gazette
Imlay City, Times
Ionia, News
Iron River, Reporter
Ithaca, Herald
Jonesville, Independent
Kalkaska, Leader and Kalkaskian
Kingston, Enterprise
Laingsburg, Press
Lake City, Republican
Lake Linden, Times
Lake Odessa, Wave
Lakeview, Enterprise
L'Anse, Sentinel
Lapeer, Press
Lawrence, Herald
Lawton, Leader
Leland, Enterprise
Lincoln, Herald
Litchfield, Gazette
Manceiona, Herald
Manistique, Pioneer-Tribune
Manton, Tribune-Record
Marcellus, News
Marion, Press
Marlette, Leader

MICHIGAN
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Mayville, Monitor
McBain, Chronicle
Mendon, Globe-Leader
Middleville, Sun and News
Millington, Herald
Minden City, Herald
Mio, News
Morenci, Observer
Mount Pleasant, Buyer's Guide
Munising, News
Nashville, News
Negaunee, Iron-Herald
Newaygo, Republican
Newberry, News
North Adams, Advocate
North Branch, Gazette
Olivet, Optic
Onaway, News
Ontonagon, Herald
Otsego, Union
Ovid, Register-Union
Paw Paw, Courier-Northerner
Peck, Press
Pentwater, News
Perry, Journal
Petersburg, Farmer and Merchants Courier
Petersburg, Sun
Pigeon, Progress-Advance
Pinckney, Dispatch
Plainwell, Enterprise
Portland, Review & Observer
Potterville, News
Quincy, Herald
Reed City, Herald
Reese, Reporter
Remus, Record
Rogers City, Advance
Roscommon, Herald-News
St. Ignace, Republican-News
Saint Johns, Reminder
St. Johns, Republican-News
St. Louis, Leader-Press
Sandusky, Republican-Tribune
Saranac, Advertiser
Saugatuck, Record
Sault Sainte Marie, News
Scottville, Press
Sebewaing, Blade
Shelby, Herald
Shepherd, Republican
Standish, Independent
Stephenson, Journal
Sunfield, Sentinel
Tawas City, Herald
Tecumseh, Herald
Ubly, Courier
Union City, Register-Tribune
Vassar, Pioneer-Times
Vermontville, Echo
Wakefield, News
Wayland, Globe
West Branch, Herald
White Cloud, Eagle
White Pigeon, Post
Zeeland, Record

MINNESOTA (380)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (49)

Aurora, Journal
Biwabik, Times
Bloomington, Suburbanite
Bloomington, Sun
Chisholm, Free Press
Chisholm, Tribune
Cook, News-Herald
Deephaven, Argus
Deephaven, Post
Duluth, Budgeteer
Duluth, Publicity
Edina, Morningside Courier
Ely, Miner
Eveleth, News-Clarion
Excelsior, Minnetonka Record
Floodwood, Forum
Gilbert, Herald
Hopkins, Hennepin County Review
Hopkins, Suburban Press
Minneapolis, American Jewish World
Minneapolis, Argus
Minneapolis, Brooklin Center Press
Minneapolis, Columbia Heights Record
Minneapolis, Lake Hariet Courier
Minneapolis, Northern Headlight
Minneapolis, North Minneapolis Post
Minneapolis, Progress-Register
Minneapolis, Spokesman
Minneapolis, Spring Lake Park Crier
Minneapolis, Twin City Observer
Mound, Minnetonka Pilot
New Brighton, Bulletin
North St. Paul, Ramsey County Review
Osseo, Press
Proctor, Journal
Richfield, News
Robbinsdale, North Hennepin Post
Saint Louis Park, Dispatch
Saint Paul, Hillcrest News
Saint Paul, Recorder
Saint Paul, Rose Tribune
Saint Paul, Sun
Saint Paul, Union Advocate
Saint Paul, West Saint Paul Booster
South St. Paul, Reporter
Tower, News
Virginia, Range Facts
Wayzata, Minnetonka Herald
White Bear Lake, Press

RURAL WEEKLIES (331)

Ada, Index
Adams, Review
Adrian, Nobles County Review
Aitkin, Independent Age
Albany, Enterprise
Albany, Reporter
Alden, Advocate
Alexandria, Echo
Alexandria, Farmer
Amboy, Herald
Annandale, Advocate
Anoka, Union
Anoka, Union Shopper
Appleton, Press
Argyle, Banner
Arlington, Enterprise
Askov, American
Atwater, Herald
Badger, Enterprise
Bagley, Independent
Balaton, Press-Tribune
Barnesville, Record-Review
Barnum, Herald
Battle Lake, Review
Baudette, Region
Belgrade, Tribune
Belle Plaine, Herald
Belview, Independent
Bemidji, Great River Country News
Bemidji, Sentinel
Benson, Monitor
Benson, News
Bertha, Herald
Bird Island, Union
Blackduck, American
Blooming Prairie, Times
Blue Earth, Post
Blue Earth, Register
Blue Earth, Town Crier
Bovey, News
Boyd, Advisor
Braham, Journal
Brainerd, Review
Breckenridge, Gazette-Telegram
Brewster, Tribune
Bricelyn, Sentinel
Brooten, Review
Browerville, Blade
Browns Valley, News
Brownton, Bulletin
Buffalo, Wright County Journal Press
Buffalo Lake, News
Butterfield, Advocate
Caledonia, Argus
Cambridge, Star
Canby, News
Cannon Falls, Beacon
Carlton, Vidette
Cass Lake, Times
Ceylon, Herald
Chaska, Herald
Chatfield, News
Chokio, Review
Circle Pines, Circulating Pines
Clara City, Herald
Claremont, News
Clarissa, Independent
Clarkfield, Advocate
Clear Lake, Times
Clinton, Advocate
Cloquet, News-Graphic
Cloquet, Pine Knot
Cokato, Enterprise
Cold Spring, Record
Comfrey, Times
Cosmos, News
Cottonwood, Current
Crosby, Courier
Cyrus, Leader
Dassel, Dispatch
Dawson, Sentinel
Deer River, Western Itasca Review
DeLano, Eagle
Detroit Lakes, Record
Detroit Lakes, Tribune
Dodge Center, Star-Record
Eagle Bend, News
East Grand Forks, Record
Echo, Enterprise
Eden Valley, Journal
Edgerton, Enterprise
Elbow Lake, Herald
Elk River, Star-News
Ellendale, Eagle
Elmore, Eye
Elysian, Enterprise
Emmons, Leader
Erskine, Echo
Fairfax, Standard
Farmington, Tribune
Fertile, Journal
Foley, News
Forest Lake, Times
Fosston, 13 Towns
Franklin, Tribune
Fulda, Free Press
Gary, Graphic
Gaylord, Hub
Gibbon, Gazette
Glencoe, Enterprise
Glenville, Progress
Glenwood, Tribune
Gonvick, Leader Record
Goodhue, Tribune
Good Thunder, Herald
Graceville, Enterprise
Grand Marais, News-Herald
Grand Rapids, Herald-Review
Granite Falls, Tribune
Greenbush, Tribune
Grey Eagle, Gazette
Hallock, Enterprise
Halstad, Valley Journal
Hancock, Record
Hanska, Herald
Harmony, News
Hastings, Gazette
Hawley, Herald
Hayfield, Herald
Hector, Mirror
Henderson, Independent
Hendricks, Pioneer
Henning, Advocate
Herman, Review
Heron Lake, News
Hills, Crescent
Hinckley, News
Hoffman, Tribune
Holdingford, Herald
Houston, Signal
Howard Lake, Herald
Hutchinson, Leader
Isanti, News
Isle, Mille Lacs Messenger
Ivanhoe, Times
Jackson, Livewire
Jackson, Pilot
Janesville, Argus
Jasper, Journal
Jeffers, Review
Jordan, Independent
Karlstad, Advocate
Kasson, Independent
Kelliher, Independent
Kennedy, Star
Kenyon, Leader
Kerkhoven, Banner
Kiester, Courier
Kimball, News
La Crescent, Chief
Lafayette, Ledger
Lake Benton, News
Lake Bronson, Budget
Lake City, Graphic
Lake Crystal, Tribune
Lakefield, Standard
Lake Lillian, Crier
Lake Park, Journal
Lake Wilson, Pilot
Lamberton, News
Lancaster, Herald
Lansboro, Leader
Le Center, Leader
LeRoy, Independent
Lester Prairie, News
Le Sueur, News-Herald
Lewiston, Journal
Lindstrom, Press
Litchfield, Independent-Review
Littlefork, Times
Long Prairie, Leader
Luverne, Star-Herald
Mabel, Record
Madelia, Times-Messenger
Madison, Press
Madison, Western Guard
Madison Lake, Times
Mahnomen, Pioneer
Mantorville, Express
Maple Lake, Messenger
Mapleton, Enterprise
Marshall, Independent
Maynard, News
Mazeppa, Journal
McIntosh, Times
Melrose, Beacon
Menahga, Messenger
Middle River, Record
Milaca, Times
Milan Standard-Watson Journal
Minneota, Mascot
Minnesota Lake, Tribune
Montevideo, American
Montevideo, News
Montgomery, Messenger

MINNESOTA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Monticello, Times
Moorhead, Scene
Moose Lake, Star Gazette
Mora, Times
Morgan, Messenger
Morris, Sun
Morris, Tribune
Morristown, Press
Mountain Lake, Observer
Nashwauk, Itascan
New London, Times
New Prague, Times
New Richland, Star
New York Mills, Herald
North Branch, Review
Northfield, Independent
Northfield, News
Northome, Record
Norwood, Times
Ogilvie, Sentinel
Okabena, Press
Oklee, Herald
Olivia, Times-Journal
Onamia, Independent
Ortonville, Independent
Osakis, Review
Owatonna, Photo News
Parkers Prairie, Independent
Park Rapids, Enterprise
Paynesville, Press
Pelican Rapids, Press
Perham, Enterprise-Bulletin
Pierz, Journal
Pine City, Pioneer
Pine Island, Record
Pine River, Journal
Pipestone, Star
Plainview, News
Preston, Republican
Princeton, Union
Raymond, News
Red Lake Falls, Gazette
Redwood Falls, Gazette
Remer, Star
Renville, Star-Farmer
Richmond, Reporter
Roseau, Times-Region
Rothsay, Enterprise
Royalton, Banner
Rush City, Post
Rushford, Record
Russell, Record
Ruthton, Tribune
Sacred Heart, News
Saint Charles, Press
Saint James, Courier
Saint James, Plaindealer
Saint Joseph, Dispatch
St. Peter, Herald
Sanborn, Sentinel
Sandstone, Pine County Courier
Sauk Centre, Herald
Sauk Rapids, Herald
Sebeka, Review
Shakopee, Argus-Tribune
Shakopee, News
Sherburn, Advance-Standard
Silver Bay, News
Silver Lake, Leader
Slayton, Herald
Sleepy Eye, Herald-Dispatch
South Saint Paul, Reporter
Springfield, Advance-Press
Spring Grove, Herald
Spring Valley, Tribune
Staples, World
Starbuck, Times
Stephen, Messenger
Stewart, Tribune
Stewartville, Star
Stillwater, Gazette
Storden, Times
Swanville, News
Thief River Falls, Times
Tracy, Headlight-Herald
Trimont, Progress
Truman, Tribune
Twin Valley, Times
Two Harbors, Chronicle and Times
Tyler, Journal
Ulen, Union
Upsala, News-Tribune
Vernon Center, News
Wabasha, County Herald
Wabasso, Standard
Waconia, Patriot
Wadena, Pioneer-Journal
Walker, Independent
Walker, Pilot
Walker, Pioneer
Walnut Grove, Tribune
Wanamingo, Progress
Warren, Sheaf
Warroad, Pioneer
Waseca, Herald
Waseca, Journal
Watertown, News
Waterville, Advance
Watkins, Forum
Welcome, Times
Wells, Mirror
Westbrook, Sentinel
West Concord, Enterprise
Wheaton, Gazette
Williams, Northern Light
Wilmont, Tribune
Windom, Citizen
Windom, Reporter
Winger, Enterprise
Winnebago, Enterprise
Winsted, Journal
Winthrop, News
Wood Lake, News
Zumbro Falls, Enterprise
Zumbrota, News

MISSISSIPPI (106)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (11)

Gulfport, Dixie Guide
Gulfport, Free Press
Gulfport, Pictorial Review
Jackson, Advertiser-TV News
Jackson, Advocate
Jackson, Mississippi Enterprise
Pass Christian, Biloxi News
Pass Christian, Tarpon-Beacon
Raymond, Gazette
Terry, Headlight
Utica, Advertiser

RURAL WEEKLIES (95)

Aberdeen, Examiner
Ackerman, Choctaw Plaindealer
Amory, Advertiser
Ashland, Advocate
Baldwyn, News
Batesville, Panolian
Bay Saint Louis, Echo
Bay Springs, News
Belzoni, Banner
Booneville, Banner-Independent
Brandon, News
Brookhaven, Advertiser
Brookhaven, Leader-Times
Bruce, Journal
Calhoun City, Monitor-Herald
Canton, Herald
Carrollton, Conservative
Carthage, Carthaginian
Charleston, Sun
Cleveland, Commercial
Coffeeville, Courier
Collins, News-Commercial
Columbia, Columbian-Progress
Columbia, Mirror
Crystal Springs, Meteor
De Kalb, Messenger
Drew, Leader
Durant, News
Ellisville, Progress-Item
Eupora, Progress
Fayette, Chronicle
Flora, Outlook
Forest, Times
Fulton, Times
Gloster, Record
Greenville, Delta Leader
Grenada, Weekly
Hattiesburg, Petal Paper
Hazelhurst, Courier
Hazlehurst, News
Hernando, Times-Promoter
Holly Springs, Reporter
Houston, Times-Post
Indianola, Enterprise
Iuka, Vidette
Kosciusko, Star-Herald
Leakesville, Herald
Leland, Progress
Lexington, Advertiser
Lexington, Herald
Liberty, Herald
Louisville, Journal
Maben, Press
Macon, Beacon
Magee, Courier
Marks, Democrat
Meadville, Advocate
Mendenhall, News
Meridan, Leader
Monticello, Press
Morton, Progress-Herald
Mount Olive, Tribune
New Albany, Gazette
Newton, Record
Ocean Springs, News
Okolona, Messenger
Oxford, Eagle
Oxford, News
Pascagoula, Chronicle Star
Philadelphia, Democrat
Picayune, Item
Pontotoc, Progress
Poplarville, Democrat
Port Gibson, Reveille
Prentiss, Headlight
Purvis, News
Quitman, Tribune
Raleigh, Reformer
Richton, Dispatch
Ripley, Sentinel
Rolling Fork, Pilot
Rosedale, Democrat
Ruleville, Record
Sardis, Reporter
Senatobia, Democrat
Summit, Sun
Sumner, Sentinel
Tunica, Times-Democrat
Tylertown, Times
Union, Appeal
Water Valley, Herald
Waynesboro, News
Wesson, Enterprise
Wiggins, Enterprise
Winona, Times
Woodville, Republican
Yazoo City, Herald

MISSOURI (338)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (53)

Afton, South St. Louis County News
Ash Grove, Commonwealth
Blue Springs, Democrat
Blue Springs, Leader
Clayton, Claytonian
Clayton, Watchman
Crystal City, Jefferson County Press-Times
Ellisville, Press
Fairmount, News
Ferguson, Herald
Ferguson, Reporter
Florissant, Valley Reporter
Grandview, Jackson County Advocate
Independence, Pictorial Shopper
Kansas City, Call
Kansas City, East Side News
Kansas City, Independent
Kansas City, Jewish Chronicle
Kansas City, News Press
Kansas City, Northeast News
Kansas City, Wednesday Magazine
Kansas City, Westport Reporter
Kirkwood, Advertiser
Lee's Summit, Journal
North Kansas City, Gladstone News
North Kansas City, News Dispatch
North Kansas City, Press Dispatch
Oak Grove, Banner
Oak Grove, Sentinel
O'Fallon, Community News
Overland, Community News
Overland, St. Louis County Star
Parkville, Dispatch
Parkville, Gazette
Raytown, News
Republic, Monitor
Republic, Record
Saint Louis, American
Saint Louis, Argus
Saint Louis, Baden News-Press
Saint Louis, Brentwood Scope
Saint Louis, Gravois Gazette
Saint Louis, Mirror
Saint Louis, Naborhood News
Saint Louis, Neighborhood News
Saint Louis, North Saint Louis Community News
Saint Louis, Observer
Saint Louis, Public News
Saint Louis, South Side Journal
Saint Louis, Sunshine Journal
Saint Louis, Wellston Journal
Webster Groves, Advertiser
Webster Groves, News-Times

RURAL WEEKLIES (285)

Adrian, Journal
Albany, Ledger
Altamont, Times
Alton, Democrat
Anderson, News-Review
Appleton City, Journal
Atlanta, Express
Aurora, Free Press
Auxvasse, Review
Ava, Herald
Belle, Banner
Belton, Star-Herald
Benton, Democrat
Bethany, Republican-Clipper
Bismarck, Gazette
Bland, Courier
Bloomfield, Vindicator
Bolivar, Free Press
Bolivar, Herald
Bonne Terre, Register
Boonville, Advertiser
Boonville, Record
Bowling Green, Times
Branson, Leader
Braymer, Bee

MISSOURI
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Breckenridge, Bulletin
Browning, Leader-Record
Brunswick, Brunswicker
Buffalo, Reflex
Buffalo, Republican
Burlington Junction, Post
Butler, Democrat
Cabool, Enterprise
Cainsville, News
California, Democrat
California, Herald
Camdenton, Leader
Camdenton, Reveille
Cameron, Sun
Campbell, Citizen
Canton, Journal-News
Canton, Press-News
Cape Girardeau, Bulletin
Carl Junction, Standard
Carrollton, Republican-Record
Carrollton, Weekly Democrat
Carthage, Weekly Press
Caruthersville, Democrat-Argus
Caruthersville, Republican
Cassville, Democrat
Cassville, Republican
Center, Herald
Centralia, Fireside Guard
Charleston, Enterprise-Courier
Chillicothe, Wk. Constitution-Tribune
Clarence, Courier
Clearmont, News
Clinton, Eye
Clinton, Henry County Democrat
Concordia, Concordian
Corder, Journal
Crane, Chronicle
Creighton, Banner
Cuba, Times
Dearborn, Democrat
De Soto, Jefferson Republic
De Soto, Press
Dexter, Messenger
Dexter, Statesman
Diamond, News
Dixon, Pilot News
Doniphan, Prospect-News
Downing, News
Drexel, Star
East Prairie, Eagle
Edina, Sentinel
Eldon, Advertiser
Eldon, Miller County Autogram-Sentinel
El Dorado Springs, Sun
Ellington, Courier-Press
Elmo, Register
Elsberry, Democrat
Eminence, Current Wave
Fairfax, Forum
Fair Play, Rambler
Farmington, News
Farmington, Press
Fayette, Advertiser
Fayette, Democrat-Leader
Flat River, News
Forsyth, Republican
Fredericktown, Democrat-News
Gainesville, Times
Galena, News-Oracle
Galena, Republican
Gallatin, Democrat
Gallatin, Missourian
Garden City, Views
Gerald, Journal
Gideon, News
Glasgow, Missourian
Golden City, Herald
Gorin, Argus
Grant City, Times-Tribune
Green City, Press
Greenfield, Advertiser
Greenfield, Vedette and Advocate
Green Ridge, Local News
Greentop, Reporter
Greenville, Sun
Hale, Leader
Hamilton, Advocate-Hamiltonian
Harrisonville, Democrat-Missourian
Hayti, Herald
Hermann, Advertiser-Courier
Hermitage, Index
Higginsville, Advance
Hillsboro, Record
Holden, Progress
Hopkins, Journal
Houston, Herald
Houston, Republican
Humansville, Star-Leader
Hume, Border Messenger
Huntsville, Times-Herald
Illmo, Jimplicute
Ironton, Mountain Echo
Ironton, Register
Jackson, Cash-Book
Jackson, Post
Jasper, News
Kahoka, Courier
Kahoka, Gazette-Herald
Kearney, Courier
Keytesville, Chariton Courier
King City, Tri-County News
Knob Noster, Item
Knox City, News
La Belle, Star
La Grange, Indicator
Lamar, Weekly Democrat
Lancaster, Excelsior
La Plata, Home Press
Lathrop, Optimist
Lawson, Review
Lebanon, Rustic Republican
Liberal, News
Liberty, Tribune
Licking, News
Lilbourn, Semo News
Linn, Republican
Linn, Unterrified Democrat
Lockwood, Luminary
Louisiana, Press-Journal
Madison, Times
Malden, Press-Merit
Mansfield, Mirror
Marble Hill, Banner-Press
Marceline, News and Herald
Marionville, Free Press
Marshall, Messenger
Marshall, Saline County Citizen
Marshfield, Mail
Marthasville, Record
Maryville, Nodaway County Weekly
Maysville, Record-Herald
Memphis, Democrat
Memphis, Reveille
Meta, Herald
Metz, Times
Milan, Standard
Moberly, Message
Mokane, Missourian
Monroe City, News
Montgomery City, Montgomery Standard
Mound City, News Independent
Mountain Grove, Journal
Mountain Grove, News
Mountain View, Standard
Mt. Vernon, Chieftain
Mt. Vernon, Record
Neosho, Miner and Mechanic
Nevada, Herald
New Cambria, Leader
New Haven, Leader
New London, Record
New Madrid, Record
Noel, Press
Norborne, Democrat-Leader
Odessa, Odessan
Oran, News
Oregon, Sentinel
Osceola, Courier
Owensville, Republican
Ozark, Republican
Pacific, Meramec Valley Transcript
Palmyra, Spectator
Paris, Appeal
Parma, Tribune
Pattonsburg, Call
Perry, Enterprise
Perryville, Monitor
Perryville, Republican
Piedmont, Journal-Banner
Pierce City, Leader-Journal
Pineville, Democrat
Platte City, Landmark
Plattsburg, Leader
Pleasant Hill, Times
Poplar Bluff, Citizen-Democrat
Poplar Bluff, Republican
Portageville, Missourian
Portageville, Review
Potosi, Independent-Journal
Princeton, Post-Telegraph
Queen City, Monitor-Leader
Rich Hill, Review
Richland, Mirror
Richmond, Conservator
Richmond, Herald
Richmond, News
Rock Port, Mail
Rockville, Leader
Rolla, New Era-Advertiser
Rolla, Weekly Herald
Saint Clair, Chronicle
Sainte Genevieve, Fair Play
Sainte Genevieve, Herald
Saint James, Leader-Journal
St. Marys, Weekly Review
Salem, News
Salem, Post
Salisbury, Press-Spectator
Sarcoxie, Record
Savannah, Reporter
Schell City, Ledger
Sedalia, Times-Record
Sedalia, Weekly Democrat
Senath, Press
Seneca, News-Dispatch
Seymour, Citizen
Shelbina, Democrat
Shelbyville, Herald
Slater, News-Rustler
Smithville, Democrat-Herald
Southwest City, Republic
Stanberry, Headlight
Steele, Enterprise
Steelville, Mirror
Stockton, Republican
Stover, Republican
Sturgeon, Leader
Sullivan, News
Summersville, Beacon
Sweet Springs, Herald
Tarkio, Avalanche
Thayer, News
Tipton, Times
Troy, Free Press
Union, Tribune
Unionville, Republican
Urich, Herald-Tidings
Van Buren, Current Local
Vandalia, Leader
Versailles, Leader-Statesman
Vienna, Gazette
Vienna, Home Adviser
Warrensburg, Standard-Herald
Warrensburg, Star Journal
Warrenton, Banner
Warsaw, Enterprise
Washington, Citizen
Washington, Missourian
Waverly, Times
Waynesville, Democrat
Webb City, Graphic Review
Wellsville, Optic-News
Wentzville, Union
Weston, Chronicle
Wheaton, Journal
Willow Springs, News
Windsor, Review
Winona, Democrat

MONTANA (73)

RURAL WEEKLIES (73)

Baker, Times
Belt, Belt Valley Times
Big Sandy, Mountaineer
Big Timber, Pioneer
Billings, Times
Billings, Yellowstone News
Boulder, Monitor
Bozeman, Tribune
Broadus, Examiner
Browning, Glacier Reporter
Cascade, Courier
Chester, Times
Chinook, Opinion
Choteau, Acantha
Circle, Banner
Columbia Falls, Hungry Horse News
Columbus, News
Conrad, Independent-Observer
Culbertson, Searchlight
Cut Bank, Pioneer Press
Deer Lodge, Post
Dillon, Examiner
Ekalaka, Eagle
Fairfield, Times
Fairview, News
Forsyth, Independent
Fort Benton, River Press
Geraldine, Review
Glasgow, Courier
Glendive, Ranger Review
Hamilton, Western News
Hardin, Tribune-Herald
Harlem, News
Harlowton, Times
Hinsdale, Tribune
Hot Springs, Sentinel
Hysham, Echo
Jordan, Tribune
Kalispell, News-Farm Journal
Laurel, Outlook
Libby, News
Livingston, Park County News
Malta, News
Manhattan, Inter-Mountain Press
Missoula, Times
Philipsburg, Mail
Plains, Plainsman
Plentywood, Herald
Polson, Courier
Poplar, Standard
Red Lodge, News
Ronan, Pioneer
Roundup, Record-Tribune
Ryegate, Clarion
Saco, Independent
St. Ignatius, Post
Scobey, Leader
Shelby, Promoter and Tribune
Sidney, Herald
Stanford, Press
Stevensville, Tribune
Superior, Mineral Independent
Terry, Tribune
Thompson Falls, Ledger
Three Forks, Herald

MONTANA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Townsend, Star
Virginia City, Madisonian
Whitefish, Pilot
Whitehall, News
White Sulphur Springs, News
Wibaux, Pioneer-Gazete
Winnett, Times
Wolf Point, Herald-News

NEBRASKA (233)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (8)

Bennet, Sun
Omaha, Benson Sun
Omaha, Dundee & West Omaha Sun
Omaha, North Omaha Sun
Omaha, Public Ledger
Omaha, South Omaha Sun
Ralston, Recorder
Waterloo, Douglas County Gazette

RURAL WEEKLIES (225)

Adams, Globe
Ainsworth, Star-Journal
Albion, Boone Companion
Albion, News
Alexandria, Argus
Alma, Journal
Ansley, Herald
Arapahoe, Public Mirror
Arlington, Citizen
Arnold, Sentinel
Arthur, Enterprise
Ashland Gazette
Atkinson, Graphic
Auburn, Herald
Auburn, Press-Tribune
Aurora, Register
Bartlett, Independent
Bassett, Leader
Battle Creek, Enterprise
Bayard, Transcript
Beaver City, Times-Tribune
Beaver Crossing, Times
Bellevue, Gazette
Bellevue, Press
Benkelman, Post
Bertrand, Herald
Big Springs, Enterprise
Blair, Enterprize
Blair, Pilot-Tribune
Bloomfield, Monitor
Blue Hill, Leader
Brewster, News
Bridgeport, News-Blade
Broken Bow, Chief
Bruning, Banner
Burwell, Tribune
Butte, Gazette
Cairo, Record
Callaway, Queen
Cambridge, Clarion
Cambridge, Review
Campbell, News
Cedar Bluffs, Standard
Cedar Rapids, Press
Central City, Republican-Nonpareil
Chadron, Record
Chappel, Register
Chester, Herald
Clarks, News
Clarkson, Press
Clay Center, Sun
Clearwater, Record
Coleridge, Blade
Columbus, News
Comstock, News
Cortland, News
Cozad, Local
Craig, News
Crawford, Tribune
Creighton, News
Crete, News
Crofton, Journal
Culbertson, Progress
Curtis, Enterprise
Curtis, Reporter
Dakota City, Herald
David City, Banner-Press
Decatur, Advertiser
Deshler, Rustler
DeWitt, Times-News
Dodge, Criterion
Dorchester, Star
Dunning, Booster
Edgar, Sun
Elgin, Review
Elm Creek, Beacon
Elwood, Bulletin
Emerson, Press
Eustis, News
Exeter, News
Fairbury, Journal
Fairfield, Auxiliary
Farnam, Press
Franklin, Sentinel
Friend, Sentinel
Fullerton, Journal
Geneva, Signal
Genoa, Leader-Times
Gering, Courier
Gibbon, Reporter
Giltner, Gazette
Gordon, Journal
Gothenburg, Times
Grant, Sentinel
Greeley, Citizen
Gresham, Gazette
Gretna, Breeze
Hartington, News
Harvard, Courier
Hayes Center, Times-Republican
Hay Springs, News
Hebron, Journal-Register
Hemingford, Ledger
Hershey, Enterprise
Hildreth, Telescope
Hooper, Sentinel
Howells, Journal
Humboldt, Standard
Humphrey, Democrat
Hyannis, Tribune
Imperial, Republican
Indianola, News
Kimball, Observer
Laurel, Advocate
Lawrence, Locomotive
Leigh, World
Lexington, Clipper
Lexington, Herald
Lodgepole, Nebraskan
Louisville, Courier
Loup City, Times
Lyman, Leader
Lynch, Herald-Enterprise
Lyons, Mirror-Sun
Madison, Star-Mail
Madrid, Herald
Mason City, Transcript
Maywood, Hi-Line Reporter
Meadow Grove, News
Milford, Review
Milford, Times
Minatare, Free Press
Minden, Courier
Mitchell, Index
Morrill, Mail
Mullen, Hooker County Tribune
Monroe, Booster
Neligh, Leader
Neligh, News
Nelson, Gazette
Newman Grove, Reporter
Niobrara, Tribune
Norfolk, Shoppers' Guide-Press
North Bend, Eagle
North Platte, Tribune
Oakland, Independent
Ogallala, News
O'Neill, Frontier
O'Neill, Independant
Orchard, News
Ord, Quiz
Orleans, Chronicle
Osceola, Record
Oshkosh, News
Osmond, Republican
Overton, Observer
Oxford, Standard
Palmer, Journal
Papillion, Breeze
Papillion, Monitor
Papillion, Times
Pawnee City, Republican
Paxton, Times
Pender, Times
Peru, Pointer
Petersburg, Press
Pierce, Leader
Pilger, Enterprise
Plainview, News
Plattsmouth, Journal
Polk, Progress
Ponca, Journal-Leader
Randolph, Times
Ravenna, News
Red Cloud, Commercial-Advertiser
Rushville, Star
Ruskin, Leader
Saint Edward, Advance
St. Paul, Howard County Herald
Saint Paul, Phonograph
Sargent, Leader
Schuyler, Sun
Scotia, Register
Scottsbluff, Republican
Scribner, Rustler
Seward, Independent
Shelby, Sun
Shelton, Clipper
Sidney, Telegraph
Silver Creek, Sand
South Sioux City, Star
Spalding, Enterprise
Spencer, Advocate
Springfield, Monitor
Springview, Herald
Stamford, Star
Stanton, Register
Stapleton, Enterprise
Sterling, Courier
Stromsburg, Headlight
Stuart, Advocate
Superior, Express
Sutherland, Courier
Sutton, News
Syracuse, Journal-Democrat
Table Rock, Argus
Taylor, Clarion
Tecumseh, Chieftain
Tekamah, Plaindealer
Thedford, Clipper
Tilden, Citizen
Trenton, Register
Tryon, Graphic
Valentine, Newspaper
Verdigre, Eagle
Wahoo, Newspaper
Wakefield, Republican
Walthill, Citizen
Wauneta, Breeze
Wausa, Gazette
Wayne, Herald
Weeping Water, Republican
West Point, Democrat
West Point, Republican
Wilber, Republican
Wilsonville, Review
Wisner, News-Chronicle
Wolbach, Messenger
Wood River, Sunbeam
Wymore, Arbor State

NEVADA (21)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (3)

Boulder City, News
Henderson, Home News
North Las Vegas, News

RURAL WEEKLIES (18)

Austin, Reveille
Battle Mountain, Scout
Caliente, Herald
Carson City, Chronicle
Elko, Independent
Ely, Record
Eureka, Sentinel
Fallon, Standard
Fernley, Times
Gardnerville, Record-Courier
Hawthorne, Independent-News
Lovelock, Review-Miner
Pioche, Record
Sparks, Tribune
Tonopah, Times-Bonanza and News
Virginia City, Territorial Enterprise
Wells, Progress
Yerington, News

NEW HAMPSHIRE (35)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (3)

Hillsboro, Messenger
Milford, Cabinet
Peterborough, Transcript

RURAL WEEKLIES (32)

Berlin, Reporter
Bristol, Enterprise
Canaan, Enfield Advocate
Canaan, Reporter
Center Ossipee, Independent
Colebrook, News and Sentinel
Derry, Enterprise
Derry, News
Dover, Fosters Weekly Democrat and Dover Enquirer
Exeter, News Letter
Farmington, News
Franklin, Journal-Transcript
Goffstown, News
Hampton, Union & Gazette
Hanover, Gazette
Jaffrey, Ledger
Jaffrey, Recorder-Transcript
Lancaster, Democrat
Lebanon, Free Press
Littleton, Courier
Meredith, News
Newport, Argus-Champion
Newport, Shoppers Guide
North Conway, Reporter-Press
Pittsfield, Times
Plymouth, Record
Portsmouth, Viking
Rochester, Courier
Sommersworth, Free Press
Warner, Independent
Wolfeboro Falls, News
Woodsville, News-Times

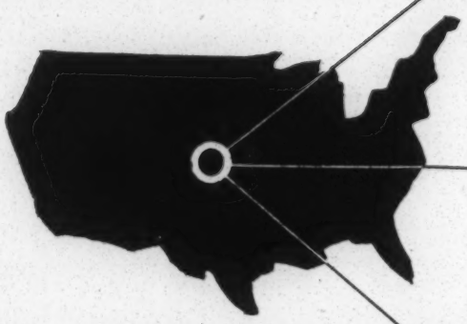
Reading schedule for Daily Newspapers

In order to provide the fastest and most complete service, each day's newspapers from all parts of the United States are read at exactly the same time each week. All Dailies are delivered to the LUCE production office in Topeka, the geographical center of the country, and read according to the following schedule:

PAPERS DATED	ARE READ ON
MONDAY	Thursday starting at 1:30 p. m.
TUESDAY	Friday starting at 10:00 a. m.
WEDNESDAY	Monday starting at 8:00 a. m.
THURSDAY	Monday starting at 2:30 p. m.
FRIDAY	Tuesday starting at 2:30 p. m.
SATURDAY	Wednesday starting at 12:00 noon.
SUNDAY	Thursday starting at 8:00 a. m.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING

why LUCE PRESS CLIPPING is the fastest



1

LUCE has only ONE Reading Office . . . right in the geographical center of the country! This office, in Topeka, Kansas, receives and processes all dailies, weeklies, and magazines from all parts of the United States.

2

Clips are mailed to clients on a regular every-other-day schedule (or daily with no extra charge if desired). They are sent by First Class Mail . . . or where necessary to insure next-day delivery they are sent by Air Mail (at no extra cost).

3

The LUCE client never is the victim of long delays while his papers go all the way across the country. Instead, all these factors add up to bring him his clips several days faster than is possible under any other arrangement.

and why LUCE PRESS CLIPPING provides the best service

LITERALLY TWO SERVICES

LUCE is really more than just a clipping service. It is two clipping services. One separate staff, specially trained and briefed, reads NEWSPAPERS . . . another reads MAGAZINES. This means maximum efficiency of coverage of these two equally important but entirely different types of publications. Yet you pay no more—our charges are the same that you might pay for a bureau reading just newspapers or just magazines.

PROOF OF COVERAGE

LUCE doesn't just claim to read all the Newspapers and Magazines in the United States. This Directory offers you the proof! And if you know of any publication not listed we will subscribe for it and begin reading it as noted in the LUCE WARRANTY on the back cover of this Directory. LUCE clients know they never miss a clipping because their bureau didn't read the publication in which it appeared!

UNIQUE METHODS

LUCE uses many unique methods to always insure clients a superior clipping service. Among these are:

CHECKING—a minimum of 10% of the work of every reader is regularly checked to guarantee that she is maintaining maximum efficiency levels.

DAILY BULLETIN—details new orders of the day, so that there is no delay in getting the readers to work on new accounts or changes in order instructions.

LECTURES—four different types of lectures are given readers every day to help them operate at maximum efficiency.

IBM—we use the latest in IBM equipment to pin-point orders for local attention, plant city locations, special meetings or events, etc. When a reader is out sick or on vacation the client doesn't suffer.

SERVICE OFFICES

All of LUCE'S reading is done in the center of the country, where it can provide the best possible results. At the same time, LUCE maintains fully staffed Sales and Service offices in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. The Office Executive in each of these offices has had many years experience with our organization. He is thoroughly familiar with every account and client in his area. Instructions given any of these offices are relayed in less than a minute by direct teletype wire to the central reading office.

how to order

what to tell us

Tell us specifically what you want us to look for, and we'll do just that: mentions of the company, its subsidiaries, plant locations, product names, special key words, and what the company or organization makes or does. Ads also, if desired. Anything applicable to an order may be included with no additional monthly reading charge, including publicity and ads of the competition. Rule to remember: YOU CAN'T TELL US TOO MUCH!

what to send us

If you are sending publicity to newspapers or magazines, please send us three copies of each release at the same time it is sent the publications. These should be sent to the central production office: LUCE Building, Topeka, Kansas. If possible, include distribution lists to help us get maximum results for you on each release. Also, advise us of itineraries, meeting and convention dates, etc..

what you get

Unless otherwise directed, your order includes reading of all newspapers and magazines. When a story is syndicated, or goes out over a wire service, each publication printing the story is clipped and charged as a clipping unless otherwise specified. Ads are never included unless requested.

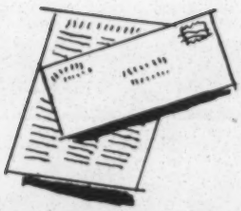
what about changes?

If you wish to change any of the instructions on your order, or delete or add new listings, you may do so at any time. When material is eliminated it takes 3 days to clear items previously marked through our manufacturing processes.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING

EXTRA SERVICES to meet your every need

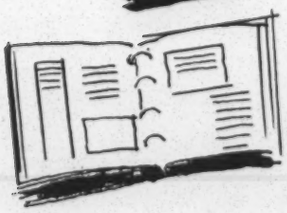
With LUCE, each client is a special, personalized assignment. For that reason, we give each one exactly the press coverage wanted, and a variety of helpful auxiliary services as well. These include:



LUCE CLIPPING NEWSLETTER—published bi-monthly, it gives information of interest to the Public Relations and Advertising fraternity. Also each issue includes information on any changes in the status of Daily Newspapers. Anyone's name will be added to the mailing list without charge upon request.

CANADIAN PRESS COVERAGE will be furnished if desired (both French and English language papers) as part of your domestic clipping order at no extra reading charge.

PUBLICITY CAPSULES—monthly summary reports on clipping coverage. Listed by releases or type of news, the name of the source paper or magazine, its frequency of publication, date of publication, and circulation, is given for each clipping.



SCRAP BOOKS. LUCE scrap books come in black, green and maroon simulated leather, in both 12″ x 15″ and 18″ x 24″ sizes. These are attractive and permanent, perfect for record or presentation use.

PASTE-UP SERVICE. This exclusive LUCE service saves the cost of clerical help, and enables us to deliver an attractive, professional-looking finished scrapbook. We supply all labor, and paste-up according to your layout, at a very modest cost per page.

here's what you can learn from CLIPPINGS

SUPPLIED BY LUCE

1 Editorial acceptance accorded your publicity and product news releases . . . regionally, nationally, and even internationally.

2 What new products are being developed and marketed in your field.

3 Public and editorial attitudes toward your firm or organization, people, policies and products.

4 Personnel changes and appointments in your customer, prospect, or competitive organizations.

5 Factual case histories of your products in use.

6 Proposed and impending regulations and legislation having a bearing on your business.

7 How well dealers and retailers are using materials supplied and tieing in with your advertising and promotional programs.

8 How editors and advertisers are referring to your trademarks.

9 *What* your competitors are offering and claiming, *where,* and at what *prices.*

10 Pros and cons on controversial subjects having a direct or indirect bearing on your company's activities and products.

11 Complete information on labor markets, labor conditions, contract negotiations and settlements in your own and related industries.

12 Lists of births, deaths, marriages, and other specific data; date and location of fires, robberies, disasters.

13 Learn whether your advertisements appeared in various media as ordered; check position and reproduction of your advertisements.

Getting the Right Clippings
Means Giving Adequate Instructions

A Simple Five-Point Plan To Improve Your Clipping Service

By JOHN P. FRENCH

NO MATTER who you are—no matter who your company or client is — when you place a clipping order with any clipping bureau, you are, in all probability, going to get less than 100 per cent of the items you want which run in the papers and magazines read by that bureau. This is because of the human element involved in reading thousands of subjects.

Nevertheless, anyone can take certain positive action which will insure against any but a modest percentage of clippings being missed.

1. Instructions: They should be complete. Specifically, these are the things your clipping bureau should be told:

- The Where: Details on the location of the company, or home town of the individual. Include location of subsidiaries, sales offices, etc.
- The What or Who: Information on what the firm or individual does. What makes it newsworthy? What is being published?
- The Keys: A list of trade names and generic terms to be used in news or feature stories. This is to give readers every possible way to watch for the order—and extra chances to find clippings however a paper or magazine may choose to print the story.

One further suggestion. It is the policy of most clipping bureaus to include as many subjects on an order as the client wishes, without any additional charge, provided all have bearing on that order. Consequently, subsidiary companies, product names, personnel and any generic terms which may be used should be given when an order is placed. As new ones are added, the bureau should be advised of them.

2. Restrictions. These should be applied carefully.

When restrictions must be made, the instruction should be TANGIBLE and stated in the NEGATIVE. This leaves the least possible chance of readers missing desired clippings because of a misunderstanding.

For instance, never tell a bureau to "mark only financial news." What might seem financial news to one reader may in the mind of the one sitting next to her not be financial news at all . . . and what might seem financial news in her judgment may not be in the client's opinion. The same is true about omitting something like "unfavorable news." If isn't tangible, it leaves too much to judgment.

On the other hand if sport news isn't wanted, a reader can clearly understand this. The same applies to something like social news of employees.

3. Releases. Copies should be sent in. A clipping bureau can't do a good job without them.

A bureau must be kept abreast of publicity activities. Put the bureau on your mailing list to receive every release sent out. When received, these releases are checked and key words underlined—then passed among the readers so that they receive an extra reminder.

This is the minimum. But there is a further step that can be taken. Send a distribution list with each publicity release which had limited distribution (as opposed to national). It need be only a general list. If the story was sent only to certain states, these states should be listed — also, to certain categories of magazines. It is NOT necessary to list the names of the individual papers of magazines when there is a large number —just the states, cities or categories into which they fall.

4. Special Alerts. These can be extremely effective.

Advise the clipping service when a special placement in a column, a press dispatch or syndicated feature is forthcoming.

5. Complaints: Use them intelligently.

Return any clippings contrary to what was requested. These are analyzed at once. If any change in an order is required, it can be made quickly. If, on the other hand, it was a case of carelessness by the mailer, it can be taken up with the person at fault and, of course, the client's account credited.

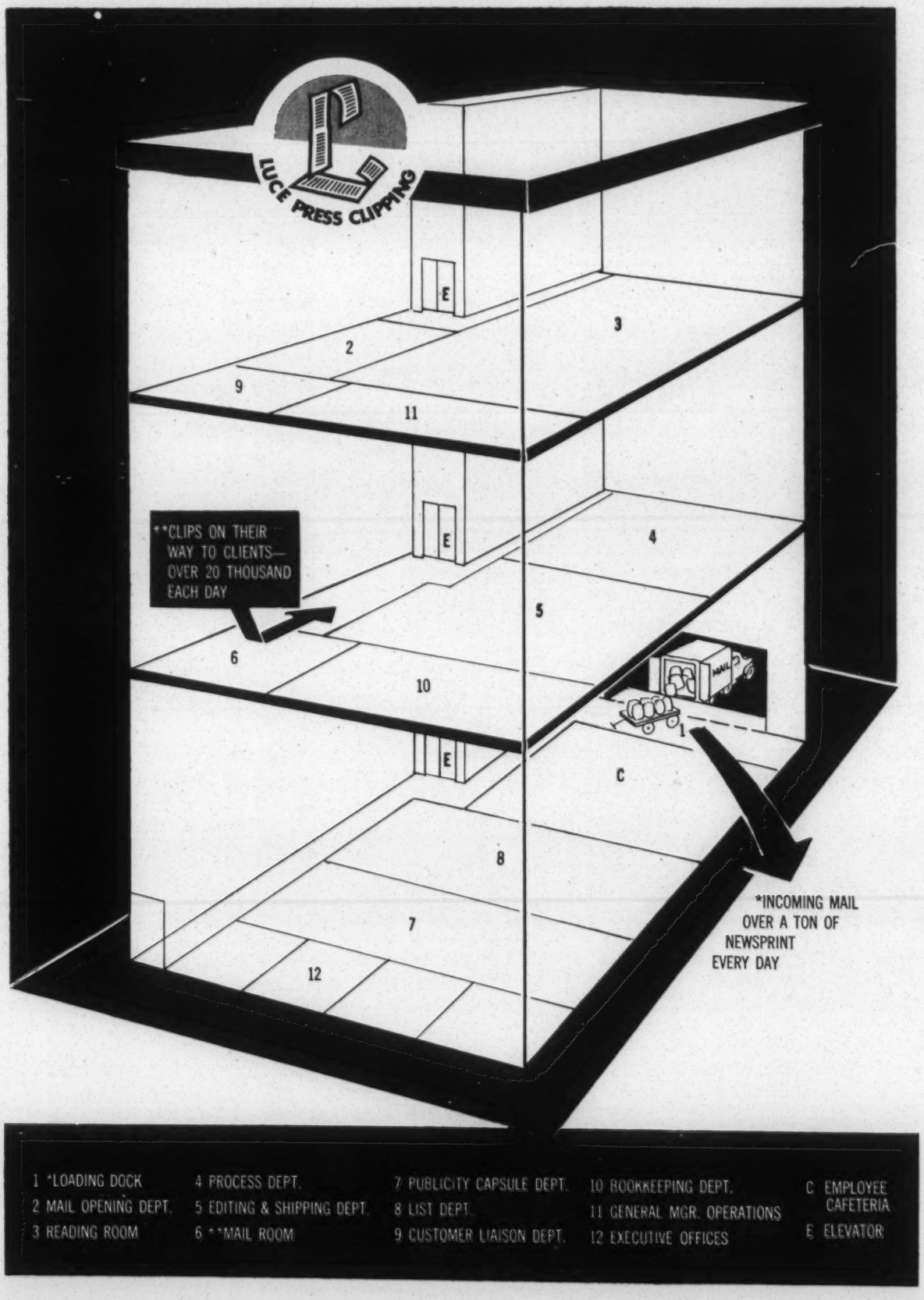
Sometimes people hire a bureau, let it work for three months or more and then write to stop the order because the service "has been terrible from the beginning." Nobody gains this way.

These rules, if followed regularly, will bring you the clippings you and your client want.

JOHN P. FRENCH, *Partner, Luce Press Clipping Bureau of Topeka, Kansas, is a journalism graduate of Washington & Lee University and a member of Signa Delta Chi.*

Reprint from Public Relations Journal August 1961 Issue

All of LUCE'S reading, clipping, and mailing is carried on in the one central production office. Over 200 employees process thousands of clippings a day for clients in all parts of the world in this modern, air-conditioned, three-story building in downtown Topeka. How? The following will give you an idea of how we turn more than a ton of newsprint each day into quality clippings for our clients.



NEW JERSEY (253)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (223)

Absecon, News
Allentown, Messenger
Arlington, Observer
Arlington, Plain Dealer
Atlantic City, Downbeach Crier
Atlantic City, Jersey Times
Atlantic City, Jewish Record
Atlantic City, Margate Beacon
Atlantic City, Reporter
Atlantic Highlands, Journal
Audubon, Visitor
Bayonne, Facts
Belleville, Times-News
Belmar, Coast Advertiser
Bergenfield, Times
Berkley Heights, Beacon
Bernardsville, News
Beverly, Banner
Blackwood, Observer
Bloomfield, Independent Press
Bloomingdale, Argus
Bogota, Bergenite Press
Boonton, Times-Bulletin
Bordentown, Register
Bound Brook, Chronicle
Breton Woods, Observer
Burlington, News
Burlington, Press
Butler, Argus
Caldwell, Progress-Verona News
Camden, East Camden News
Camden, Record
Camden, South Jersey Shopper
Camden, Times
Carlstadt, Leader Press
Carteret, Press
Chatham, Courier
Chatham, Press
Clayton, Press
Clementon, Times
Cliffside Park, Palisadian
Clifton, Journal
Clifton, Leader
Closter, Bergen Review
Collingswood, Retrospect
Collingswood, Westmont Tri-City Sun
Cranbury, Press
Cranford, Citizen and Chronicle
Dover, Advance
Dover, Lakeland News
Dunellen, Call
East Orange, Record
East Paterson, Clarion
Eatontown, Sentinel
Edgewater, Bergen Citizen
Egg Harbor City, News
Elizabeth, Home News
Englewood, Press-Journal
Fair Lawn, News
Fanwood, Independent
Florence, News
Fords, Beacon
Franklin Park, Central Post
Franklinville, Advertiser
Franklinville, Sentinel
Freehold, Transcript
Garfield, Messenger
Garfield, News
Glassboro, Enterprise
Glen Ridge, Paper
Gloucester City, News
Haddonfield, Haddon Gazette
Haddonfield, Suburban
Haddonfield, Town Crier-Herald
Hammonton, News
Hasbrouck Heights, Observer
Hawthorne, News
Hawthorne, Press
High Bridge, Gazette
Highlands, Star
Hightstown, Gazette
Hillsdale, Local
Hillsdale, News
Hillside, Times
Hopewell, News
Irvington, Herald
Jersey City, Jewish Standard
Jersey City, News
Keyport, Weekly
Lakehurst, Station Break
Landisville, Press
Laurence Harbor, American
Leonia, Life
Linden, News-Observer
Little Falls, Herald
Livingston, West Essex Tribune
Lodi, Bulletin
Lodi, Independent
Lodi, Messenger
Long Branch, Monmouth American
Lyndhurst, Commercial Leader
Madison, Eagle
Manasquan, Coast Star
Manville, News
Maple Shade, Progress
Maplewood, News-Record
Matawan, Journal
Mays Landing, Atlantic County Record
Maywood, Our Town
Medford, Central Record
Mendham, Observer Tribune
Merchantville, Community News
Merchantville, Delaware News
Metuchen, Criterion
Middlebush, Franklin News-Record
Middlesex, Mirror
Middletown, Courier
Midland Park, Press
Millburn, Item
Milltown, Sentinel
Montclair, Times
Moorestown, News
Mountain Lakes, News
Mount Holly, Citizen
Mount Holly, Herald
Netcong, News
Newark, Afro-American
Newark, New Jersey Herald News
Newark, Spotlight
Newark, Vailsburg Leader
New Brunswick, Spokesman
New Brunswick, Town Crier
New Market, Chronicle
New Providence, Dispatch
North Bergen, Hudson Gazette
Nutley, Sun
Oakhurst, News
Oakhurst, Monmouth Message
Oaklyn, News
Ocean City, Sentinel-Ledger
Ocean Grove, Times
Orange, Transcript
Palisades Park, Bergen Bulletin
Palmyra, News
Paramus, Clarion
Park Ridge, Local
Parsippany, Citizen
Passaic-Clifton, Citizen
Passaic-Clifton, Eagle
Passaic-Clifton, Prospect Park Herald
Passaic-Clifton, Record
Passaic-Clifton, Union
Paterson, Eagle
Paterson, Totowa Times-Herald
Paulsboro, Record
Peapack, Exponent
Pemberton, Air Tides
Pemberton, Times
Pennsauken, Resume
Penns Grove, Press
Penns Grove, Record
Pitman, Review
Plainfield, Shopping News
Pleasantville, Press
Pompton Lakes, Bulletin
Pompton Lakes, Ledger
Pompton Plains, Argus
Port Norris, Cumberland County Advertiser
Princeton, Central Post
Princeton, Herald
Princeton, Packet and Hopewell Herald
Princeton, Shopping Center News
Princeton, Town Topics
Rahway, Garden State News
Rahway, News-Record
Ramsey, Journal
Ridgefield, Jersey Pictorial
Ridgefield Park, Sun Bulletin
Ridgewood, Herald
Ridgewood, News
Riverdale, North Jersey Trends
Riverdale, Suburban Trends
Riverside, Press
Riverton, New Era
Rochelle Park, News Dispatch
Roselle, Spectator
Runnemede, Press
Rutherford, News
Scotch Plains, Bulletin
Scotch Plains, Times
Secaucus, News
Secaucus, Press
Somerdale, News
Somerville, Somerset Messenger-Gazette
Somerville, South Somerset News
South Amboy, Citizen
South Plainfield, News-Review
South River, Spokesman
Springfield, Homemakers Digest
Springfield, Sun
Succasunna, Roxbury News
Summit, Herald
Swedesboro, News
Teaneck, Sun
Tenafly, Northern Valley Tribune
Trenton, Mercer Mesenger
Union, Leader
Verona, Times
Waldwick, Parade
Wallington, Review
Wanaque, Borough News
Wayne, North Jersey Times
Westfield, Leader
Westfield, Mountainside Echo
Westfield, Shopper
West Milford, Milford Township Argus
West Orange, Chronicle
Westville, News
Westwood, Bergen Sunday News
Westwood, Local
Westwood, News
Whippany, Advance
Williamstown, Plain Dealer
Woodbridge, Independent Leader
Wood-Ridge, Independent
Wrightstown, Leader
Wyckoff, News

RURAL WEEKLIES (30)

Beach Haven, Beachcomber
Beach Haven, Times
Blairstown, Press
Cape May, Star and Wave
Cape May Court House, Gazette
Elmer, Times
Flemington, Democrat
Frenchtown, News
Hackettstown, Gazette
Lakewood, Citizen
Lambertville, Beacon
Lambertville, Record
Middletown, Courier
New Egypt, Press
Newton, Guide
Newton, Herald
Phillipsburg, Phillipsburger
Point Pleasant, Leader
Salem, Standard and Jerseyman
Salem, Sunbeam
Sea Isle City, Times
Seaside Heights, Review
Stone Harbor, Reporter
Toms River, Courier
Toms River, Ocean County Sun
Tuckerton, Beacon
Washington, Star
Whitehouse Station, Review
Wildwood, Leader
Woodstown, Monitor-Register

NEW MEXICO (32)

RURAL WEEKLIES (32)

Anthony, News
Aztec, Independent-Review
Belen, News-Bulletin
Bernalillo, Times
Carlsbad, Eddy County News
Carrizozo, News
Clayton, Leader
Clovis, Times
Datil, Round-up
Deming, Graphic
Deming, Headlight
Dexter, Tribune
Espanola, Rio Grande Sun
Eunice, Star
Ft. Sumner, News
Hagerman, Star
Hatch, News-Chieftain
Hatch, Reporter
Hobbs, Flare
Las Cruces, Citizen
Las Cruces, Wind and Sand
Lordsburg, Liberal
Mountainair, News
Roswell, Atomic Blast
Ruidoso, News
San Juan, Review
Santa Rosa, News
Silver City, Enterprise
Socorro, Chieftain
Socorro, El Defensor
Socorro, Round-Up
Springer, Tribune
Taos, El Crepusculo de lay Libertad

NEW YORK (576)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (411)

Alden, Advertiser
Altamont, Enterprise
Amenia, Times
Amityville, Record
Amityville, Sun
Angola, Evans Journal
Ardsley, Recorder
Ardsley, Sun-Leader
Babylon, Eagle
Babylon, Leader
Baldwin, Citizen
Baldwinsville, Gazette
Baldwinsville, Messesger
Barker, Register
Bay Shore, Sentinel
Bay Shore, Suffolk-Every-Week
Bedford, Patent Trader
Bellmore, News
Bethpage, Newsgram
Binghamton, Citizen
Binghamton, Citizen-Press
Boonville, Herald
Brentwood, Bulletin
Bridgehampton, News

NEW YORK
URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Brockport, Republic-Democrat
Bronxville, Review-Press
Brooklyn, Advertiser-Digest
Brooklyn, American Examiner
Brooklyn, Bay News
Brooklyn, Broadway News
Brooklyn, Brooklyn Heights Press
Brooklyn, Canarsie Courier
Brooklyn, Caravan
Brooklyn, Coney Island Times
Brooklyn, Flatbush Life
Brooklyn, Glendale Register
Brooklyn, Graphic
Brooklyn, Greenpoint Home News
Brooklyn, Home Reporter
Brooklyn, Kings Co. Chronicle
Brooklyn, Kings Courier
Brooklyn, Kings Press
Brooklyn, New York Recorder
Brooklyn, Record
Brooklyn, Record & Advertiser
Brooklyn, Ridgewood Times
Brooklyn, Spectator
Brooklyn, Sunset News
Brooklyn, Williamsburg News
Buffalo, Criterion
Buffalo, Empire Star
Buffalo, International Gazette
Buffalo, Kensington Topics
Buffalo, South Buffalo News
Buffalo, Tribune-Sun
Buffalo, West Side Times
Camden, Advance-Journal
Camillus, Advocate
Canton, Plain Dealer
Centerbeach, News
Central Islip, News
Central Valley, Courier
Chappaqua, Patent Trader
Cheektowaga, Times
Cicero, Recorder
Clarence, Press
Clinton, Courier
Clymer, Independent
Cohoes, Newsweekly
Commack, News
Cornwall, Local
Croton-On-Hudson, News
Deer Park, News
Depew, Herald
Deposit, Courier
Dobbs Ferry, Register
Dobbs Ferry, Sentinel
Dunkirk, Grape Belt
East Aurora, Advertiser
East Aurora, Shopping Guide
East Hampton, Star
East Rochester, Herald
East Williston, Times
Edgemont, Echo
Elbridge, Courier
Ellenville, Journal
Ellenville, Press
Elmont, Elmonitor
Elmsford, Eagle-Herald
Elmsford, Independent
Fairport, Herald-Mail
Farmingdale, Post
Far Rockaway, Journal
Far Rockaway, Wave
Fayetteville, Bulletin
Floral Park, Bulletin
Floral Park, Gateway
Floral Park, Stewart Manor Mail
Flushing, Bayside Times
Flushing, Fresh Meadows Townsman
Flushing, Jackson Heights Record
Flushing, Ledger
Flushing, Queens Ledger
Flushing, Queens Observer
Flushing, Queens Post
Flushing, Record
Flushing, Times
Flushing, Townsman
Franklin Square, Bulletin
Fredonia, Censor
Freeport, Leader
Freeport, Long Island Graphic
Freeport, Long Island Kernel
Garden City, News
Glen Cove, Record & Pilot
Glen Oaks, News
Goshen, Independent Republican
Gouverneur, Tribune-Press
Grand Island, Dispatch
Great Neck, News
Great Neck, Record
Greenport, Times
Hamburg, Frontier Herald
Hamburg, Sun & Independent
Hampton Bays, News
Hartsdale, News
Hartsdale, Times
Hastings On Hudson, Nepera Park News
Hastings On Hudson, News
Hastings On Hudson, Press
Hastings On Hudson, Westchester Co. Press
Hastings on Hudson, Yonkers Press
Haverstraw, Messenger
Haverstraw, Times
Hempstead, East Hempstead Beacon
Hempstead, Hempstead Beacon
Hempstead, Long Island Examiner
Hempstead, Uniondale Beacon
Hewlett, Record
Hicksville, Herald
Hicksville, Mid-Island Times
Hicksville, Plainview Herald
Highland, News
Highland, Post
Highland Falls, News
Hilton, Record
Honeyoe Falls, Times
Hoosick Falls, Press
Huntington, Long Islander
Huntington, Times
Huntington Station, Watchman
Irvington, Gazette
Islip, Press & Herald
Islip, Town Crier
Jamaica, Hollis Leader
Jamaica, Queens County Times
Jamaica, Woodhaven Leader
Johnson City, Journal
Jordan, Leader
Katonah, Patent Trader
Kenmore, Record-Advertiser
Kingston, Press
Lackawanna, Leader
Lake Ronkonkoma, Mirror
Lancaster, Enterprise
Lancaster, Journal
Lawrence, Herald
Levittown, Press
Levittown, Tribune
Lindenhurst, South Bay's Shopping
Liverpool, Review
Locust Valley, Leader
Long Beach, Independent
Long Island City, Astoria Times
Long Island City, Graphic
Long Island City, Greenpoint Star
Long Island City, Woodside Herald
Lynbrook, Leader
Malverne, Herald
Manhasset, Mail
Manhasset, Press
Marcellus, Observer
Marlboro, News
Marlboro, Record
Massapequa, Post
Massena, Observer
Mayville, Sentinel
Merrick, Beacon
Merrick, Life
Middleport, Record
Millbrook, Round Table
Millerton, News-Republican
Milton, Pioneer
Mineola, American
Monroe, Gazette
Mount Kisco, North Westchester Times
Mount Kisco, Patent Trader
Mount Kisco, Patent Trader (Putnam County Edition)
Mount Vernon, Westchester Observer
New Hyde Park, Herald
New Hyde Park, Publicity-News
New Paltz, Independent
New Paltz, News
New York, American Examiner
New York, Amsterdam News
New York, Bronx Press-Review
New York, Chelsea-Clinton News
New York, Courier
New York, Downtown Manhattan Courier
New York, East Side News
New York, Irish Echo
New York, Irish World
New York, Riverdale Press
New York, Town & Village
New York, Villager
New York, Village Voice
New York, West Side News
Northport, Journal
Northport, Observer
North Syracuse, Scotchman
North Syracuse, Star
Oceanside, Beacon
Orchard Park, Press
Oyster Bay, Guardian
Patchogue, Long Island Advance
Pawling, News-Chronicle
Pearl River, Orangetown Telegram
Pelham, Sun
Penfield, Republican
Pine Plains, Register
Pittsford, Post
Pleasantville, Journal
Pleasantville, Patent Trader
Pleasantville, Register
Port Chester, Guide
Port Jefferson, Record
Port Jefferson, Times
Port Washington, News
Port Washington, Reporter
Potsdam, Courier & Freeman
Ravenna, News-Herald
Red Hook, Advertiser
Rhinebeck, Gazette
Ripley, Review
Riverhead, News-Review
Rochester, Community News
Rochester, East Side Reporter
Rochester, Eighteenth Warder
Rochester, Greece Press
Rochester, Irondequoit
Rochester, Tenth Ward Courier
Rochester, Tribune
Rochester, Vicinity Post
Rockville Centre, Long Island News
Roosevelt, Press
Rosendale, Valley Press
Roslyn, News
Rye, Chronicle
Sag Harbor, Express
Saugerties, Star
Sayville, News
Scarsdale, Inquirer
Schaghticoke, Sun
Scotia, Journal
Seaford, Southeaster
Sherman, News
Silver Creek, News & Times
Skaneateles, Mirror
Skaneateles, Press
Smithtown, Messenger
Smithtown, News
Smithtown, Star
Southampton, Press
Southold, Traveler
Spencerport, County Shopper News
Spencerport, Star
Spring Valley, Leader
Springville, Journal
Springwater, Valley News
Staten Island, Transcript
Suffern, Independent
Syosset, Advance
Syracuse, East Syracuse News
Syracuse, Eastwood News
Syracuse, Onondaga County News
Syracuse, Progressive Herald
Tuckahoe, Record
Tully, Independent
Valhalla, Voice
Valley Stream, Mail
Vestal, News
Walden, Citizen-Herald
Wallkill, World
Wantagh, Citizen
Wappingers Falls, News
Warsaw, Western New Yorker
Warsaw, Wyoming County Times
Warwick, Advertiser
Warwick, Valley Dispatch
Waterville, Times
Watervliet, Tribune
Webster, Herald
Westbury, Times
Westfield, Republican
Westhampton Beach, Chronicle
Westhampton Beach, Sabre
White Plains, Herald of Westchester
Williamsville, Bee
Windsor, Standard
Woodstock, Press
Woodstock, Townsman
Yonkers, News
Yonkers, Record
Yorktown Heights, Patent Trader

RURAL WEEKLIES (165)

Adams, Journal
Addison, Advertiser & Sentinel
Afton, Enterprise
Akron, Herald
Albion, Advertiser
Albion, Republican-American
Alexandria Bay, Thousand Islands Sun
Alfred, Sun
Andover, News
Allegany, Citizen
Arcade, Herald
Athens, Herald
Attica, News
Au Sable Forks, Record
Avon, Herald-News
Ballston Lake, East Glenville Weekly
Ballston Spa, Journal
Bath, Steuben Courier
Belfast, Blaze
Belmont, Dispatch
Bolivar, Breeze
Brewster, Standard
Brookfield, Courier
Cairo, Herald
Callicoow, Democrat
Cambridge, Post
Canajoharie, Courier-Standard
Canandaigua, Journal
Canastota, Bee-Journal
Candor, Courier
Canisteo, Times
Carmel, Courier
Carthage, Republican-Tribune
Castile, Castilian
Castile, New Letchworth Leader
Cato, Citizen

NEW YORK
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Catskill, Enterprise
Catskill, Examiner-Recorder
Cattarangus, Times
Cazenovia, Republican
Central Square, Citizen
Chateaugay, Record
Chatham, Courier
Cherry Valley, News
Chittenango, Times
Clyde, Herald-Eagle
Cobleskill, Index
Cobleskill, Times
Cohocton, Times-Index
Cold Spring, News
Cooperstown, Farmer
Cooperstown, Journal
Cortland, Democrat
Coxsackie, Union-News
Cuba, Patriot
Dansville, Breeze
Dansville, Express
Delhi, Republican Express
De Ruyter, Gleaner
Dryden, Rural News
Dundee, Observer
Edmeston, Local
Elizabethtown, News
Ellicottville, Post
Fair Haven, Register
Fillmore, Observer
Fonda, Democrat
Fort Covington, Sun
Franklinville, Chronicle-Journal
Franklinville, Sentinel
Fulton, News
Fulton, Patriot
Geneseo, Leader
Geneso, Livingston Republican
Gilbertsville, Otsego Journal
Gowanda, News-Times
Granville, Sentinel
Greene, Chanango American & Whitney Point Reporter
Greenville, Local
Greenwich, Journal
Groton, Journal and Courier
Hamilton, Mid-York Weekly
Hancock, Herald
Holley, Standard
Horseheads, Reporter
Inlet, News
Interlaken, Review
Jeffersonville, Record
Keeseville, Republican
King Ferry, Tribune
Lake George, Mirror
Lake Placid, News
Le Roy, Gazette-News
Liberty, News
Liberty, Press
Liberty, Register
Lima, Recorder
Little Valley, Hub
Livingston Manor, Times
Livonia, Gazette
Lowville, Journal and Republican
Lyndonville, Enterprise
Lyons, Republican
Liberty, News
Machias, Sentinel
Mahopac, Press
Marathon, Independent
Margaretville, News
Mexico, Independent
Middleburg, News
Monticello, Bulletin-Sentinel
Monticello, News
Monticello, Republican-Watchman
Moravia, Republican-Register
Morris, Chronicle
Mount Morris, Enterprise
Narrowsburg, News-Times
Newark, Courier-Gazette
Newark Valley, Herald
New Berlin, Gazette
North Creek, News
Norwich, Chenango Union
Nunda, News
Oakfield, Independent
Ogdensburg, Advance-News
Old Forge, Adirondack Echo
Olean, News
Oneida, Democratic Union
Ontario, Mail
Ovid, Gazette & Independent
Owego, Gazette
Owego, Times
Oxford, Review-Times
Palmyra, Courier-Journal
Parish, Mirror
Penn Yan, Chronicle-Express
Perry, Herald
Phoenix, Register
Pike, Gazette
Port Henry, Essex County News
Pulaski, Democrat
Randolph, Register
Red Creek, Herald
Richfield Springs, Mercury
Richmondville, Phoenix
Rouses Point, North Countryman
Saint Johnsville, Enterprise & News
Salamanca, Inquirer
Salem, Press
Sandy Creek, News
Schoharie, Review
Schuylerville, Standard
Seneca Falls, Press
Seneca Falls, Reveille
Sherburne, News
Shortsville, Enterprise
Sidney, Record & Bainbridge News
Silver Springs, Signal
Sodus, Record
South New Berlin, Bee
Spencer, Needle
Springwater, Valley News
Stamford, Mirror-Recorder
Ticonderoga, Sentinel
Tupper Lake, Free Press
Unadilla, Times
Valatie, Rough Notes
Victor, Herald
Walton, Reporter
Warrensburg, News
Warsaw, Times
Warsaw, Western New Yorker
Waterloo, News
Watkins Glen, Express
Watkins Glen, Review
Waverly, Sun
Waverly, Valley News
Wayland, Register
Weedsport, Chief
Wellsville, Democrat
West Winfield, Star
Whitehall, Times
Williamson, Sun
Windham, Journal
Wolcott, Lake Shore News
Worcester, Times-Monitor
Wyoming, Reporter

NORTH CAROLINA (150)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (20)

Asheville, News
Belmont, Banner
Bessemer City, Record
Black Mountain, News
Charlotte, Mecklenburg Times
Cherryville, Eagle
Davidson, Gazette
Durham, Carolina Times
Durham, Journal
Fuquay Springs, Independent
Greensboro, Democrat
Greensboro, Free Press
Greensboro, Future Outlook
Kernersville, News
Mount Holly, News
Raleigh, Carolinian
Wake Forest, Wake Weekly
Wendell, Gold Leaf Farmer
Yadkinville, Yadkin Ripple
Zebulon, Record

RURAL WEEKLIES (130)

Aberdeen, Citizen
Ahoskie, Herald
Albemarle, News & Press
Apex, News Herald
Asheboro, Courier-Tribune
Asheboro, Guide
Ayden, Dispatch
Belhaven, Pilot
Benson, Review
Boone, Democrat
Brevard, Times
Bryson City, Times
Burgaw, Chronicle
Burnsville, Record
Canton, Enterprise
Carthage, News
Chadbourn, News
Chapel Hill, Weekly
China Grove, Times
Clayton, News
Clinton, Independent
Clinton, Sampsonian
Cooleemee, Journal
Danbury, Reporter
Denton, Record
Edenton, Herald
Elizabethtown, Journal
Elkin, Tribune
Enfield, Progress
Fairmont, Times-Messenger
Farmville, Enterprise
Forest City, Courier
Franklin, Press & Maconian
Franklinton, Post
Gatesville, Index
Goldsboro, Record
Graham, Almance Gleaner
Graham, Almance News
Granite Falls, Press
Grifton, Times
Hamlet, News-Messenger
Havelock, Progress
Hayesville, Progress
Hendersonville, Tribune
Hertford, Perquimans Weekly
Hillsboro, News
Jackson, News
Jacksonville, News Shopping Guide
Kenansville, Times
Kings Mountain, Herald
Kinston, News
La Grange, Gazette
Laurinburg, Exchange
Leaksville, News
Liberty, News
Lillington, News
Lincolnton, News
Lincolnton, Times
Littleton, Observer
Louisburg, Times
Lumberton, Post
Madison, Messenger
Manteo, Times
Marion, News
Marshall, News-Record
Marshville, Home
Maxton, Scottish Chief
Mebane, Enterprise
Mocksville, Enterprise-Record
Monroe, Enquirer
Monroe, Journal
Mooresville, Tribune
Morehead City, News-Times
Mt. Airy, News
Mount Airy, Times
Mount Olive, Tribune
Murphy, Scout
Nashville, Graphic
Newton, News-Enterprise-Observer
North Wilkesboro, Hustler
North Wilkesboro, Journal-Patriot
Oxford, Public Ledger
Pilot Mountain, News
Pinehurst, Outlook
Pittsboro, Chatham Record
Plymouth, Beacon
Raeford, News-Journal
Red Springs, Citizen
Robbins, Record
Robbinsville, Star
Robersonville, Herald
Rockingham, Journal
Rockingham, Post-Dispatch
Roxboro, Courier-Times
Rutherfordton, News
Saint Pauls, Review
Scotland Neck, Commonwealth
Selma, Johnstonian Sun
Shelby, Times
Siler City, Chatham News
Smithfield, Herald
Snow Hill, Standard-Laconic
Southern Pines, Pilot
Southport, Pilot
Sparta, News
Spindale, Sun
Spring Hope, Enterprise
Spruce Pine, News
Statesville, News
Sylva, Herald
Tabor City, Tribune
Tarboro, Southerner
Taylorsville, Times
Trenton, Journal
Troy, Herald
Valdese, News
Wadesboro, Messenger-Intelligencer
Wadesboro, Record
Wallace, Enterprise
Walnut Cove, Stokes Record
Warrenton, Record
Warsaw, News
Waynesville, Mountalineer
Weldon, News
West Jefferson, Skyland Post
Whitesville, News Reporter
Williamston, Enterprise
Wilmington, Journal
Windsor, Ledger-Advance
Yanceyville, Messenger

NORTH DAKOTA (108)

RURAL WEEKLIES (108)

Adams, Times
Anamoose, Progress
Ashley, Tribune
Beach, News
Belfield, News
Berthold, Tribune
Beulah, Independent
Bismarck, Capital
Bottineau, Courant
Bowbells, Tribune
Bowman, Pioneer
Cando, Record-Herald
Carrington, Independent
Carson, Press

NORTH DAKOTA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Casselton, Reporter
Cavalier, Chronicle
Center, Republican
Cooperstown, Griggs County Sentinel Courier
Crosby, Journal
Devils Lake, World
Drake, Register
Drayton, Leader
Edgeley, Mail
Elgin, News
Ellendale, Dickey County Leader
Enderlin, Independent
Fessenden, Free Press
Finley, Press
Fordville, Adams Times
Fordville, Star
Fordville, Sun
Forman, News
Fort Yates, Pioneer-Arrow
Gackle, Tri-County News
Garrison, Independent
Glen Ullin, Times
Grafton, Record
Granville, Herald
Hankinson, News
Harvey, Herald
Hatton, Free Press
Hazen, Star
Hebron, Herald
Hettinger, Record
Hillsboro, Banner
Hope, Pioneer
Hunter, Times
Jamestown, Record
Kenmare, News
Killdeer, Herald
Kindred, Tribune
Kulm, Messenger
Lakota, American
La Moure, Chronicle
Langdon, Republican
Lansford, Leader
Larimore, Pioneer
Lidgerwood, Monitor
Linton, Record
Lisbon, Gazette
Litchville, Bulletin
Maddock, Standard
Mandan-Bismarck, News
Marmarth, Slope Messenger
Mayville, Tribune
McClusky, Gazette
McVille, Journal
Medora, Pioneer
Michigan, Arena
Milnor, Teller
Minnewaukan, Farmers Press
Minot, Independent
Mohall, Renville County Farmer
Mott, Pioneer Press
Napoleon, Homestead
New England, Herald
New Leipzig, Sentinel
New Rockford, Transcript
New Salem, Journal
New Town, News
Northwood, Gleaner
Oakes, Times
Park River, Press
Parshall, Record
Pembina, New Era
Portland, Republican
Ray, Rakota
Rolla, Turtle Mountain Star
Rugby, Tribune
Sarles, Advocate
Selfridge, Journal
Stanley, Promoter
Steele, Ozone Press
Tioga, Tribune
Towner, Farmers Press
Turtle Lake, Journal
Underwood, News
Velva, Journal
Wahpeton, Farmer-Globe
Walhalla, Mountaineer
Washburn, Leader
Watford City, Farmer
Westhope, Standard
Wild Rose, Mixer
Williston, Reporter
Wilton, News
Wishek, Star

OHIO (316)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (121)

Akron, Portage Lakes-Kenmore Herald
Akron, United Democrat
Amherst, News-Times
Barberton, Herald
Bedford, Southeast Press
Bedford, Times Register
Bellville, Star
Berea, News
Berea, Southwest Shopper
Brookville, Star
Campbell, Journal-Press
Canal Fulton, Promoter
Canal Winchester, Times
Canfield, Mahoning Dispatch
Canton, Forum
Canton, Times
Chagrin Falls, Exponent
Chagrin Falls, Herald
Cincinnati, American Israelite
Cincinnati, Eastern Hamilton County Messenger
Cincinnati, Eastern Hills Journal
Cincinnati, Every Friday
Cincinnati, Herald
Cincinnati, Hilltop News
Cincinnati, Mount Washington Press
Cincinnati, N. Cincinnati News
Cincinnati, Price Hill News
Cincinnati, Reporter
Cincinnati, Suburban Press
Cincinnati, Western Hills Press
Cleveland, Brooklyn Parma News
Cleveland, Call and Post
Cleveland, Courier
Cleveland, East Cleveland Leader
Cleveland, Euclid News-Journal
Cleveland, Fairview Herald
Cleveland, Garfield Leader
Cleveland, Guide
Cleveland, Jewish Independent
Cleveland, Jewish Review and Observer
Cleveland, Parma Post
Cleveland, Rocky River Herald
Cleveland, Scoop
Cleveland, South End News
Cleveland, Sun-Messenger
Cleveland, Sun Press
Cleveland, West Side News
Cleves, Valley Journal
College Corner, News
Columbiana, Ledger
Columbus, Booster
Columbus, Community Review
Columbus, Eastern Review
Columbus, Hilltop Record
Columbus, Linden News
Columbus, North Side Herald
Columbus, Ohio Jewish Chronicle
Columbus, Ohio Sentinel
Columbus, Rural Urban News
Columbus, South Side Leader
Columbus, Star
Columbus, Tri-Village News
Columbus, West Side News
Columbus, Whitehall Gazette
Cuyahoga Falls, News
Cuyahoga Falls, Reporter
Dayton, Kettering-Oakwood Times
East Canton, News
Fairport Harbor, Beacon
Gahanna, Tri-Community News
Germantown, Press
Girard, News
Grove City, Record
Harrison, Press
Hartville, News
Hubbard, News
Hudson, Times
Lakewood, Post
Lakewood, West Shore Post
Lisbon, Buckeye State
Lockland, Millcreek Valley News
Louisville, Herald
Lowellville, Journal
Madison, Press
Mansfield, Smart Shopper
Maple Heights, Press
Maumee, Valley News
Mentor, Monitor
Miamisburg, News
Minerva, Leader
Minerva, News & Times
Montgomery, Sycamore Messenger
New Carlisle, Sun
Newton Falls, Herald
North Canton, Sun
North Industry, Observer
Norwood, Enterprise
Oberlin, News-Tribune
Oxford, Press
Plymouth, Advertiser
Reynoldsburg, Record
Sebring, Times
South Charleston, Sentinel
Springfield, Post
Struthers, Journal
Sylvania, Sentinel-Herald
Toledo, Bronze Raven
Toledo, Sun
Toledo, West Toledo Herald
Trotwood, Tribune
Warren, Western Reserve Democrat
Waterville, Standard
Waynesburg, Press
Wellington, Enterprise
Wellsville, Press
Westlake, West Life
Wickliffe, Leader
Worthington, News
Youngstwon, Boardman News
Youngstown, Buckeye Review
Youngstown, Jewish Times

RURAL WEEKLIES (195)

Ada, Herald
Andover, Citizen
Antwerp, Bee-Argus
Arcanum, Times
Archbold, Buckeye
Arlington, Arlingtonian
Ashley, Star
Ashville, News
Attica, Hub
Baltimore, News
Barnesville, Enterprise
Barnesville, Whetstone
Batavia, Clermont Sun
Batavia, Courier
Belle Center, Herald-Voice
Bethel, Journal
Beverly, Dispatch
Blanchester, Star-Republican
Bloomville, Gazette
Bluffton, News
Bremen, Derrick
Brunswick, Post
Buckeye Lake, News
Burton, News
Burton, Times-Leader
Cadiz, Republican
Caldwell, Journal
Caldwell, Leader
Camden, News
Cardington, Morrow County Independent
Carey, Times
Carrollton, Free Press-Standard
Carrollton, Journal
Centerburg, Gazette
Chardon, Record
Clarksburg, Star
Clyde, Enterprise
Coldwater, Chronicle
Columbus Grove, Vidette
Continental, News-Review
Convoy, Radar
Covington, Advertiser
Crestline, Advocate
Crooksville, Messenger
Dalton, Gazette
Danville, Times
Delphos, Tri-County Courant
Delta, Atlas
Deshler, Flag
Dresden, Post-Transcript
Eaton, Register-Herald
Edgerton, Earth
Edon, Commercial
Fayette, Review
Forest, Review
Fort Recovery, Journal
Franklin, Chronicle
Fredericktown, Citizen
Freeport, Press
Gallipolis, Gallia Times
Garrettsville, Journal
Genoa, Gazette
Georgetown, News-Democrat
Gibsonburg, Derrick
Glouster, Press
Green Springs, Echo
Greenwich, Enterprise-Review
Grover Hill, News
Hicksville, News-Tribune
Hillsboro, News-Herald
Hillsboro, Press-Gazette
Holgate, Review
Huron, Reporter
Jackson, Herald
Jackson, News-Leader
Jackson, Sun Journal
Jefferson, Gazette
Johnstown, Independent
Kidron, News
Kinsman, Journal
Lebanon, Western Star
Leesburg, Citizen
Leipsic, Free Press
Lewisburg, Leader
Liberty Center, Press
Lockland, Valley News
Lodi, Advertiser
Loudonville, Times
Loveland, Herald
Lynchburg, News
Malvern, News
Manchester, Signal
Mantua, Record
Marblehead, Peninsula News
McArthur, Democrat-Enquirer
McArthur, Republican-Tribune
McComb, Herald
McConnelsville, Herald
Mechanicsburg, Telegram
Medina, Gazette
Medina, Leader Post
Medina, Sentinel
Mendon, Herald
Metamora, Record
Milan, Ledger
Millersburg, Farmer-Hub
Mingo Junction, News & Reporter

OHIO
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Minster, Post
Monroeville, Spectator
Montpelier, Leader-Enterprise
Mt. Blanchard, Journal
Mt. Gilead, Sentinel
Mt. Gilead, Union Register
Mount Sterling, Tribune
Napoleon, Northwest News
Napoleon, Signal
Nelsonville, Tribune
Newcomerstown, News
New Concord, Enterprise
New Holland, Leader
New Lexington, Tribune
New London, Record
New Richmond, Press
New Washington, Herald
North Baltimore, News
Oakharbor, Exponent
Oak Hill, Press
Oakwood, News
Ohio City, Progress
Orrville, Courier-Crescent
Orwell, News Letter
Ottawa, Sentinel
Pandora, Times
Pataskala, Standard
Paulding, Progress
Payne, Reflector
Pemberville, Leader
Perrysburg, Journal
Perrysburg, Messenger
Pioneer, Tri-State Alliance
Plain City, Advocate
Port Clinton, Herald
Quaker City, Home Towner
Republic, Reporter
Richwood, Gazette
Ripley, Bee
Rising Sun, Unique-Derrick
Rittman, Press
Rockford, Press
Rossford, Record
Sabina, News Record
St. Clairsville, Chronicle
Saint Clairsville, Gazette
Scio, Herald
Seville, Chronicle
Sherwood, Chronicle
Somerset, Press
Spencerville, Journal-News
Steubenville, Jeffersonian
Stryker, Advance
Sugarcreek, Budget
Sunbury, News
Swanton, Enterprise
Sycamore, Leader
Tipp City, Herald
Tiro, World
Toronto, Tribune
Utica, Herald
Vermilion, News
Versailles, Policy
Wadsworth, News-Banner
Wauseon, Expositor
Wauseon, Republican
Waverly, News
Waverly, Watchman
Wellston, Telegram
West Alexandria, News
Westerville, Public Opinion
West Liberty, Banner
West Milton, Record
Weston, Journal
West Union, News
West Union, People's Defender
West Unity, Reporter
Willard, Times
Williamsburg, Times
Williamsport, News
Willoughby, Shoping News
Willshire, Herald
Woodsfield, Beacon
Woodsfield, Spirit of Democracy
Woodville, News
Xenia, Herald & Democrat News
Yellow Springs, News

OKLAHOMA (230)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (21)

Bethany, Tribune Review
Broken Arrow, Ledger
Broken Bow, News
Collinsville, News
Edmond, Booster
Edmond, Sun
Harrah, Herald
Harrah, News
Jones, Oklahoma County News
Oklahoma City, Advertiser
Oklahoma City, Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Capitol Hill Beacon
Oklahoma City, North Star
Oklahoma City, Northwest News
Oklahoma City, Ye Towne Cryer
Sand Springs, Leader
Sand Springs, Times
Skiatook, News
Tulsa, Oklahoma Eagle
Tulsa, Southside Times
Tulsa, Star
Tulsa, Tulsa County News

RURAL WEEKLIES (209)

Ada, News
Afton, American
Aline, Chronoscope
Allen, Advocate
Alva, News
Alva, Weekly Record
Alva, Woods Co. News
Anadarko, Tribune
Antlers, American
Apache, News
Apache, Review
Ardmore, Democrat
Arnett, Capital
Atoka, Citizen-Democrat
Atoka, Jeffersonian
Atoka, Times
Barnsdall, Times
Beaver, Herald-Democrat
Billings, News
Bixby, Bulletin
Blackwell, Times-Record
Blair, Enterprise
Blanchard, News
Boise City, News
Boswell, News
Bristow, News
Bristow, Record-Citizen
Broken Bow, News
Buffalo, Journal
Canton, Record
Carmen, Headlight
Carnegie, Herald
Chandler, News
Checotah, Democrat
Checotah, News
Chelsea, Reporter
Cherokee, Messenger
Cherokee, Republican
Cheyenne, Star
Chicakasha, Star
Claremore, News
Cleveland, American
Clinton, Custer County Chronicle
Coalgate, Record-Register
Comanche, News
Cordell, Beacon
Corn, Enterprise
Covington, Record
Coweta, Times-Star
Crescent, News
Cushing, Weekly-Citizen
Cyril, News
Davis, News
Dewey, Herald
Drumright, Derrick
Drumright, Journal
Duke, Times
Duncan, Eagle
Durant, News & Democrat
Eldorado, Courier
Elk City, Journal
El Reno, American
Enid, Garfield News
Erick, Democrat
Eufaula, Journal
Fairfax, Chief
Fairview, Republican
Fletcher, Herald
Fort Cobb, News
Frederick, Press
Freedom, Call
Gage, Record
Garber, Free Press
Geary, Star
Glencoe, Tri-County Hopper
Gotebo, Record Times
Grandfield, News
Granite, Enterprise
Grove, Sun
Guthrie, Register-News
Guymon, Observer
Hammon, Advocate
Hartshorne, Sun
Haskell, News
Healdton, Herald
Heavener, Ledger
Helena, Star
Hennessey, Clipper
Hinton, Record
Hobart, Star-Review
Hollis, News
Hominy, News
Hooker, Advance
Hugo, Democrat
Hugo, Southeast Oklahoman
Hydro, Review
Idabel, Gazette
Jay, Journal
Jenks, Journal
Jet, Visitor
Kingfisher, Free Press
Kingfisher, Times
Kiowa, Chronicle
Konawa, Leader
Lamont, Valley News
Laverne, Tribune
Lawton, News-Review
Leedey, Star
Lexington, Sun
Lindsay, News
Lone Wolf, News
Madill, Record
Mangum, News
Mangum, Star
Marietta, Monitor
Marlow, Review
Marshall, News
Maud, Enterprise
Maysville, News
McAlester, Democrat
McCloud, Monitor
Medford, Journal
Medford, Patriot-Star
Meeker, Herald
Minco, Minstrel
Moore, Monitor
Mooreland, Leader
Morris, News
Mountain View, News
Muskogee, Independent
Newkirk, Herald-Journal
Newport, Lincoln Co. Newscaster
Nowata, Star-Tribune
Okarchie, Chieftain
Okeene, Record
Okemah, Okfuskee County News
Okmulgee, News
Okmulgee, Observer
Pauls Valley, Enterprise
Pawhuska, Journal-News
Pawnee, Chief
Perkins, Journal
Picher, Tri-State Tribune
Pondcreek, Herald
Poteau, News
Poteau, Sun
Prague, News-Record
Pryor, Jeffersonian
Purcell, News
Purcell, Register
Ringling, Eagle
Risingsun, Unique-Derrick
Rossford, Record
Rush Springs, Gazette
Ryan, Leader
Sallisaw, Times
Sallisaw, Tribune
Sapulpa, Democrat-News
Sayre, Sun
Seiling, Dewey County News
Sentinel, Leader
Shattuck, Northwest Oklahoman
Shawnee, American
Shawnee, County Democrat
Shidler, Review
Snyder, Democrat
Spiro, Times
Stigler, News-Sentinel
Stilwell, Democrat-Journal
Stratford, Star
Stroud, American
Sulphur, Times-Democrat
Tahlequah, Star Citizen
Tahlequah, Times
Talihina, American
Taloga, Times-Advocate
Tecumseh, County Wide News
Tecumseh, Standard
Temple, Tribune
Texhoma, Times
Thomas, Tribune
Tipton, Tribune
Tishomingo, Capital-Democrat
Tonkawa, News
Tuttle, Times
Verden, News
Vici, Beacon
Vinita, Democrat
Vinita, Leader
Wagoner, Record-Democrat
Wagoner, Tribune
Wakita, Herald
Walters, Herald
Watonga, Republican
Waukomis, Oklahoma Hornet
Waurika, News-Democrat
Waynoka, Enterprise and News
Weatherford, News
Weleetka, American
Wellston, News
Westville, Reporter
Wetumka, Times
Wewoka, Capital-Democrat
Wilburton, News-Tribune
Woodward, Journal
Woodward, Republican
Wynnewood, Gazette
Yale, Record
Yukon, Sun

OREGON (114)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (25)

Cottage Grove, Sentinel

OREGON

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Florence, Siuslaw Oar
Gresham, Outlook
Jefferson, Review
Junction City, Times
Mill City, Enterprise
Mount Angel, News
Oakridge, Telegram
Portland, Beaverton News
Portland, Central East Side News
Portland, Greater Southeast News
Portland, Laurelhurst Shopper
Portland, Nob Hill News
Portland, North Portland Shopper
Portland, St. John's Review
Portland, Sellwood Buyer's Guide
Portland, Sellwood-Moreland Bee
Portland, Southeast News
Portland, Valley Enterprise
Portland, Walnut Park News
Salem, Capital Press
Salem, Salem Shopping News
Silverton, Appeal-Tribune
Stayton, Mail
Woodburn, Independent

RURAL WEEKLIES (89)

Albany, Greater Oregon
Amity, Standard
Astoria, Astorian
Astoria, Columbia Press
Athena, Press
Baker, Record-Courier
Bandon, Western World
Beaverton, News
Brookings, Harbor Pilot
Brownsville, Times
Burns, Times-Herald
Canby, Herald
Carlton, Review
Cave Junction, News
Clatskanie, Chief
Condon, Globe-Times
Coquille, Sentinel
Corvallis, Herald
Dallas, Itemizer-Observer
Dayton, Tribune
DeLake, News-Guard
Drain, Enterprise
Elgin, Recorder
Empire, Builder
Enterprise, Chieftain
Estacada, News
Forest Grove, News-Times
Fossil, Journal
Gold Beach, Reporter
Grants Pass, Bulletin
Halsey, Review
Harrisburg, Bulletin
Heppner, Gazette-Times
Hermiston, Herald
Hillsboro, Argus
Hood River, News
Independence, Enterprise
John Day, Eagle
Joseph, Parade
La Grande, Review
Lakeview, Examiner-Tribune
Lebanon, Express
Madras, Pioneer
McMinnville, News-Register
Milton, Valley Herald
Milwaukie, Review
Molalla, Pioneer
Monmouth, Herald
Moro, Journal
Myrtle Creek, Mail
Myrtle Point, Herald
Newberg, Graphic
Newport, Lincoln County Newscaster
Newport, News
North Bend, News
Nyssa, Gate City Journal
Ontario, Argus-Observer
Oswego, Review
Pendleton, Record
Philomath, Review
Pilot Rock, News
Prineville, Central Oregonian
Rainier, Review
Redmond, Spokesman
Reedsport, Courier
Rogue River, Times
St. Helens, Chronicle
St. Helens, Sentinel-Mist
St. Johns, Review
Sandy, Post
Scio, Tribune
Seaside, Signal
Sherdian, Sun
Sherwood, News
Sutherlin, Sun
Sweet Home, New Era
The Dallas, Optimist
Tigard, Times
Tillamook, Headlight-Herald
Tillamook, Shopping Smiles
Toledo, Leader
Umatilla, Sun
Union, Union Republic
Vale, Enterprise
Valsetz, Mountain Echo
Vernonia, Eagle
Waldport, Times
Wallowa, Record
Willamina, Times

PENNSYLVANIA (355)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (254)

Albion, News
Allentown, Times
Altoona, American
Ambler, Gazette
Ardmore, Chronicle
Ardmore, Times
Barnesboro, Star
Bath, Home News
Bellevue, Life
Bentleyville, Courier
Bethlehem, Bulletin
Bethlehem, News-Telegram
Birdsboro, Dispatch
Boyertown, Times
Braddock, Free Press
Bridgeville, News
Bridgeville, Signal
Broomall, Leader
Bryn Mawr, Home News
Burgettstown, Enterprise
Camp Hill, West Shore Shopper
Canansburg, News Progress
Carbondale, News
Carbondale, Review
Carnegie, Signal-Item
Catasaqua, Dispatch
Clairton, Progress
Claysville, Recorder
Clifton Heights, Review
Coaldale, Observer
Collegeville, Independent
Conshohocken, Recorder
Conshohocken, Sentinel
Coraopolis, Record
Crafton, Chartiers Valley Times
Crafton, Life
Cresson, Mainliner
Dallas, Post
Darby, Ledger
Darby, Suburban Weekly
Delta, Star
Dillsburg, Bulletin
Downingtown, Archive
Doylestown, Reporter
Drexel Hill, Herald Tribune
Drexel Hill, Post
Drexel Hill, Press
Drexel Hill, Sun
Dunmore, Dunmorean
Easton, Herald
Ebensburg, Herald
Edinboro, Independent
Elizabeth, Herald
Elizabethtown, Chronicle
Elizabethville, Echo
Emmaus, Free Press
Ephrata, Review
Erie, Leader
Export, Penn Franklin News
Fairless Hills, News
Farrell, Press
Finleyville, Bulletin
Girard, Herald
Glen Riddle, Herald
Glenside, Guide
Glenside, News
Greensburg, Press
Grove City, Reporter
Hamburg, Item
Hatboro, Progress
Hatboro, Spirit
Hatfield, Times
Havertown, News
Hazelton, Vigilant
Herndon, News
Hollidaysburg, Register
Honey Brook, Herald
Hummelstown, Sun
Irwin, Standard
Irwin, Times-Observer
Jeannette, Journal
Jenkintown, Times
Johnstown, Observer
Kennett Square, News
Kingston, News
Kutztown, Patriot
Langhorne, Advance
Lansdale, News
Lansdowne, Times
Lansdowne, Yeadon Courier
Lemoyne, Times
Ligonier, Echo
Lititz, Record & Express
Lykens, Standard
Manheim, Sentinel
Marcus Hook, Press
Marietta, Times
Martinsburg, Herald
Masontown, Bulletin
Mayfield, News
McDonald, Record
McKees Rocks, Gazette
Mechanicsburg, News
Media, News
Media, Visitor
Mercer, Dispatch
Middletown, Journal
Middletown, Press and Journal
Midland, News
Millersburg, Sentinel
Millvale, Valley Journal
Morton, Observer
Mount Joy, Bulletin
Mount Pleasant, Journal
Muncy, Luminary
Nanty Glo, Journal
Nazareth, Item
New Holland, Clarion
New Hope, Gazette
New Hope, News
Newtown, Enterprise
Newville, Times
New Wilmington, Globe
North East, Breeze
Oakmont, Advance
Olyphant, Gazette
Oreland, Sunnybrook Sun
Oxford, Press
Paoli, News
Parkesburg, Post
Patton, Courier
Pennsburg, Town and Country
Perkasie, News-Herald
Philadelphia, Advertiser
Philadelphia, Afro-American
Philadelphia, Breeze
Philadelphia, Castor Times
Philadelphia, Chestnut Hill Herald
Philadelphia, City Line News
Philadelphia, Courier
Philadelphia, Dispatch
Philadelphia, Frankford Bulletin
Philadelphia, Frankford Gazette
Philadelphia, Frankford Times
Philadelphia, Germantown Courier
Philadelphia, Girard Avenue Home News
Philadelphia, Globe
Philadelphia, Independent
Philadelphia, Jewish Exponent
Philadelphia, Jewish Times
Philadelphia, Juniata Guide
Philadelphia, Juniata News
Philadelphia, Kensington News
Philadelphia, Lindley Olney News
Philadelphia, Logan Beacon
Philadelphia, Mayfair News
Philadelphia, Mayfair Times
Philadelphia, Midtown Crier
Philadelphia, Neighborhood Advertiser
Philadelphia, News Gleaner
Philadelphia, Nicetonian
Philadelphia, Northeast News
Philadelphia, North Penn Chat
Philadelphia, North Philadelphia Globe
Philadelphia, Oakdale Weekly
Philadelphia, Olney Times
Philadelphia, Overbrook Times Herald
Philadelphia, Penn Treaty Gazette
Philadelphia, Rising Sun Times
Philadelphia, South Philadelphia American
Philadelphia, South Philadelphian
Philadelphia, South Philadelphia Review
Philadelphia, Southwest Globe and Times
Philadelphia, Suburban Press
Philadelphia, Tioga News
Philadelphia, Tribune
Philadelphia, West Oak Lane Beacon
Philadelphia, West Philadelphia Free Press
Philadelphia, West Philadelphia Times-Herald
Pitcairn, Times Express
Pittsburgh, American Jewish Outlook
Pittsburgh, Boro News
Pittsburgh, Brookline Journal
Pittsburgh, Courier
Pittsburgh, Hazelwood Envoy
Pittsburgh, Homewood-Brushton News
Pittsburgh, Jewish Criterion
Pittsburgh, Liberty Ledger
Pittsburgh, Mount Lebanon News
Pittsburgh, Mount Washington News
Pittsburgh, News
Pittsburgh, Oakland News
Pittsburgh, Progress
Pittsburgh, Reporter
Pittsburgh, South Hills Record
Pittsburgh, Southwest Journal
Pittsburgh, Squirrel Hill News
Pittsburgh, Tribune
Pittston, Dispatch
Pleasant Hills, Cloverleaf Bulletin
Point Marion, News
Portage, Dispatch
Prospect Park, News
Quarryville, Sun
Reading, Record
Roaring Springs, News
Royersford, Twin Boro Advertiser
Sandy Lake, Breeze
Schuylkill Haven, Call and News

PENNSYLVANIA
URBAN & SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Schwenksville, Item
Scottdale, Independent-Observer
Scranton, Polish-American Journal
Sellersville, Farm & Home
Sewickley, Herald
Shamokin, Citizen
Sharon Hill, Bulletin
Sharpsburg, Herald
Sharpsville, Advertiser
Shickshinny, Mountain Echo
Shippensburg, News
Slatington, News
Slippery Rock, Signal
Souderton, Independent
Spring City, Press
Springfield, Press
Strasburg, News
Swarthmore, Swarthmorean
Tower City, Herald
Tremont, West Schuylkill Press
Turtle Creek, Independent
Union City, Times
Uniontown, Independent
Upper Darby, News
Upper Darby, Telegram
Valley View, Valley Citizen
Waterford, Leader
Wayne, Suburban
West Brownsville, Times
West Grove, Independent
West Newton, Times-Sun
West View, Allegheny Journal
White Haven, Journal
Wilkes-Barre, Independent
Wilkinsburg, Gazette
Williamsburg, Journal
Williamsport, Examiner
Williamsport, Grit
Williamstown, Times
Willow Grove, Guide
Yardley, News
Yeadon, Times
Zelienople, Butler County News

RURAL WEEKLIES (101)

Apollo, News-Record
Bedford, Inquirer
Bellefonte, Centre Democrat
Belleville, Times
Benton, Argus
Blairsville, Dispatch
Boswell, News
Bradford, Journal
Brockway, Record
Brookville, American
Brookville, Democrat
Cambridge Springs, Enterprise-News
Canton, Independent-Sentinel
Clarion, Democrat
Clarion, Republican
Cochranton, Times
Conneaut Lake, Breeze
Conneautville, Courier
Coudersport, Enterprise
Coudersport, Journal
Curwensville, News
Duncannon, Record
Dushore, Review
Eldred, Eagle
Elkland, Journal
Emlenton, News
Emporium, Press
Everett, Press
Forest City, News
Greencastle, Echo-Pilot
Honesdale, Citizen Times
Honesdale, Independent
Houtzdale, Citizen-Standard
Johnsonburg, Press
Kittanning, Armstrong Democrat & Sentinel-News
Laceyville, Courier
Lebanon, News
Leechburg, Advance
Lemoyne, Times
Lewisburg, Union County Journal
Lewistown, Gazette
Linesville, Herald
Lock Haven, Times
Mansfield, Advertiser
Marion Center, Independent
McClure, Plain Dealer
McConnellsburg, Democrat
McConnellsburg, News
Mercersburg, Journal
Meyersdale, Republican
Middleburg, Post
Mifflinburg, Telegraph
Mifflintown, Juniata Sentinel
Mifflintown, Tribune
Milford, Dispatch
Millheim, Journal
Montrose, Independent
Montrose, Press
Mount Jewett, Echo
Mt. Union, Times
New Bethlehem, Leader-Vindicator
New Bloomfield, Times
New Oxford, Item
Newport, News-Sun
Nicholson, Examiner
Osceola Mills, Leader
Palmyra, Palm Advertiser
Phillipsburg, Free Press
Port Allegany, Reporter-Argus
Port Royal, Times
Renovo, Record
Reynoldsville, Star
Rimersburg, Record
Saltsburg, Press
Saxton, Bulletin
Sayre, Valley News
Selinsgrove, Times-Tribune
Sheffield, Observer
Shinglehouse, Mail
Smethport, McKean County Democrat
Smethport, McKean County Miner
Somerset, Democrat
Somerset, Times
Susquehanna, Ledger
Sykesville, Post-Dispatch
Thompsontown, Juniata Globe
Tidioute, Observer
Tionesta, Forest Press
Troy, Gazette-Register
Tunkhannock, Republican
Tunkhannock, Witness
Warren, Observer
Waynesburg, Republican
Weatherly, Herald
Weedville, News
Wellsboro, Agitator
Wellsboro, Gazette
Westfield, Free Press-Courier
Windber, Era
Wyalusing, Rocket
Youngsville, Courier

RHODE ISLAND (12)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (4)

East Providence, Post
Providence, Cranston Herald
Providence, Jewish Herald
Riverside, News

RURAL WEEKLIES (8)

Barrington, Times
Bristol, Phoenix
East Greenwich, Pendulum
Newport, Mercury & News
North Kingstown, Standard
Wakefield, Times
Warren, Warren and Barrington Gazette
Warwick, Beacon

SOUTH CAROLINA (79)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (9)

Columbia, Jackson Journal
Fountain Inn, Tribune
Greenville, Observer
Greenville, Palmetto Times
Greer, Citizen
Inman, Times
Landrum, Leader
North Charleston, Banner
Woodruff, News

RURAL WEEKLIES (70)

Abbeville, Press and Banner
Allendale, Citizen
Allendale, News
Anderson, Free Press
Bamberg, Herald
Barnwell, Sentinel
Batesburg, News
Beaufort, Gazette
Belton, News
Bennettsville, Herald-Advocate
Bishopville, Messenger — Lee
Calhoun Falls, Times
Camden, Chronicle
Cheraw, Chronicle
Chester, News
Chester, Reporter
Chesterfield, Advertiser
Clinton, Chronicle
Clover, Herald
Conway, Field
Conway, Herald
Darlington, News & Press
Denmark, Edisto News — Bamberg
Dillon, Herald
Easley, Progress
Edgefield, Advertiser
Fort Mill, Times
Gaffney, Ledger
Georgetown, Times
Hampton, Guardian — Hampton
Hartsville, Messenger
Hemingway, Tribune
Honea Path, Chronicle
Johnston, Citizen
Kershaw, News Era
Kingstree, Record — Williamsburg
Lake City, News
Lake City, Times-Herald
Lancaster, News
Landrum, Leader
Latta, Observer
Laurens, Advertiser
Lexington, Dispatch-News
Loris, Sentinel
Manning, Times Clarendon
Marion, Star
McColl, Messenger
Moncks Corner, Democrat
Mullins, Enterprise
Myrtle Beach, Sun-News
Newberry, Observer
Newberry, Sun
Pageland, Journal
Pickens, Sentinel
Ridgeland, News — Jasper
Saint George, Eagle-Record
Saint Matthews, Times — Calhoun
Saluda, Sentinel
Seneca, Journal-Tribune
Seneca, Messenger
Summerville, Scene
Walhalla, Courier
Walterboro, Press and Standard
West Columbia, Cayce Journal
Westminster, News
Whitmire, News
Williamston, Journal
Williston, Way — Barnwell
Winnsboro, News and Herald
York, Enquirer

SOUTH DAKOTA (155)

RURAL WEEKLIES (155)

Alcester, Union
Alexandria, Herald
Alpena, Journal
Arlington, Sun
Armour, Chronicle
Artesian, Commonwealth
Belle Fourche, Bee
Beresford, Republic
Bison, Courier
Bonesteel, Enterprise
Bowdle, Pioneer
Bridgewater, Tribune
Britton, Journal
Brookings, Register
Bryant, News
Buffalo, Times-Herald
Burke, Gazette
Canistota, Clipper
Canova, Herald
Canton, News
Carthage, News
Castlewood, Republican
Centerville, Journal
Chamberlain, Register
Clark, Courier
Clear Lake, Courier
Colman, Argus
Colton, Courier
Conde, News
Corsica, Globe
Cresbard, Beacon
Custer, Chronicle
Dell Rapids, Tribune
Delmont, Record
De Smet, News
Doland, Times-Record
Draper, Tribune
Dupree, Progress
Eagle Butte, News
Edgemont, Herald
Edgemont, Tribune
Elk Point, Leader-Courier
Elkton, Record
Emery, Enterprise
Estelline, Journal
Eureka, Northwest-Blade
Faith, Independent
Faulkton, Record
Flandreau, Enterprise
Fort Pierre, Times
Frederick, News
Freeman, Courier
Gann Valley, Chief
Garretson, News
Gary, Interstate
Geddes, News
Gettysburg, News
Gregory, Times-Advocate
Groton, Independent
Harrold, Journal
Hayti, Herald-Enterprise
Hecla, Independent
Herreid, Prairie Picayune
Highmore, Herald
Hot Springs, Star
Hoven, Review
Howard, Pioneer
Hudson, Hudsonite
Humboldt, Journal
Hurley, Leader
Ipswich, Tribune
Irene, News

SOUTH DAKOTA
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Isabel, Dakotan
Kadoka, Press
Kennebec, Advocate-Leader
Kimball, News
Lake Andes, Wave
Lake Preston, Times
Langford, Bugle
Lead, Black Hills Weekly and Plaindealer
Lemmon, Leader
Lemmon, Tribune
Lennox, Independent
Leola, Herald
Marion, Record
Martin, Booster
McIntosh, News
McLaughlin, Messenger
Menno, Hutchinson-Herald
Milbank, Herald-Advance
Milbank, Review
Miller, Press
Mission, Tribune
Mitchell, Tribune
Mobridge, Reminder
Mobridge, Tribune
Montrose, Herald
Morristown, World
Mount Vernon, News
Murdo, Coyote
Newell, Valley Irrigator
Onida, Watchman
Parker, New Era
Parkston, Advance
Philip, Pioneer-Review
Pierre, Capital-Journal
Pierre, Weekly Reminder
Pine Ridge, Shannon County News
Plankinton, Mail
Platte, Enterprise
Pollock, Pioneer
Presho, Herald
Pukwana, Press-Reporter
Quinn, Record
Rapid City, Gate City Guide
Redfield, Press
Ree Heights, Review
Revillo, Item
Roscoe, Independent
Rosholt, Review
Salem, Special
Scotland, Journal
Selby, Java-Herald
Selby, Record
Sisseton, Courier
South Shore, Gazette
Spearfish, Mail
Springfield, Times
Stickney, Argus
Sturgis, Press
Sturgis, Rushmore Ads
Sturgis, Tribune
Timber Lake, Topic
Toronto, Herald
Tripp, Ledger
Tyndall, Tribune and Register
Vermillion, Plain Talk
Viborg, Enterprise
Volga, Tribune
Wagner, Post
Wakonda, Monitor
Wall, Courant
Waubay, Clipper
Webster, Reporter and Farmer
Wessington, Times-Enterprise
Wessington Springs, Independent
White, Leader
White Lake, Standard
White River, News
Wilmot, Enterprise
Winner, Advocate
Wolsey, News
Wood, Pioneer
Woonsocket, News

TENNESSEE (133)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (15)

Chattanooga, Hamilton County Herald
Chattanooga, Observer
Donelson, Diary
Fountain City, Fountain City Citizen
Goodlettsville, Gazette
Knoxville, Flashlight Herald
Knoxville, Independent Call
Memphis, Hebrew Watchman
Memphis, Tri-State Defender
Memphis, World
Nashville, Commentator
Nashville, Globe
Nashville, Record
Old Hickory, Community News
Whitehaven, Press

RURAL WEEKLIES (118)

Adamsville, Appeal
Adamsville, News
Alamo, Times
Ashland City, Times
Bells, Crocket County Sentinel
Benton, News
Blountville, News
Bolivar, Bulletin-Times
Brownsville, States-Graphic
Camden, Chronicle
Carthage, Courier
Centerville, Chronicle
Centerville, Times
Clinton, Courier-News
Collierville, Herald
Columbia, Democrat
Cookeville, Citizen
Cookeville, Herald
Copperhill, Advance
Covington, Leader
Crossville, Chronicle
Dandridge, Banner
Dayton, Herald
Decaturville, Herald
Dickson, Herald
Dover, Times
Dresden, Enterprise
Dunlap, Tribune
Dyer, Reporter
Erwin, Record
Etowah, Enterprise
Fayetteville, News
Fayetteville, Observer
Franklin, Review-Appeal
Friendship, News
Gainesboro, Sentinel
Gallatin, Examiner
Gallatin, News
Gatlinburg, Press
Harriman, Record
Hartsville, Vidette
Henderson, Independent
Hendersonville, Star
Hohenwald, Herald
Humboldt, Chronicle
Huntingdon, Democrat
Huntingdon, Republican
Jamestown, Times
Jasper, Journal
Jefferson City, Banner
Jefferson City, News
Jefferson City, Standard
Jellico, Advance-Sentinel
Jonesboro, Herald-Tribune
Lafayette, Macon County Times
LaFollette, Press
Lawrenceburg, Democrat-Union
Lebanon, Democrat
Lenoir City, News-Banner
Lewisburg, Gazette
Lewisburg, Tribune
Lexington, Progress
Linden, Perry Countian
Livingston, Enterprise
Loudon, Herald
Lynchburg, News
Madisonville, Democrat
Manchester, Times
Martin, Press
Maryville, Enterprise
Maynardville, Times
McKenzie, Banner
McMinnville, Standard
Milan, Exchange
Millington, Star
Mountain City, Tomahawk
Mount Pleasant, Record
Newbern, Tennessean
Murfreesboro, Courier
Newport, Plain Talk and Tribune
New Tazewell, Claiborne Progress
Oneida, News
Paris, Parisian
Parsons, News-Leader
Pikeville, Banner
Portland, Leader
Pulaski, Citizen
Pulaski, Giles Free Press
Pulaski, Record
Ripley, Enterprise
Rockwood, Times
Rogersville, Review
Rutledge, News
Savannah, Courier
Savannah, News-Progress
Selmer, Independent
Sevierville, News-Record
Shelbyville, Bedford County Sun
Smithville, Review
Smyrna, Courier
Sneedville, News
Somerville, Fayette Falcon
South Pittsburg, Hustler
Sparta, Expositor
Sparta, News-Pictorial
Springfield, Herald
Springfield, Times
Sweetwater, Valley News
Tiptonville, Banner
Tracy City, Herald
Trenton, Gazette
Trenton, Herald-Register
Tullahoma, News and Guardian
Wartburg, News
Waverly, News Democrat
Waynesboro, News
Winchester, Chronicle
Winchester, Herald-Times
Woodbury, Cannon Courier

TEXAS (534)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (73)

Arlington, Citizen
Arlington, Haltom City News
Arlington, Journal
Austin, Texas Observer
Bishop, News
Burkburnett, Star
Carrollton, Chronicle
Carrollton, Farmers Branch Times
Corpus Christi, News
Corpus Christi, Star
Corpus Christi, Voice
Crawford, Sun
Dallas, Express
Dallas, New Tribune
Dallas, Oak Cliff Tribune
Dallas, Park Cities-North Dallas News
Dallas, Star Post
Dallas, Suburban Tribune
Dallas, Texas Tribune
Dallas, White Rocker
Dickinson, Galveston County Press
Donna, News
Edinburg, Hidalgo County News
Electra, Star-News
Fabens, Valley Independent
Fort Worth, Aerospace Sentinel
Fort Worth, Bomber News
Fort Worth, Lake Como Weekly
Fort Worth, Meadowbrook Herald
Fort Worth, North Fort Worth News
Fort Worth, Polytechnic Herald
Fort Worth, River Oaks News
Fort Worth, Shopper
Fort Worth, Texas Jewish Post
Fort Worth, Weekly
Fort Worth, West Side Post-News
Galena Park, Reporter
Garland, Herald
Grand Prairie, Banner
Grapevine, Sun
Handley, News
Houston, Informer
Houston, Jewish Herald Voice
Houston, Texas Freeman & Informer
Humble, Echo
Iowa Park, Herald
Irving, News-Record
La Feria, News
La Marque, Times
Lancaster, Herald
La Porte, Liberal
Mansfield, News
McGregor, Mirror
Mercedes, Enterprise
Mesquite, Texas Mesquiter
Mission, Times
Nederland, Review
Pharr, Press
Port Neches, Chronicle
Riesel, Rustler
Robstown, Record
San Antonio, Alamo Heights News
San Antonio, Register
San Benito, News
San Juan, Sentinel
Seagoville, News
Slaton, Slatonite
Tomball, Tribune
Waco, Citizen
Waco, News-Citizen
Waco, Messenger
Weslaco, News
West, News

RURAL WEEKLIES (461)

Abernathy, Weekly Review
Alamo, News
Alba, Reporter
Albany, News
Alice, News
Alpine, Avalanche
Alto, Herald
Alvardo, Bulletin
Alvin, Sun
Alvord, News
Anahuac, Progress
Andrews, News
Angleton, Times
Anson, Western Observer
Anton, News
Aransas Pass, Progress
Archer City, News
Aspermont, Star
Athens, Weekly Review
Atlanta, Citizens' Journal
Baird, Star
Ballinger, Ledger
Ballinger, News
Bandera, Bulletin
Bangs, Gazette

TEXAS
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Bartlett, Tribune-News
Bastrop, Advertiser
Bay City, News
Beeville, Bee-Picayune
Belleville, Times
Belton, Journal
Benavides, Facts
Bertram, Enterprise
Big Lake, Wildcat
Big Sandy, Journal
Blanco, News
Blooming Grove, Times
Boerne, Star
Bogata, News
Bonham, Herald
Booker, News
Bowie, News
Brqdy, Herald
Brady, Standard
Bremond, Press
Bridgeport, Index
Bronte, Enterprise
Brookshire, Times
Brownfield, News
Buffalo, Press
Burleson, Dispatcher
Burleson, News
Burnet, Bulletin
Caldwell, News
Calvert, Tribune
Cameron, Herald
Canadian, News
Canadian, Record
Canton, Herald
Canyon, News
Carbon, Messenger
Carrizo Springs, Javelin
Carthage, Watchman
Castroville, Bulletin
Celeste, Courier
Celina, Record
Center, Champion
Centerville, News
Childress, Reporter
Chillicothe, News
Cisco, Press
Clarendon, Leader
Clarksville, Times
Claude, News
Cleveland, Advocate
Clifton, Record
Coldspring, Times
Coleman, Chronicle
Coleman, Democrat-Voice
Colorado City, Record
Columbus, Citizen
Comanche, Chief
Comfort, News
Commerce, Journal
Conroe, Courier
Conroe, News
Coolidge, Herald
Cooper, Review
Copperas Cove, Courier
Corsicana, Light
Cotulla, Record
Crandall, Star
Crane, News
Crockett, Courier-Democrat
Crosbyton, Review
Cross Plains, Review
Crowell, News
Crystal City, Sentinel
Cushing, News
Daingerfield, News
Dayton, News
Decatur, Messenger
Daingerfield, News
De Kalb, News
De Leon, Free Press
Denison, Press
Denver City, Press
Deport, Times
Devine, News
Diboll, Free Press
Dilley, Herald
Dimmitt, News
Dublin, Progress
Dumas, News
Eagle Lake, Headlight
Eagle Pass, News Guide
Earth, News-Sun
Eastland, Telegram
Eden, Echo
Edgewood, Enterprise
Edna, Herald
El Campo, Citizen
El Campo, Leader
Eldorado, Success
Elgin, Courier
Elkhart, News
Elkhart, Record
Emory, Leader
Ennis, Weekly Local
Fairfield, Recorder
Falfurrias, Facts
Farmersville, Times
Farwell, Tribune
Ferris, Wheel
Flatonia, Argus
Floresville, Chronicle-Journal
Floydada, Hesperian
Forney, Messenger
Fort Stockton, Pioneer
Franklin, Favorite
Franklin, Texan
Frankston, Citizen
Fredericksburg, Radio Post
Fredericksburg, Standard
Freer, Enterprise
Friona, Star
Frost, Enterprise
Ganado, Tribune
Garrison, News
Gatesville, Messenger & Star-Forum
Gatesville, News
Georgetown, Sun
George West, Herald
Giddings, News
Giddings, Star
Gilmer, Mirror
Glen Rose, Reporter
Goldthwaite, Eagle
Goliad, Advance-Guard
Gonzales, Inquirer
Gorman, Progress
Graham, Leader
Graham, News
Graham, Reporter
Granbury, Hood County News-Tablet
Grand Saline, Sun
Grandview, Tribune
Granger, News
Grapeland, Messenger
Groesbeck, Journal
Groom, News
Groveton, News
Hale Center, American
Hallettsville, Herald
Hallettsville, Tribune
Hallsville, Review
Hamilton, Herald-News
Hamlin, Herald
Happy, Herald
Harlingen, Press
Harper Herald
Haskell, Free Press
Hearne, Democrat
Hebbronville, Enterprise
Hedley, Informer
Hemphill, Reporter
Hempstead, News
Henderson, Times
Henrietta, Leader
Hereford, Brand
Hico, News-Review
Higgins, News
Hillsboro, Mirror
Holland, Progress
Hondo, Anvil Herald
Honey Grove, Signal Citizen
Hubbard, Hubbard City News
Hughes Springs, New Era
Huntsville, Item
Iraan, News
Italy, News-Herald
Itasca, Item
Jacksboro, Gazette-News
Jacksboro, Herald
Jacksonville, Banner
Jacksonville, Journal
Jasper, News-Boy
Jayton, Chronicle
Jefferson, Jimplecute
Jewett, Messenger
Johnson City, Record-Courier
Jourdanton, Monitor
Junction, Eagle
Karnes City, Citation
Kaufman, Herald
Kemp, News
Kenedy, Advance
Kerens, Tribune
Kermit, News
Kerrville, Mountain Sun
Killeen, Herald and Messenger
Kingsville, Record
Kirbyville, Banner
Knox City, Herald
Kountze, News
Kress, News
Ladonia, News
LaGrange, Journal
LaGrange, Record
Lake Jackson, News
Lampasas, Dispatch
Lampasas, Record
Laredo, Citizen
Lefors, Progress
Leonard, Graphic
Levelland, Herald
Lewisville, Enterprise
Lexington, Enterprise
Liberty, Vindicator
Lindale, News
Linden, Cass County Sun
Littlefield, Leader
Littlefield, News
Livingston, Polk County Enterprise
Llano, News
Lockhart, Post Register
Lockney, Beacon
Lometa, Reporter
Lone Oak, News
Lone Star, Tribune
Longview, Lens
Loraine, News
Lorenzo, Tribune
Lott, Post
Luling, Newsboy
Luling, Signal
Mabank, Banner
Madisonville, Meteor
Malakoff, News
Marble Falls, Messenger
Marfa, Big Bend Sentinel
Marlin, Democrat
Marlin, Times
Mart, Herald
Mason, News
Matador, Tribune
Mathis, News
McCamey, News
McKinney, Examiner
McKinney, Weekly Democrat-Gazette
McLean, News
Melvin, Enterprise
Memphis, Democrat
Menard, News
Meridian, Tribune
Merkel, Mail
Miami, Chief
Midlothian, Mirror
Miles, Messenger
Mineola, Monitor
Mineola, Record
Mineral Wells, Star
Monahans, News
Moody, Courier
Morton, Tribune
Moulton, Eagle
Mount Enterprise, Progress
Mount Pleasant, Times-Review
Mount Pleasant, Tribune
Mount Vernon, Optic-Herald
Muenster, Enterprise
Muleshoe, Journal
Munday, Courier
Nacogdoches, Redland Herald
Nacogdoches, Times-Review
Naples, Monitor
Navasota, Examiner
New Boston, News
New Braunfels, Chronicle
New Braunfels, Herald
Newcastle, Register
Newton, Herald
New Ulm, Enterprise
Nixon, News
Nocona, News
Normangee, Star
Odem, Times
Odonnell, Index-Press
Olney, Enterprise
Olton, Enterprise
Omaha, Times
Orange Grove, Observer
Overton, Press
Ozona, Stockman
Paducah, Post
Paint Rock, Herald
Palacios, Beacon
Palmer, Rustler
Panhandle, Herald
Paris, Echo
Pearsall, Leader
Perryton, Herald
Petersburg, Journal
Pettus, News
Pilot Point, Post-Signal
Pineland, Star
Pittsburg, Gazette
Plains, Record
Plains, Review
Plainview, Tribune
Plano, Star-Courier
Pleasanton, Express
Port Isabel, Press
Port Lavaca, Calhoun County Times
Port Lavaca, Wave-Times
Post, Dispatch
Quanah, Tribune-Chief
Quitaque, Post Tribune
Quitman, Democrat
Quitman, Echo
Ralls, Banner
Ranger, Times
Rankin, News
Raymondville, Chronicle
Raymondville, News
Refugio, Timely Remarks
Richardson, Echo
Richardson, News
Richland Springs, Eye-Witness
Rio Grande City, Rio Grande Herald
Rising Star, Record
Robert Lee, Observer
Roby, Star-Record
Rochester, Reporter
Rockdale, Reporter

TEXAS
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Rockport, Pilot
Rocksprings, Mohair Weekly
Rockwall, Success
Ropesville, Plainsman
Roscoe, Times
Rosebud, News
Rosenberg, Herald
Rosenberg, Reporter
Rotan, Advance
Round Rock, Leader
Rowena, Press
Royse City, American
Rule, Review
Runge, News
Rusk, Cherokeean
Sabinal, Times
Saint Jo, Tribune
San Augustine, Tribune
Sanderson, Times
San Diego, Facts
Sanger, Courier
San Marcos, Hays County Citizen
San Marcos, Record
San Saba, News
San Saba, Star
Santa Anna, News
Schertz, Valley News
Schulenburg, Sticker
Seagraves, News
Sealy, News
Seguin, Enterprise
Seguin, Gazette
Seminole, Sentinel
Seymour, Banner
Shamrock, Texan
Shiner, Gazette
Sierre Blanca, News
Silsbee, Bee
Silverton, News
Sinton, Enterprise
Sinton, News
Smiley, Tabloid
Smithville, Times
Snyder, Scurry County Times
Somerville, Tribune
Sonora, News
Sourlake, Oil City Visitor
Spearman, Reporter
Spur, Texas Spur
Stamford, American
Stanton, Reporter
Sterling City, News-Record
Stinnett, Herald
Stockdale, Star
Stratford, Star
Strawn, Tribune
Sudan, News
Sulphur Springs, Echo
Sweetwater, News
Taft, Tribune
Tahoka, News
Talco, Times
Taylor, Times
Teague, Chronicle
Temple, Armored Sentinel
Temple, Record
Tenaha, Light
Thorndale, Champion
Three Rivers, News
Throckmorton, Tribune
Timpson, Times
Trenton, Tribune
Trinity, Standard
Troup, Banner
Tulia, Herald
Turkey, News
Tuscola, Reporter
Tyler, Star
Uvalde, Leader-News
Valley Mills, Tribune
Van Alstyne, Leader
Van Horn, Advocate
Vega, Enterprise
Venus, Express
Vernon, Times
Victoria, Mirror
Waelder, Home Paper
Waller, Waller County Record
Weimar, Mercury
Wellington, Leader
West Columbia, Capitol-Sentinal
Wharton, Journal
Wharton, Spectator
Wheeler, Times
Whitesboro, News-Record
Whitewright, Sun
Whitney, Messenger
Wills Point, Chronicle
Wink, Bulletin
Winsboro, News
Winters, Enterprise
Wolfe City, Sun
Woodsboro, News
Woodville, Booster
Wortham, Journal
Wylie, News
Yoakum, Herald-Times
Yorktown, News
Yorktown, View

UTAH (52)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (14)

American Fork, Citizen
Bingham Canyon, Bulletin
Lehi, Free Press
Magna, Times
Midvale, Sentinel
Murray, Eagle
Orem, Times
Payson, Chronicle
Pleasant Grove, Review
Roy, Sun Chronicle
Salt Lake City, American Statesman
Salt Lake City, Times
Spanish Fork, Press
Springville, Herald

RURAL WEEKLIES (38)

Bountiful, Advertiser
Bountiful, Clipper
Brigham City, Journal
Brigham City, News
Castle Dale, Progress
Cedar City, Record
Coalville, Bee
Delta, Chronicle
Dragerton, Tribune
Ephraim, Enterprise
Eureka, Reporter
Fillmore, Progress
Green River, Leader
Gunnison, News
Heber, Wave
Helper, Journal
Kanab, News
Kaysville, Reflex
Layton, Journal
Manti, Messenger
Milford, News
Moab, Times-Independent
Monticello, Record
Morgan, News
Mount Pleasant, Pyramid
Nephi, Times-News
Panguitch, News
Park City, Record
Parowan, Times
Price, Sun-Advocate
Richfield, Reaper
Roosevelt, Standard
Saint George, News
Salina, Sun
Tooele, Bulletin
Tooele, Transcript
Tremonton, Leader
Vernal, Express

VERMONT (23)

RURAL WEEKLIES (23)

Bellows Falls, Times
Bennington, Pennysaver & Press
Bradford, Opinion
Bristol, Herald
Enosburg Falls, Standard
Essex Junction, Suburban List
Fair Haven, Era
Hardwick, Gazette
Island Pond, Herald
Ludlow, Tribune
Manchester, Journal
Middlebury, Independent
Morrisville, News and Citizen
Northfield, News
Randolph, Herald
Richford, Journal-Gazette
Saint Albans, Leader
Springfield, Reporter
Swanton, Courier
Vergennes, Enterprise
Vergennes, Herald
Windsor, Journal
Woodstock, Standard

VIRGINIA (109)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (14)

Alexandria, Journal-Tribune
Chatham, Star-Tribune
Danville, Commercial Appeal
Fairfax, Herald
Falls Church, Standard
Falls Church, Sun-Echo
Herndon, Times
McLean, Providence Journal
Norfolk, Journal and Guide
Richmond, Afro-American
Richmond, Henrico County Herald
Roanoke, Tribune
Salem, Times-Register
South Norfolk, News
Springfield, Independent
Vienna, Advertiser

RURAL WEEKLIES (95)

Abingdon, Journal-Virginian
Abingdon, News
Accomac, Enterprise
Altavista, Journal
Amherst, New Era-Progress
Appalachia, Independent
Appomattox, Times
Ashland, Progress
Bassett, Journal
Bedford, Bulletin-Democrat
Berryville, Courier
Big Stone Gap, Post
Blackstone, Courier-Record
Bland, Messenger
Bowling Green, News
Bowling Green, Progress
Brookneal, Union Star
Buchanan, News
Buena Vista, News
Cape Charles, Times
Chase City, Progress
Chester, News-Journal
Christiansburg, News-Messenger
Clarksville, Times
Clintwood, Dickensonian
Colonial Beach, Potomac Interest
Crewe, Chronicle
Culpeper, Star-Exponent
Drakes Branch, Gazette
Emporia, Independent-Messenger
Farmville, Herald
Fincastle, Herald
Floyd, Press
Franklin, Tidewater News
Front Royal, Sentinel
Galax, Gazette
Gate City, Herald
Gate City, News
Gloucester, Journal
Halifax, Record-Advertiser
Heathsville, Echo
Hillsville, News
Jonesville, Sun
Kilmarnock, Record
Lawrenceville, Times-Gazette
Lebanon, News
Leesburg, Times-Mirror
Lexington, Gazette
Lexington, Rockbridge County News
Louisa, Virginian
Lovingston, Times
Luray, News-Courier
Madison, Eagle
Manassas, Journal-Messenger
Marion, News
McKenny, News
Monterey, Recorder
Montross, News
New Castle, Record
New Market, Shenandoah Valley
Norton, Coalfield Progress
Onancock, News
Orange, Review
Pearisburg, Leader
Pennington, News
Quantico, Sentry
Richlands, News Progress
Richlands, Press
Rockymount, Gazette
Rockymount, News-Post
Saint Paul, Clinch Valley Times
Scottsville, Sun
Smithfield, Times
South Boston, Gazette
South Boston, News
South Hill, Enterprise
Stanardsville, Record
Stuart, Enterprise
Tappahannock, Times
Tazewell, News
Urbanna, Sentinel
Victoria, Dispatch
Virginia Beach, Free Press
Virginia Beach, Sun-News
Warm Springs, Enterprise
Warrenton, Democrat
Warsaw, News
Washington, News
Waverly, Dispatch
West Point, Review
Williamsburg, Gazette
Woodstock, Herald
Wytheville, Enterprise
Wytheville, News

WASHINGTON (160)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (67)

Arlington, Times
Auburn, Globe-News
Auburn, Sun
Bellevue, American
Bellevue, Eastsider

WASHINGTON
URBAN & SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (Continued)

Bothell, Citizen
Buckley, News-Banner
Burien, Highline Times
Cheney, Free Press
Deer Park, Tribune
Eatonville, Dispatch
Edmonds, Tribune-Review
Enumclaw, Courier-Herald
Gig Harbor, Gateway
Grandview, Herald
Granite Falls, Press
Issaquah, Press
Kent, News-Journal
Kirkland, East Side Journal
Lynnwood, Enterprise
Marysville, Globe
Monroe, Monitor
Naches, Yakima Valley News
North Bend, Record
Opportunity, Herald
Orting, Oracle
Parkland, McChord Observer
Parkland, Times-Journal
Puyallup, Valley Tribune
Redmond, News
Renton, Chronicle
Renton, News Record
Rockford, Standard-Register
Seattle, Argus
Seattle, Ballard News
Seattle, Ballard Tribune
Seattle, Beacon Hill News
Seattle, Capitol Hill Times
Seattle, Duwamish Valley News
Seattle, Greenwood-Aurora Outlook
Seattle, Greenwood-Phinney Herald
Seattle, Magnolia News
Seattle, North Central Outlook
Seattle, Northgate North-Seattle Journal
Seattle, Queen Anne News
Seattle, Rainier District Times
Seattle, Shopping News
Seattle, University District Herald
Seattle, West Seattle Herald
Seattle, White Center News
Selah, Optimist
Snokomish, Tribune
Snoqualmie, Record
Spokane, Fairchild Times
Spokane, Geiger Times
Stanwood, News
Steilacoom, Lakewood Log
Sultan, Valley News
Sumner, News-Index
Sunnyside, Sun
Tacoma, Fort Lewis Ranger
Tacoma, Star
Toppenish, Review
Toppenish, Times
Vashon, Beachcomber
Wapato, Independent
Zillah, Mirror

RURAL WEEKLIES (93)

Aberdeen, Grays Harbor Post
Almira, Herald
Anacortes, American
Battle Ground, Reflector
Bingen, Sun
Blaine, Journal
Bremerton, News
Brewster, Herald-Reporter
Burlington, Journal
Camas, Post-Record
Cashmere, Record
Castle Rock, Advocate
Cathlamet, Eagle
Chehalis, Advocate
Chelan, Mirror
Chewelah, Independent
Clarkston, Herald
Cle Elum, Miner-Echo
Cle Elum, Tribune
Colfax, Gazette-Commoner
Colville, Statesman-Examiner
Concrete, Herald
Connell, Graphic
Coulee City, News-Standard
Davenport, Times
Dayton, Chronicle
Elma, Chronicle
Everson, News
Fairchild, Times
Ferndale, Record
Forks, Forum
Friday Harbor, Journal
Goldendale, Sentinel
Grand Coulee, Star
Harrington, Citizen
Ilwaco, Tribune
Kalama, Bulletin
Kingston, News
LaConner, Mail
LaCrosse, Clipper
Langley, Record
Leavenworth, Echo
Lind, Leader
Long Beach, Observer
Lynden, Tribune
McCleary, Stimulator
Metaline Falls, News
Montesano, Vidette
Morton, Journal
Mount Vernon, Argus
Newport, Miner
Oak Harbor, News
Odessa, Record
Okanogan, Independent
Olympia, News
Omak, Chronicle
Oroville, Gazette
Othello, Outlook
Palouse, Republic
Pomeroy, East Washingtonian
Port Angeles, Olympic-Tribune
Port Angeles, Peninsula Herald
Port Orchard, Independent
Port Townsend, Leader
Poulsbo, Herald
Prosser, Record-Bulletin
Pullman, Herald
Raymond, Herald & Advertiser
Republic, News-Miner
Ritzville, Journal-Times
Rosalia, Citizen-Journal
Sedro Woolley, Courier-Times
Sequim, Press
Shelton, Journal
Silverdale, Breeze
Soap Lake, Reporter
South Bend, Journal
Sprague, Advocate
Stevenson, Pioneer
Sumas, News
Tenino, Independent
Tonasket, Tribune
Twisp, News
Uniontown, Journal
Waitsburg, Times
Washougal, Advocate
Waterville, Empire-Press
White Salmon, Enterprise
Wilbur, Register
Winlock, News
Winslow, Review
Woodland, News
Yelm, News

WEST VIRGINIA (86)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (5)

Clendenin, Herald
Milton, Cabell Record
Nitro, Leader
Saint Albans, Advertiser
St. Albans, Times

RURAL WEEKLIES (81)

Belington, News
Berkeley Springs, Messenger
Berkeley Springs, News
Buckhannon, Record
Buckhannon, Republican-Delta
Cameron, News
Charles Town, Advocate
Clarksburg, News
Clay, Free Press
Clay, Messenger
East Rainelle, Dispatch
Elizabeth, Journal
Elkins, Enterprise-Review
Fayetteville, State Sentinel
Follansbee, Review
Franklin, Times
Glenville, Democrat
Glenville, Pathfinder
Grafton, News
Grantsville, Chronicle
Grantsville, News
Hamlin, Democrat
Hamlin, Republican
Harrisville, Gazette
Hinton, Leader
Hurricane, Breeze
Iaeger, Industrial News
Keyser, Mountain Echo
Kingwood, Journal
Lewisburg, Greenbrier Independent
Logan, News
Madison, News
Marlinton, Journal
Marlinton, Times
Martinsburg, News
Montgomery, Herald
Moorefield, Examiner
Mullens, Advocate
New Cumberland, Courier
New Cumberland, Independent
New Martinsville, Democrat
New Martinsville, Republican
Oakhill, Tribune
Parsons, Advocate
Pennsboro, News
Petersburg, Press
Philippi, Democrat
Piedmont, Herald
Pineville, Independent-Herald
Point Pleasant, News
Ravenswood, News
Richwood, News-Leader
Richwood, Republican
Ripley, Herald
Romney, Hampshire Review
Ronceverte, News
St. Marys, Leader
Saint Marys, Oracle
Salem, Herald
Shepherdstown, Independent
Shinnston, News
Sisterville, Journal
Sisterville, Star-News
Spencer, Reporter
Spencer, Times-Record
Summersville, Chronicle
Sutton, Braxton Central
Sutton, Democrat
Terra Alta, Preston County News
Union, Watchman
Wayne, News
Webster Springs, Echo
Webster Springs, Republican
Wellsburg, News
Weston, Democrat
Weston, Independent
West Union, Herald
West Union, Record
White Sulphur Springs, Sentinel
Whitesville, State News
Winfield, Democrat

WISCONSIN (277)

URBAN AND SUBURBAN WEEKLIES (50)

Belleville, Recorder
Black Earth, News
Brookfield, News
Burlington, Circle
Burlington, Hi-Liter
Burlington, Press
Cambridge, News
Clinton, Topper
Cudahy, Reminder
Deerfield, Independent
De Forest, Times
Denmark, Press
De Pere, Journal Democrat
Dousman, Index
Edgerton, Advertiser
Edgerton, Reporter
Elm Grove, Leaves
Elmwood, Argus
Evansville, Review
Hales Corners, News
Hartland, Reporter
Madison, East Side News
Marshall, Record
Menomonee Falls, News
Middleton, Times
Milton Junction, Courier
Milwaukee, Community Press
Milwaukee, County News
Milwaukee, Glendale Herald
Milwaukee, Northwest Reporter
Milwaukee, Shorewood Herald
Milwaukee, Times
Milwaukee, Whitefish Bay Herald
Mount Horeb, Mail
Mukwonago, Chief
Oconomowoc, Enterprise
Oregon, Observer
Orfordville, Journal
South Milwaukee, Pictorial
South Milwaukee, Voice-Journal
Stoughton, Courier
Stoughton, Hub
Sun Prairie, Star
Union Grove, Sun
Waterford, Post
Waukesha, Citizen
Waunakee, Tribune
Wautoma, Waushara Argus
Wauwatosa, News
West Allis, West Allis Star

RURAL WEEKLIES (227)

Abbotsford, Tribune
Adams, Times
Albany, Herald
Algoma, Record-Herald
Alma, Journal
Amery, Free Press
Amherst, Advocate
Arcadia, News-Leader
Argyle, Atlas
Athens, Record
Augusta, Union
Baldwin, Bulletin
Balsam Lake, Ledger
Bangor, Independent
Baraboo, Shoppers Guide
Barron, News-Shield
Bayfield, Press

WISCONSIN
RURAL WEEKLIES (Continued)

Beldenville, Reporter
Belmont, Success
Berlin, Journal
Birnamwood, News
Black Creek, County Review
Black River Falls, Banner-Journal
Blair, Press
Blanchardville, Blade
Bloomer, Advance
Bloomington, Record
Bonduel, Times
Boscobel, Dial
Boyceville, Press-Reporter
Boyd, Transcript
Brandon, Times
Brillion, News
Brodhead, Independent-Register
Bruce, News-Letter
Butternut, Bulletin
Cadott, Sentinel
Campbellsport, News
Cashton, Record
Cassville, American
Cedarburg, News
Chetek, Alert
Chilton, Times-Journal
Clear Lake, Star
Clintonville, Gazette
Cochrane, Recorder
Colby, Phonograph
Colfax, Messenger
Columbus, Journal-Republican
Cornell, Courier
Crandon, Republican
Cuba City, Press
Cumberland, Advocate
Darlington, News
Darlington, Republican-Journal
Delavan, Enterprise
Dodgeville, Chronicle
Dorchester, Clarion
Durand, Courier-Wedge
Eagle River, News-Review
East Troy, News
Edgar, Review
Elkhorn, Independent
Ellsworth, Herald
Ellsworth, Record
Elroy, Leader-Tribune
Fennimore, Journal
Fennimore, Times
Florence, Mining News
Fort Atkinson, Fort Reminder
Fox Lake, Representative
Frederic, Leader
Friendship, Reporter
Galesville, Republican
Gays Mills, Independent-Press
Genoa City, Marquee
Gilman, Herald
Glenwood City, Tribune
Glidden, Enterprise
Grantsburg, Journal
Green Lake, Reporter
Greenwood, Gleanor
Hammond, News
Hancock, News
Hartford, Times-Press
Hawkins, Chronicle
Hayward, Record
Hilbert, Favorite
Hillsboro, Sentry-Enterprise
Horicon, Reporter
Hudson, Star Observer
Hurley, Miner
Hustisford, News
Independence, News-Wave
Iola, Herald
Iron River, Pioneer
Jefferson, Banner
Juneau, Independent
Kaukauna, Times
Kendall, Keystone
Kewaskum, Statesman
Kewaunee, Enterprise
Kiel, Record
Ladysmith, News
LaFarge, Enterprise
Lake Geneva, Regional News
Lake Mills, Leader
Lancaster, Herald
Lancaster, Independent
Lodi, Enterprise
Loyal, Tribune
Luck, Enterprise-Herald
Luxemburg, News
Manawa, Advocate
Marathon, Community Press
Marion, Advertiser
Markesan, Herald
Mauston, Chronicle
Mauston, Star
Mayville, News
Mazomanie, Sickle
Medford, Star-News
Mellen, Record
Melrose, Chronicle
Menomonie, News
Mineral Point, Democrat-Tribune
Minocqua, Times
Mondovi, Herald-News
Montello, Tribune
Monticello, Messenger
Mosinee, Times
Muscoda, Progressive
Neillsville, Press
New Glarus, Post
New Holstein, Reporter
New Lisbon, Times
New London, Press
New London, Reminder
New Richmond, News
Niagara, Journal
Niagara, News
Oconto, Reporter
Oconto Falls, Times-Herald
Omro, Herald
Onalaska, Record-Times
Osceola, Sun
Osseo, News
Owen, Enterprise
Palmyra, Enterprise
Pardeeville, Times
Park Falls, Herald
Pepin, Herald
Peshtigo, Times
Phillips, Bee
Pittsville, Record
Plainfield, Sun
Platteville, Journal
Plymouth, Review
Port Washington, Guide
Port Washington, Pilot
Port Washington, Press
Poynette, Press
Prairie du Chien, Courier-Press
Prentice, News
Prescott, Journal
Princeton, Times-Republic
Randolph, Advance
Random Lake, Times
Reedsburg, Times-Press
Rib Lake, Herald
Rice Lake, Chronotype
Richland Center, Democrat
Richland Center, Republican-Observer
Richland Center, Shopping News
Rio, Journal
Ripon, Commonwealth Press
River Falls, Journal
River Falls, Reporter
Saint Croix Falls, Standard-Press
Sauk City, Star
Seymour, Press
Seymour, Review
Sharon, Reporter
Sheboygan Falls, News
Shell Lake, Register
Shullsburg, Pick and Gad
Soldiers Grove, Scout
Sparta, Democrat
Sparta, Herald
Spencer, Record
Spooner, Advocate
Spring Green, Home News
Spring Valley, Sun
Stanley, Republican
Stratford, Journal
Sturgeon Bay, Advocate
Thiensville, Weekly Witness
Thorp, Courier
Three Lakes, News
Tomah, Journal and Monitor-Herald
Tomahawk, Leader
Turtle Lake, Times
Unity, Register
Valders, Journal
Vesper, State Center
Viola, News
Viroqua, Broadcaster-Censor
Walworth, Times
Washburn, Times
Waterloo, Courier
Waupaca, Post
Waupun, Leader-News
Wauzeka, Chief
West Bend, News
Westby, Times
Westfield, Central Union
West Salem, Journal
Weyauwega, Chronicle
Whitehall, Times
Whitewater, Register
Winneconne, News
Winter, Gazette
Wisconsin Dells, Events
Wittenberg, Enterprise
Wonewoc, Reporter
Woodville, Leader

WYOMING (35)

RURAL WEEKLIES (35)

Afton, Independenct
Basin, Republican-Rustler
Big Piney, Examiner
Buffalo, Bulletin
Cody, Enterprise
Douglas, Budget
Douglas, Enterprise
Evanston, Herald
Gillette, News-Record
Glenrock, Independent
Green River, Star
Greybull, Standard-Tribune
Guernsey, Gazette
Jackson, Jackson's Hole Courier
Jackson, Jackson Hole Guide
Kemmerer, Gazette
Lander, Journal
Lingle, Gazette
Lingle, Guide-Review
Lovell, Chronicle
Lusk, Herald
Moorcroft, Leader
Newcastle, News Letter-Journal
Pine Bluffs, Post
Pinedale, Round-Up
Powell, Tribune
Rock Springs, Miner
Saratoga, Sun
Sundance, Times
Thermopolis, Independent-Record
Torrington, News
Torrington, Telegram
Upton, Gazette
Weston, Gazette
Wheatland, Record Times

TRADE & CONSUMER MAGAZINE SECTION

(1) ADVERTISING & PUBLISHING

Ad Club Weekly (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
Ad News of the West (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Adcrafter (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Advertiser's Digest (M)—Skokie, Ill.
Advertising Age (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Advertising & Sales Executive Club News (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Advertising & Sales Promotion (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Advertising News of New York (W)—New York, N. Y.
ALA Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Book Collector (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Ink Maker (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Press (M)—Stanton, N. J.
American Pressman (M)—Pressman's Home, Tenn.
Art Direction (M)—New York, N.Y.
Author & Journalist (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Arizona Publisher (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Best Sellers (M)—New York, N. Y.
Book Buyer's Guide (M)—Hillside, N. J.
Book Production (M)—New York, N. Y.
Book Review Digest (M)—New York, N. Y.
Briefed (M)—New York, N. Y.
Broadcasting (W)—Washington, D. C.
Buying Guide (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
By-Lines (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Publisher (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Canadian Advertising (B-M)—Toronto, Ontario
Canadian Printer & Publisher (M)—Toronto, Ont., Can.
Canadian Sponsor (M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Christian Bookseller (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
College & Research Libraries (B-M)—New York, N. Y
Colo. Editor & Intermountain Press (M)—Denver, Colo.
Cooperative Advertising Newsletter (M)—New York, N. Y.
CPDA News ( )—Chicago, Ill.
Deadliner (M)New York, N. Y.
Display (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Display World (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Editor & Publisher (W)—New York, N. Y.
Editor's Forum (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Electrotypers & Stereotypers (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Flexography Magazine (B-M)—Garden City, N. Y.
Florida Newspaper News & Radio Digest (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Florida Printing Monthly (M)—Kissimmee, Fla
Graphic Arts Buyer (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Graphic Arts Monthly (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Graphic Arts Review (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Graphic Bulletin (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Graphic Science (M)—Wilton, Conn.
Grassroots Editor (Q)—Carbondale, Ill.
Gravure (M)—Garden City, N. Y.
Gravure Technical Assn. Bulletins (S-A)—New York, N. Y.
Horizons (M)—Boston, Mass.
Illinois Libraries (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Industrial Editor (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Industrial Marketing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Inland and American Printer and Lithographer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
In-Plant Offset Printer (M)—New York, N. Y.
International Blue Printer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
International Bookbinder (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Investornews (M)—New York, N. Y.
Iowa Publisher (M)—Iowa City, Iowa
Kansas Publisher (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Library Journal (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Lithographers' Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
M Report (W)—New York, N. Y.
Madison Avenue (M)—New York, N. Y.
Marketing (W)—Toronto, Canada
Markets of America (A)—New York, N. Y.
Media Agencies Clients (SW)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Mediascope (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Missouri Press News (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Modern Lithography (M)—Caldwe'l, N. J.
National Lithographer (M)—Kenilworth, N. J.
National Publisher (M)—Washington, D. C.
New England Printer & Lithographer (M)—Boston, Mass.
ODR-Reproductions Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Oklahoma Publisher (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Outdoor Adv. Assn. News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Outdoor Report (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
PCNY Clippings (M)—New York, N. Y.
Photoengravers Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
PNPA Press Bulletin (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Post (B-M)—Detroit, Mich.
Post, The (BM)—Washington, D. C.
PRaids' Party Line (W)—New York, N. Y.
Premium Merchandising Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Premium Practice (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pride (M)—Washington, D. C.
Print (E-O-M)—New York, N. Y.
Printer's Digest (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Printer's Ink (W)—New York, N. Y.
Printing Impressions (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Printing Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Printing Monthly (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Printing News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Printing Production (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Printing Review of Canada (M)—Montreal, Quebec
Printing Views (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Productionwise (M)—New York, N. Y.
Progressive Mail Trade (M)—Sheboygan, Wisc.
Public Relations Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Public Relations News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Public Relations Quarterly Review (Q)—Springfield, Va.
Publication Management—(M)—Plainfield, N. J.
Publishers' Auxiliary (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Publishers' Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Quill (M)—Oak Park, Ill.
Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising (M)—Garden City, N. Y.
Retail Ad-Viser (M)—Worcester, Mass.
Saturday Review (W)—New York, N. Y.
School Library Journal (9)—New York, N. Y.
Screen Process (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Sheed & Ward's Own Trumpet (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Signs of the Times (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Sooner State Press (W)—Norman, Okla.
Southern Advertising & Publishing (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southern Printer & Lithographer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southwest Advertising & Marketing (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Special Libraries (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Sponsor (W)—New York, N. Y.
Spot (M)—New York, N. Y.
Telefilm Magazine (B-M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Television (M)—New York, N. Y.
Television Age (SM)—New York, N. Y.
Typographical Journal (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
University Bookman (Q)—Orange, Conn.
Western Advertising (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Printer & Lithographer (SM)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Worcester Telegram-Gazette Retailer Advertiser (W)—Worcester, Mass.
Writer (M)—Boston, Mass.
Writer's Digest (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio

(2) AIR CONDITIONING & REFRIGERATION

Air Conditioning, Heating & Refrigeration News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Air Engineering (M)—Detroit, Mich.
A. R. W. Journal (M)—Columbus, Ohio
A S H R A E Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Refrigeration & Air Conditioning Jrl. (M)—Gardenvale, Que., Canada
Refrigeration (B-W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Refrigeration & Air Conditioning Business (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Refrigeration Service & Contracting (M)—Chicago, Ill.

(3) AUTOMOBILES

A G D A Newsletter (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Alabama Trucker (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
A—SSA News. (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Auto & Flat Glass Journal (M)—Wood Ridge, N. Y.
Autobody & Reconditioned Car (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Auto Laundry News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Auto Trim News (M)—Lynbrook, L. I., N. Y.
Auto Truck Parts Digest (B-M)—Minneapolis, Minn
Automobile International (M)—New York, N. Y.
Automobile Topics (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Automobilist (Q)—Manchester, New Hampshire
Automotive Chain Store (M)—Akron, Ohio
Automotive Cooling Journal (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Automotive Industries (S-M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Automotive Market Report (B-W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Automotive Messenger (S-M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Automotive News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Automotive News of Pacific Northwest (M)—Portland, Ore.
Autmotive Retailer (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Automotive Service Dealer News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Battery Man (M)—Largo, Fla.
Brake & Front End Service (M)—Akron, Ohio
Buick Magazine (8 issues)—Detroit, Mich.
Canadian Automotive Trade (M)—Toronto, Can
Car & Driver (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Motorist (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Car Craft (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Car Life (M)—Newport Beach, Calif.
Chrysler News (B-M)—Detroit, Mich.
Customs Illustrated (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Custom Rodder (M)—New York, N. Y.
Driveway Reporter (M)—Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
Exhaust (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Ford Dealer News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ford Times (M)—Dearborn, Mich.

(3) AUTOMOBILES (Continued)

Foreign Car Guide (M)—New York, N.Y.
F W D News (B. M.)—Clintonville, Wisc.
Garage Operator (M)— Toronto, Ont.
Garage & Service Station News (M)—Vancouver, B. C., Canada
Garage & Service Station Sentinel (M)—Denver, Colo
Gasoline Dealer News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Gasoline News (S-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Gasoline Retailer (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Home & Auto Retailer (M)—Southport, Conn.
Hot Rod Magazine (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
How To Hop Up Your Engine (B-M—New York, N. Y.
Illustrated Speedway News (W)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jobber Topics (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Kart (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Magic Circle (B-M)—Hagerstown, Ind.
Midwest Automotive News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Minnesota Motorist (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Modern Franchising (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Motor (M)—New York, N. Y.
Motor Age (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Motor Dealer (B-M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Motor Guide (M)—New York, N. Y.
Motor In Canada (M)—Winnipeg, Canada
Motor Life (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Motor Service (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Motor Trend (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Motor West (M)—Orange, Calif.
N.A.D.A. Magazine (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Pit Pass Weekly (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
New England Gasoline Dealer (M)—Boston, Mass.
New York Auto Repair News (M)—New York, N. Y.
News Illustrated (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Northern Automotive Journal (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Northwest Motor (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Nozzle (M)—Washington, D. C.
Ohio & Northern Kentucky Gasoline Dealers & Garage News (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Pacific Oil Marketer (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Parking (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Parts Pups (M)—Atlantic, Ga.
Philadelphia Auto Trade News (M)—Drexel Hill, Pa.
Retail Gas Dealers News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Road & Track (M)—Newport Beach, Calif.
Roadwise (M)—Billings, Mont.
Rodding and Re-Styling (M)—New York, N. Y.
S.A.E. Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Service Station & Garage News (M)—Ravenna, Ohio
Service Station News (M)—New Orleans, La.
Service Station-Management & Merchanding (B-M)—Toronto, Canada
Service Station Sentinel — Denver, Colo.
Small Cars Illustrated (B-M)—Canton, Ohio
Southern Automotive Journal (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Speed & Custom (M)—New York, N. Y.
Speed Mechanics (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Sports Car (M)—Westport, Conn.
Sports Car Corner (B-W)—Hollywood, Calif.
Sports Car Graphic (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Super Service Station (M)—Chicago, Ill.
SW Service Station Journal (M)—Brownwood, Texas
Tab (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Texas Service Station News (M)—Austin, Texas
Western Auto Retailer (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Western Gasoline Dealer Press (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Wilco Merchandiser (BM)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(4) AVIATION

Aero Digest (B-W)—Miami, Florida
Aero News (S-M)—Miami, Fla.
Aeronutronic News (M)—Newport Beach, Calif.
Aero/Space Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Aerospace Management (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Aerospace Medicine (M)—Washington, D. C.
Air Cargo (M)—Washington, D. C.
Air Facts (M)—New York, N. Y.
Air Force Civil Engineer (Q)—Wright Patterson AFB, Ohio
Air Force Magazine & Space Digest (M)—Washington, D. C.
Air Force Times (M)—Washington, D. C.
Air Pulse (W)—Omaha, Nebr.
Air Transportation (M)—New York, N. Y.
Aircraft (M)—Toronto, Canada
Airlift (M)—Washington, D. C.
Airline Pilot (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Airport/Services Management (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
American Aviation Daily (D)—Washington, D. C.
American Helicopter (M)—New York, N. Y.
A O P A Pilot (M)—Washngton, D. C.
Army Aviation (M)—Westport, Conn.
A R S Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Astronautical Sciences Review (Q)—Palo Alto, Calif.
Aviation News (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Aviation Week & Space Technology (W)—New York, N.Y.
Beehive (Q)—East Hartford, Conn.
Boeing Magazine (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Boeing News (W)—Seattle, Wash.
Business/Commercial Aviation (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Aviation (M)—Toronto, Canada
Cross Country News (S-M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Douglas Airview News (W)—Santa Monica, Calif.
Flight (M)—Dallas, Texas
Flying (M)—Chicago, Ill.
General Aviation News (S-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
General Dynamics News (BW)—San Diego, Calif.
Ground Support Equipment (BM)—Cleveland, Ohio
Interline Reporter (M)—New York, N. Y.
International Flying Farmer (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Mainliner (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Missiles and Rockets (M)—Washington, D. C.
Missiles & Space (M)—Manhasset, N. Y.
National Aeronautics (M)—Washington, D. C.
Naval Aviation News (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Flying Farmer (M)—Wichita, Kan.
Skyline (Q)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Skyways (M)—New York, N. Y.
Skyways for Business (M)—New York, N. Y.
Skyways For Business (M)—Washington, D. C.
Skywriter (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Space Aeronautics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Space Age News (BW)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Space Journal (M)—Huntsville, Ala.
Space World (M)—New York, N. Y.
Trajectory (Q)—Sunnyvale, Calif.
UP Collective (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Western Aviation, Missiles & Space (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(5) BAKING

American Independent Baker (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Bakers Digest (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bakers Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Bakers Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Baking Industry Magazine (B-W)—Chicago, Ill.
Biscuit & Cracker Baker (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Baker (M)—Toronto, Canada
Chicago Retail Baker (M)—Chicago, Ill.
New South Baker (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southwestern Baker (M)—Houston, Texas
Specialty Bakers Voice (W)—New York, N. Y.
Western Baker (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(6) BEAUTY & BARBER

American Hairdresser (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Perfumer (M)—Oak Park, Ill.
Barber's Journal & Men's Hair Stylist, The—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Beauty (M)—Dallas, Texas
Beauty Fashion (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Hairdresser (M)—Toronto, Canada
Hairdo (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Master Barber & Beautician Magazine, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Modern Beauty Shop Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Beauty School Journal And Beauty School Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Prestige (M)—Montreal, Que., Canada

(7) BOATS & BOATING

Atlantic Fisherman (M)—Sackville, N. B.
Boat & Motor Dealer (M except July & Aug.)—Skokie, Ill.
Boating Industry (8 times yr.)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Boating (M)—West Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Shipping & Marine Eng. News (M)—Toronto, Canada
Daily Shipping News (D)—Portland, Oreg.
Fish Boat (M)—New Orleans, La.
Fisherman's News (S-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Fishing Gazette (M)—New York, N. Y.
Great Lakes, Inland Waterways & Seaway Journal (M)—Berea, Ohio
International Marine Engineering/Log (M)—New York, N. Y.
Lakeland Boating (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Marine Digest (W)—Seattle, Wash.
Marine Distribution (BM)—New Orleans, La.
Marine Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Marina International (Q)—Southport, Conn.
Marine Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Marine News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Marine Products (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Marine Trades (Q)—Toronto, Canada
Maritime Reporter (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Motor Boating (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Fisherman combined with Maine Coast Fisherman (M)—Camden, Maine
Ohio Boating (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Outboard (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Outboard Progress (B-M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Pacific Fisherman (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Pacific Work Boat (BM)—Seattle, Wash.
Popular Boating (M)—New York, N. Y.
Power Boat (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Propeller (M)—New Orleans, La.
Rivers & Harbors (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Rudder, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Sauerman News (Q)—Bellwood, Ill.
Sea & Pacific Motor Boat (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Sea Food Merchandising (M)— New Orleans, La.
Seaway (M)—St. Clair, Mich.
Shipping Register & Ship Builder (M)—Montreal, Que.
Skipper (M)—Annapolis. Md.
Water Transport Economics (BM)—Stamford, Conn.
Waterways Journal, The (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
Work Boat (M)—New Orleans, La.
Western Marine Dealer (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Yachting (M)—New York, N. Y.

(8) BOTTLING

Alaska Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Allied Food & Beverage (M)—Seattle, Wash.
American Brewer (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Soft Drink Journal (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Arizona Beverage Journal (M)—Phoenix, Arizona
Bar Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Beer Distributor (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Beverage Analyst (Idaho Edit.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Beverage Analyst (Okla. Edit.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Beverage Analyst (Oreg. Edit.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Beverage Analyst (Wash. Edit.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Beverage Analyst (Wyo. Edit.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Beverage Bulletin (M)—Beverly, Calif.
Beverage Dealer & Tavern News (Ill. Edition)—(M)—Chicago, Ill.
Beverage Dealer & Tavern News (Wisconsin Ed.)—(M)—Chicago, Ill.
Beverage Industry News (SM)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Beverage Journal (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Beverage Media (M)—New York, N. Y.
Beverage Register (M)—Lake Arrowhead, Calif.
Beverage Retailer Weekly (Metro. Edition) (W)—New York, N. Y.
Beverage Retailer Weekly (New England Ed.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
Beverage Retailer Weekly (New Jersey Edition)—(W)—New York, N. Y.
Beverage Retailer Weekly (Upstate Ed.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
Beverage Times (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Bottling Industry (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Brewer & Dispenser (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Brewers Bulletin (S-W)—Chicago, Ill.
Brewers Digest, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Brewery Worker (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Buckeye Tavern (M)—Youngstown, Ohio
California Beverage Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Beverage Review (M)—Toronto, Canada
Coca-Cola Bottler, The (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Connecticut Beverage Journal—Blue Book (M)—New Haven, Conn.
Control State Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Idaho Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Illinois Beverage Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Indiana Beverage Life (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Frank Kane's Licensed Beverage Review (M)—Flushing, N. Y.
Kansas Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Kansas Beverage News (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Kentucky Beverage Journal (M)—Frankfort, Ky.
Liquor Store (M)—New York, N. Y.
Maryland, Washington, Delaware Beverage Journal (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Beverage Journal (M)—Boston, Mass.
Michigan Beverage News (B-W)—Detroit, Mich.
Michigan Table-Topper (M)—Bay City, Mich.
Mid-Continent Bottler (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
MiraCan Merchandiser (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Missouri Beverage Journal (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Modern Brewery Age (W)—Stamford, Conn.
Modern Server & Spirits Store (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Montana Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
National Bottlers Gazette (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Reviewer & Connecticut Items of Interest (M)—Waterbury, Conn.
Nebraska Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Nevada Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Nevada Beverage Index (M)—Reno, Nev.
New Jersey Beverage Journal (M)—Englewood, N. J.
New Mexico Beverage Journal (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
Northwest Beverage Journal (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Observer (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Ohio Tavern News (S-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Oklahoma Beverage News (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Oregon Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Oregon Restaurant & Beverage (M)—Portland, Ore.
Package Store Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Paterson's California Beverage Gazetteer (S-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Rhode Island Beverage Journal (M)—Providence, R. I.
Rocky Mountain Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Seaboard Beverage Journal (M)—Washington, D. C.
Southern Beverage Journal (M)—Coral Gables, Fla.
Spirits (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tap & Tavern (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Texas Beverage News (S-M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Washington Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.
Western Bottler (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Brewing and Distributing (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western States Beverage Analysts (M)—Denver, Colo.
Wine, Beer & Spirits in Canada (M)—Toronto, Can.
Wines & Vines (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Wisconsin Beverage Journal (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Wyoming Beverage Analyst (M)—Denver, Colo.

(9) BLDG. & ARCHITECTURE

AIA Journal (M)—Washington, D. C.
AIA Monthly Bulletin (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Alabama Builder (M)—Montgomery, Ala.
Allis-Chalmers Reporter (B-M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
American Builder (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Roofer & Building Improvement Contractor (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Architectural & Engineering News (M)—Montclair, N. J.
Architectural Digest (S-A)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Architectural Forum (M)—New York, N. Y.
Architectural Metals (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Architectural Products (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Architectural Record (M)—New York, N. Y.
Architecture & Design (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arizona Architect (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.

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(9) BLDG. & ARCHITECTURE (Continued)

Art Material Trade (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arts & Architecture (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Asphalt Institute Quarterly (Q)—College Park, Md.
Baltimore Real Estate & Building News (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Bildor (M)—Manistee, Mich.
Bildor News (W)—Chattanooga, Tenn.
Bits for Builders (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Brick & Clay Record (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer (M)—Washington, D. C.
Builders Kitchen Guide (2 a yr)—New York, N. Y.
Builders Weekly Guide (W)—Baltimore, Md.
Building Construction (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Building Contractor of California (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
Building Materials Merchandiser (BW)—Chicago, Ill.
Building Materials News (M)—Toronto, Canada
Building News (B-W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Building Products (M)—Hudson, Ohio
Building Products Dealer (M)—Los Altos, Calif.
Building Specialties & Home Improvement Dealer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Building Supply Dealer (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Building Supply News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulletin of HBA (BM)—Pitttsburgh, Pa.
California Plasterer (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Architect (M)—Don Mills, Ontario, Canada
Canadian Builder (M)—Montreal, Canada
Carpenter, The (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Catholic Buildings & Mantenance (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Catholic Property Administration (B-M)—Greenwich, Conn
Ceramics Monthly (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Charett, The (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Concrete Masonry Review (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Connecticut Home Builder (M)—West Hartford, Conn.
Contractor (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Co-Operative Builder (W)—Superior, Wisc.
Co-Operator (M)—Peoria, Ill.
Dallas County Home Builder (W)—Dallas, Tex.
Design (B-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Elevator World (M)—Mobile, Ala.
Empire State Architect (B-M)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Flooring (M)—New York, N. Y.
Florida Builder (M)—Pensacola, Fla.
Florida Contractor & Builder (M)—Miami, Fla.
Fort Worth Home Builder (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Great Lakes Architecture & Engineering (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Gulf States Architect & Builder (M)—New Orleans, La.
Home Appliance Builder (M)—Washington, D. C.
Home Builder News (M)—Wichita Falls, Tex.
Home Builders Bulletin (W)—Louisville, Ky.
Home Builders Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Home Builders Monthly (M)—Washington, D. C.
Home Building in Canada (BM)—Don Mills, Ont.

Home Modernization (M)—Akron, Ohio
Home-Ties (W)—Dayton, Ohio
Hoosier Board & Brick (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
House & Home (M)—New York, N. Y.
Illinois Building News (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Indiana Architect (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Indiana Bildor News (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Inland Architect (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Iowa Architect (B-W)—Des Moines, Iowa
Jersey Architect (M)—Teaneck, N. J.
Journeyman Roofer & Waterproofer, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Kalamazoo Building News ( )—Kalamazoo, Mich.
Keystone Builder (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Kitchen Business (M)—New York, N .Y.
Liturgical Arts (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Long Island Builder (M)—Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
Mac Lean Building Guide (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Manufactured Homes (M)—Washington, D. C.
Memphis Home Bildor (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Michigan Architect & Engineer (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Midwest Architect-Builder (M)—Royal Oak, Mich.
Midwest Inspection Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Modern Builder (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Modern Windows (M)—New York, N. Y.
Monthly Bulletin, Michigan Society of Architects (M)—Detroit, Mich.
N.A.H.B. Jrl. of Home Builders (M)—Wash., D. C.
Nail & Shingle (M)—Lawton, Okla.
National Builder (M)—Toronto, Canada
New England Architect & Builder (M)—Boston, Mass.
New Jersey Builder (M)—Irvington, N. J.
Northwest Architect (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Ohio Architect (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Ohio Builder (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Pacific Builders Review (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Plasterer & Cement Mason (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Plastering Industries (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Popular Ceramics (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Portland Home Builders Monthly (M)—Portland, Oreg.
Practical Builder (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Progressive Architecture (M)—New York, N. Y.
Record & Guide (W)—East Greenwich, R. I.
Rhode Island Home Builder (M)—Providence, R. I.
Rochester Home Builders Monthly (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Roofing, Siding and Insulation (M)—New York. N. Y.
Sacramento Home Builder (M)—Sacramento, Calif.
Skylines (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Southern Builder (M)—College Park, Ga.
Southern Building Magazine (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Southern Building Supplies (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Technical Bulletin (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Texas Architect (M)—Austin, Texas
Tile & Architectural Ceramics (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Utah Buildor (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Weekly Bulletin (W)—Memphis, Tenn.
Western Architect & Engineering (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Building (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Western Building Review (M)—Portland, Oreg.
Western Construction & Building (M)—Winnipeg, Canada
Western Floors (M)—Van Nuys, Calif.

(10) BUSINESS & FINANCIAL

ABC Investment Letter (M)—New York, N. Y.
Accountants Digest (Q)—Burlington, Vt.
Accounting Review (Q)—Madison, Wis.
Agent & Representative (M)—Alhambra, Calif.
Agricultural Banker (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Albuquerque Progress (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
American Banker (Dly. Ex. Sat-Sun)—New York, N. Y.
American Bar Assn. Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Investor (M)—New York, N.Y.
American Statistician (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
American Swedish Monthly (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arizona Legislative Review (W)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas Banker, The (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
A.S.A.E. Journal (Q)—Washington, D. C.
ASAE News (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Auditgram (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Baltimore (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Bank Man, The (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bank News (W)—Kansas City,Mo.
Banker & Tradesman (W)—Boston, Mass.
Bankers Digest (W)—Dallas, Texas
Bankers Monthly (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Banking (M)—New York, N. Y.
Banking Law Journal (M)—Boston, Mass.
Banking News (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Barron's (W)—Boston, Mass.
Baton Rouge (M)—Baton Rouge, La.
Bay Region Business (E-O-W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Beaumont Enterprise & Journal Retailer (M)—Beaumont, Texas
Beautiful Ohio (Q)—Lima, Ohio
Belgian Trade Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Bond & Money Market Review (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bronxboro (M)—New York, N. Y.
Buffalo Business (M)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Bulletin—Financial Public Relations Assn. (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulletin (Italian Chamber of Commerce) (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Burroughs Clearing House (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Business and Economic Review (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Business & Opportunity (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Business Digest (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Business Education Forum (M)—Wash.,D. C.
Business Horizons (Q)—Bloomington, Ind.
Business in Oklahoma (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Business In Oklahoma City (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Business Management (M)—Greenwich, Conn.
Business Week (W)—New York, N. Y.
Business Weekly (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
California Magazine of the Pacific (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Canada Courier (Q)—Ottawa, Ont.
Canadian Business (M)—Montreal, Canada
Canadian Chartered Accountant (M)—Toronto, Canada
Case & Comment (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia News (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Changing Times (M)—Washington, D. C.
Clevelander, The (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Commerce Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Commercial & Financial Chronicle (S-W)—New York, N. Y.
Commercial Bulletin (W)—Boston, Mass.
Commercial News (M)—Halifax, Nova Scotia, Can.
Commercial News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Commercial News (D)—San Francisco, Calif.
Commercial Record (W)—New Haven, Conn.
Commercial Recorder (D)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Commercial Recorder (D)—San Antonio, Texas
Commercial West (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Commonwealth, The (M)—Richmond, Va.
Consumer Finance News (M)—Washington, D. C.
Consumer Reports (M)—New York, N. Y.
Consumer's Bulletin (M)—Washington, N. J.
Controller, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Cost & Management—Hamilton, Canada
CPA (M)—New York, N. Y.
Credit & Financial Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Credit Union Bridge (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Credit World, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Current Comments (M)—New York, N. Y.
Current Report (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Daily Journal of Commerce—Portland (D Ex. Sun)—Portland, Ore.
Daily Journal of Commerce—Seattle (D Ex. Sun)—Seattle, Wash.
Daily News (D)—Memphis, Tenn.
Daily Record (D)—Kansas City, Mo.
Dallas (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Dealer Call Bulletin (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Denver ... this week (W)—Denver, Colo.
Detroiter, The (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Eastern Banker (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
East Texas (M)—Lonview, Texas
Employee Benefit Plan Review (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Exchange (M)—New York, N. Y.
Executive Digest (M)—Boston, Mass.
Finance (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Finance & Commerce (D)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Financial News (D)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Financial Post (W)—Toronto, Canada
Financial Public Relations Assn. Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Financial Times (W)—Montreal, Canada
Financial World (W)—New York, N. Y.
Florida Business & Opportunity (M)—Tallahassee, Florida
Florida's Business (Q)—Indian Rocks Beach, Fla.
Florida Jay Cee News (M)—Lakeland, Fla.
Florida Journal of Commerce (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Florida Speaks & Sunrise (Q)—Pensacola, Fla.
Florida Trend (M)—Tampa, Florida
Forbes (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Fort Worth (M)—Ft. Worth, Tex.
Fortune Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Forum (W)—Stockton, Calif.
French-American Commerce (M)—New York, N. Y.
Future Magazine (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Georgia Business (M)—Athens, Ga.
German American Trade News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Greater Boston Business (M)—Boston, Mass.
Greater Jackson (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Greater Minneapolis (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Greater Pittsburgh (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Greater Rochester Commerce (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Greater Tulsa (W)—Tulsa, Okla.
Grey Matter (retail editon) (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Harvard Business Review (B-M)—Boston, Mass.
Headlines from Cleveland (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Hoosier Banker, The (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Houston (M)—Houston, Texas
Hub (M)—Lubbock, Tex.
IAPES News (M Ex. July)—Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Banker (M Ex. July)—Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Business Review (M)—Champaign, Ill.
Illinois Future (M)—Maywood, Ill.
Independent Banker (M)—Sauk Centre, Minn.
Industrial Banker (M)—Washington, D. C.
Industrial Development (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Insider's Newsletter (Men's Sec.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
Insider's Newsletter (Women's Sec.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
International Executive (Q)—New York, N. Y.
International Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Investment Dealers Digest (W)—New York, N. Y.
Investor (M)—New York, N. Y.
Investornews (M)—New York, N. Y.
Investor's Digest (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Investor's Future (M)—New York, N. Y.
Investor's Reader (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Accountancy (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of American Statistical Assn. (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Jrl. of Business Education (M)—East Stroudsburg, Pa.
Journal of College Placement (Q)—Bethlehem, Pa.
Journal of Commerce & Commercial (D Ex. Sat.-Sun.)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Commerce Weekly (W)—Vancouver, Canada
Journal of Finance (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the National League of Insured Savings Assn. (M)—Washington, D. C.
Kansas (BM)—Topeka, Kans.
Kansas Banker, The (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kansas Citian (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Kentucky Banker (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Kentucky Business (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Legal News (W)—Flint, Mich.
Legal News (W)—Pontiac, Mich.
Legal Press (W)—Sacramento, Calif.
Listed Securities Journal (M)—Jenkintown, Pa.
Long Island Commercial Review (W)—Freeport, L. I., N. Y.
Los Angeles Dealer—Los Angeles, Calif.
Louisiana Banker (M)—Baton Rouge, La.
Louisiana Spotlight (M)—Baton Rouge, La.
Louisiana Traveler (M)—Baton Rouge, La.
Louisville (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Magazine of Cambridge (M)—Cambridge, Mass.
Magazine of Wall St. & Business Analyst (B-W)—N. Y. C.
Management News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Management Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Manpower Today (M)—New York, N. Y.
Market Letter (W)—New York, N. Y.
Michigan Investor (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Mid-Continent Banker (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Mid-Western Banker (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Mississippi Banker (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Monetary Times (M)—Toronto, Canada
Mortgage Banker (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mountain States Banker (M)—Denver, Colo.
National Corp. Reporter (W)—Chicago, Ill.
National Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Review Bulletn (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Nation's Business (M)—Washington, D. C.
Netherlands-American Trade (M)—New York, N.Y.
New Jersey Banker (Q)—Newark, N. J.
New Jersey Business (M)—Newark, N. J.
New York Certified Public Accountant (M)—New York, N. Y.
New York State Banker (W)—New York, N. Y.
News Bulletin (W)—New Orleans, La.
News Report (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Norfolk Chamber of Commerce (M)—Norfolk, Va.
Northwestern Banker (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Ohio Banker (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oil Statistics Bulletin (BW)—Babson Park, Mass.
Oklahoma Banker (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Omaha Chamber of Commerce News Bulletin (BW)—Omaha, Nebr.
Ontario Credit Union News (M)—Toronto, Ontario
Over-The-Counter Securities Review (M)—Jenkintown, Pa.
Pacific Banker & Business (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Phoenix Action (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Pittsburg Business Review (M)—Pittsburg, Pa.

BUSINESS & FINANCIAL (10) CONTINUED

Progress (M)—Washington, D. C.
Progress in Kansas (10 issues)—Topeka, Kans.
Public Ledger (W)—Denver, Colo.
Queensboro (M)—Long Island City, N. Y.
Record (W)—Nashville, Tenn.
Record (D)—Peoria, Ill.
Report, The (SM)—Chicago, Ill.
Reporter (W)—East St. Louis, Ill.
Reporter (D)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Reporter (D)—Tucson, Ariz.
Research Reports (W)—New York, N. Y.
RM (Reproduction Methods) (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Rochester Commerce—Rochester, N. Y.
Roosevelt Thrift Talks (M)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Safe Deposit Bulletin (M)—New York, N. Y.
St. Louis Commerce (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
St. Louis Countian (D)—Clayton, Mo.
St. Louis Daily Record (D)—St. Louis, Mo.
San Antonian (W)—San Antonio, Tex.
San Diego & Point (M)—San Diego, Calif.
San Diego Business (M)—San Diego, Calif.
San Jose Post Record (D)—San Jose, Calif.
Saturday Night (B-W)—Toronto, Canada
Savings Bank Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Savings & Loan Journal (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
Savings & Loan News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Science & Electronics Investment Letter (BW)—Babson Park, Mass.
Shreveport (M)—Shreveport, La.
South (B-W)—Birmingham, Ala.
Southern Banker, The (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southern California Business (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
South Texan (M)—San Antonio, Texas
Spear Market & Group Trend Letter (W)—Babson Park, Mass.
Supervisory Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Survey of Current Business (M)—Washington, D. C.
Tacoma Progress (W)—Tacoma, Washington
Talmanac (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Tarheel Banker, The (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Taxes (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Tennessee Banker, The (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Texas Banker Record (M)—Dallas, Texas
Ticker Tape (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Time Sales Financing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Today's Business (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Topekan, The (M)—Topeka, Kans.
Town Topics (W)—New York, N. Y.
Trade & Commerce (M)—Winnipeg, Canada
Trade Builder M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Trade Winds (W)—New Orleans, La.
Trade with Italy (M)—New York, N. Y.
Trenton (M)—Trenton, N. J.
Trust Bulletin (M)—New York, N. Y.
Trusts & Estates (M)—New York, N. Y.
United States Investor (W)—Boston, Mass.
Virginia Record (M)—Richmond, Va.
Wall Street Daily (D)—New York, N. Y.
Wall St. Journal (D-Ex. Sat-Sun)—New York, N. Y.
Wall St. Journal (Midwest Edit) (D Ex. Sat-Sun)—Chicago, Ill.
Wall St. Journal (S. West Edit) (D Ex. Sat-Sun)—Dallas, Texas
Wall St. Journal (Pacific Coast Edit) (D Ex. Sat-Sun)—San Francisco, Calif.
Wall St. Journal (D Ex. Sat-Sun)—Washington, D. C.
Washington Report (W)—Washington, D. C .
Weekly Mirror (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
West Virginia Banker (M)—Charleston, W. Va.
Western Banker (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Woman Banker (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Yale Review (Q)—New Haven, Conn.

(11) CANDY & CONFECTIONERY

Candy Industry & Confectioners Journal (BW)—New York, N. Y.
Candy Wholesaler (M)—Washington, D. C.
Concessionaire (M)—Appleton, Wisc.
Confectioner (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Ice Cream Field (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ice Cream Review, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Ice Cream Trade Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ice Cream World (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Manufacturing Confectioner, The (M)—Oak Park, Ill.
National Candy Wholesaler (M)—Washington, D. C.
Western Confectioner (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(12) CERAMICS & GLASSWARE

American Ceramic Society Bulletin (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Amercian Glass Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ceramic Age (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Ceramic Forum (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ceramic Industry (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ceramic News (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
China Glass & Tableware (M)—New York, N. Y.
Clay Products News & Ceramic Record (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Crockery & Glass Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Glass Digest (M)—New York, N. Y.
Glass Industry, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the American Ceramic Society (M)—Columbus, Ohio
National Glass Budget (W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
PPG Products (5 issues)—Pittsburgh, Pa.

(13) CHEMICAL

The Accelerator (9)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Adhesives Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Aerosol Age (M)—Caldwell, N. J.
A. I. Ch. E. Journal (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Analytical Chemistry (M)—Washington, D. C.
Armed Forces Chemical Journal (M)—Washington, D. C.
Better Living (B-M)—Wilmington, Del.
Bulletin, Virginia Sections, American Chemical Society—(M)—Richmond, Va.
Canadian Chemical Processing (M)—Ottawa, Canada
Canadian Jrl. of Chem. Engineerng (B-M)—Ottawa, Ont.
Catalyst (10 times)—Lansdowne, Pa.
Cenco News Chats (2-4 issues)—Chicago, Ill.
Chemical & Engineering News (W)—Washington, D. C.
Chemical Bulletin, The (M Ex. July-Aug)—Chicago, Ill.
Chemical Digest (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Chemical Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chemical Engineering Progress (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chemical News (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Chemical Processing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Chemical Week (W)—New York, N. Y.
Chemist, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chemist Analyst (Q)—Phillipsburg, N. J.
Chemistry (M)—Sept thru May—Washington, D. C.
Chemistry in Canada (M)—Ottawa, Canada
C-I-L Oval (B-M)—Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Del-Chem Bulletin, The (M)—Wilmington, Del.
Detroit Chemist (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Du Pont Magazine (B-M)—Wilmington, Del.
Flacs (M)—Gainesville, Fla.
Fluor-O-Scope (Q)—Los Angeles, Calif.
FMC Progress (Q)—San Jose, Calif.
Genessee Valley Chemunications (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Grace Log (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Indicator, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial & Engineering Chemistry (M)—Washington, D. C.
International Chemical Worker (M)—Akron, Ohio
Isotopics (M Ex. July, Aug, Sept)—Cleveland, Ohio
Journal of American Chemical Society (S-M)—N. Y. C.
Journal of American Oil Chemists Society (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Journal of Chemical Education (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the Electrochemical Society (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Organic Chemistry (M)—Easton, Pa.
Journal of Physical Chemistry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Minnesota Chemist, The (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Naval Stores Review (M)—New Orleans, La.
Rohm & Haas Reporter (B-M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Scalacs (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Soap & Chemical Specialties (M)—New York, N. Y.
Syracuse Chemist (M)—Syracuse, N. Y.

(14) CHURCHES

ACT (12 times a year)—Chicago, Ill.
The Advance Register (W)—Wichita, Kansas
Advent Review & Sabbath Herald (W)—Washington, D. C.
Advocate (W)—Newark, N. J.
Alamo Messenger (W)—San Antonio, Texas
Alamo Register (W)—San Antonio, Texas
Amen (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
American Ecclesiastical Review (M)—Washington, D. C.
American Israelite (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
American Jewish Outlook (W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
American Jewish World (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
American Lutheran (M)—New York, N. Y.
Apostle, The (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Arizona Register (W)—Tucson, Ariz.
Arkansas Baptist (W)—Little Rock, Ark.
Arkansas Methodist (W)—Little Rock, Ark.
Banner (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Baptist Progress (W)—Dallas, Texas
Baptist Standard (W)—Dallas, Tex.
Baptist Union Revew (W)—Nashville Tenn.
BC Catholic (W)—Vancouver, B. C.
Benedictine Orient (M)—Lisle, Ill.
Bethany Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Boys Town Times (M)—Boys Town, Nebr.
Broadway Christian (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Bulletin (Catholic) (W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Bulletin (Catholic) (W)—Savannah, Ga.
Bulletin, The (BW)—Augusta, Ga.
Byzantine Catholic World (W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
California Jewish Voice (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Call Board (BM)—Hoboken, N. J.
Canadian Catholic Institutions (BM)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Messenger of the Sacred Heart (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Register (W)—Kingston, Ont.
Candle (Q)—Peekskill, N. Y.
Catholic Action News (M)—Fargo, N. Dak.
Catholic Action of the South (W)—New Orleans, La
Catholic Banner (W)—Charleston, S. C.
Catholic Boy (M)—Notre Dame, Ind.
Catholic Business Education Review (Q)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
The Catholic Bulletin (W)—St. Paul, Minn.
Catholic Counselor (M)—New Rochelle, N. Y.
The Catholic Digest (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Catholic Educator (M)—New York, N. Y.
Catholic Forester (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Catholic Herald (W)—Honolulu, Hawaii
Catholic Herald (W)—Sacramento. Calif.
Catholic Journalist (M)—New York, N. Y.
Catholic Light (W)—Scranton, Pa.
Catholic Management Journal (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Catholic Messenger (W)—Davenport, Iowa
Catholic Miss (M)—Notre Dame, Ind.
Catholic Missourian (W)—Jefferson City, Mo.
The Catholic News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Catholic Observer (W)—Springfield, Mass
Catholic Opinion (W)—Kingston, Jamaica W. I.
Catholic Preview of Entertainment (M)—Carmel, N. Y.
Catholic Register (W)—Denver, Colo.
Catholic Reporter (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Catholic Rural Life (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Catholic Standard (W)—Washington, D. C.
Catholic Star-Herald (W)—Camden, N. J.
Catholic Sun (W)—Syracuse, N. Y.
Catholic Telegraph Register (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Catholic Times (W)—Columbus, Ohio
Catholic Transcript (W)—Hartford, Conn.
Catholic Tribune (W)—Burlington, Vt.
Catholic Union & Echo (W)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Catholic Virginian (W)—Richmond, Va.
Catholic Week (W)—Birmingham, Ala.
Catholic Weekly (W)—Saginaw, Mich.
Catholic Women's Journal (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Catholic Youth (M)—Nazianz, Wis.
Central California Register (W)—Fresno, Calif.
Chicago Isralite (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Christian Advocate (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Christian Economics (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Christian Herald (M)—New York, N. Y.
Christian Life (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Christianity Today (BW)—Washington, D. C.
Church Herald (W)—Overland Park, Kans.
Church Management (M)—Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Church World (W)—Portland, Me.
Churchman (M)—New York, N. Y.
Churchman, The (S-M Oct/May-Mo. June/Sep)—St. Petersburg, Fla.
Columbia (M)—New Haven, Conn.
Commission, The (M)—Richmond, Va.
Commonweal (W)—New York, N. Y.
Community (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Companion, The (M)—Mount St. Francis, Ind.
Congregational Kansas (M)—Topeka, Kansas
Connecticut Jewish Ledger (W)—Hartford, Conn.
Cordette (M)—Chaska, Minn.
Courier (W)—Winona, Minn.
Criterion, The (W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Critic (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Crosier Family Monthly (M)—Onamia, Minn.
Daily Bread, The (BM)—Independence, Mo.
Daily Word (M)—Lee's Summit, Mo.
Denver Catholic Register (W)—Denver, Colo.
Direction (9)—St. Louis, Mo.
East Heights Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Eastern Kansas Register (W)—Kansa City, Kans.
Eastern Montana Catholic Register (W)—Great Falls, Mont.
Epworth Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Eternity (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Evangelist (W)—Albany, N. Y.
Every Friday (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Family Digest (M)—Huntington, Ind.
Fatima Findings (M)—Baltimore, Md.
First Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kans.
First Presbyterian (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Florida Catholic (W)—Orlando, Fla.
Franciscan Herald & Forum (M)—Chicago, Ill.
General Baptist Messenger (W)—Poplar Bluff, Mo.
Good Work (Q)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Gospel Advocate (W)—Nashville, Tenn.
Grace Presbyterian (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Green Bay Register (W)—Green Bay, Wis.
Harvest, The (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Hebrew Watchman (W)—Memphis, Tenn.
Heritage (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Hillside Christian (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Holy Name Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Improvement Era, The (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Indiana Jewish Chronicle (W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Inland Register (W)—Spokane, Wash.
Intermountain Jewish News (W)—Denver, Colo.
Interracial Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jesuit Bulletin (BM)—St. Louis, Mo.
Jewish Advocate (W)—Boston, Mass.
Jewish Chronicle (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Jewish Criterion (W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jewish Exponent (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Jewish Floridian (W)—Miami, Fla.
Jewish Herald (W)—Providence, R. I.
Jewish Independent (W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Jewish Ledger (W)—New Orleans, La.
Jewish Ledger (W)—Rochester, N. Y.
Jewish News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Jewish News (W)—Newark, N. J.
Jewish News (W)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Jewish Opinion (W)—New York, N. Y.
Jewish Post (W)—Ft. Worth, Tex.
Jewish Press (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Jewish Press (W)—Omaha, Nebr.
Jewish Record (W)—Atlantic City, N. J.
Jewish Review (W)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Jewish Review & Observer (W) Cleveland, Ohio
Jewish Spectator (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jewish Standard (W)—Jersey City, N. J.
Jewish Standard (M)—Toronto, Canada
Jewish Times (W)—Baltimore, Md.
Jewish Times (W)—Brookline, Mass.
Jewish Times (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Jewish Times (W)—Youngstown, Ohio
Jewish Weekly News (W)—Springfield, Mass.
Josephinum Review (SM)—Worthington, Ohio
Josephite Harvest (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Jubilee (M)—New York, N. Y.
Kansas Churchman (M)—Topeka, Kans.
Lake Shore Visitor (M)—Erie, Pa.
Lamp (M)—Peekskill, N. Y.
Lasallian Digest (Q)—Napa, Calif.

(14) CHURCHES (Continued)

Leaves (BM)—Detroit, Mich.
Liberty (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Liguorian (M)—Liguori, Mo.
Living Church (W)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Lutheran Standard (BW)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Lutheran Witness (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
Madonna (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Marian, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Marist Missions (BM)—Framingham Centre, Mass.
Mary Immaculate (M)—San Antonio, Tex.
Maryknoll (M)—Maryknoll, N. Y.
Marylike Crusader (BM)—Bartelso, Ill.
Master's Work, The (M)—Techny, Ill.
Medical Missionary (BM)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Mennonite Weekly Review (W)—Newton, Kans.
Message, The (BM)—Nashville, Tenn.
Messenger (W)—Belleville, Ill.
Messenger (W)—Covington. Ky
Messenger (W)—East St. Louis, Ill.
Messenger (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Messenger (BM)—North Newton, Kans.
Messenger of the Sacred Heart (M)—New York, N. Y.
Michigan Catholic (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Michigan Christian Advocate (W)—Adrian, Mich.
Miraculous Medal (Q)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Mission Digest (M)—Warren, Mich.
Mission Helpers Review (Q)—Baltimore, Md.
Missionary Catechist (M)—Huntington, Ind.
Mississippi Register (W)—Jackson, Miss.
Monitor (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Monitor (W)—Trenton, N. J.
Moody Monthly (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Musart (BM)—Washington, D. C.
National Council of Catholic Youth (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Jewish Ledger (W)—Washington, D. C.
National Jewish Monthly (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Jewish Post & Opinion (W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
National Jewish Post & Opinion (Kentucky ed.) (W)—Louisville, Ky.
National Jewish Post & Opinion (W)—New York, N. Y.
Nebraska Register (W)—Grand Island, Nebr.
New Mexico Register (W)—Santa Fe, N. M.
New World (W)—Chicago, Ill.
North Carolina Catholic (W)—Raleigh, N. C.
North Central Louisiana Register (W)—Alexandria, La.
Novena Notes (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Observer, The (W)—Rockford, Ill.
Ohio Jewish Chronicle (W)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Courier (W)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Our Colored Missions (M)—New York, N. Y.
Our Lady of Fatima (M)—New York, N. Y.
Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (M)—Aurora, Ill.
Our Northland Diocese (M)—Crookston, Minn.
Our Sunday Visitor (W)—Fort Wayne, Ind.
Our Sunday Visitor (W)—Gary, Ind.
Our Sunday Visitor (W)—Huntington, Ind.
Our Sunday Visitor (W)—Marquette, Mich.
Our Times (W)—Yakima, Wash.
Paraclete (BM)—Washington, D. C.
Pastoral Life (BM)—Staten Island, N. Y.
Paulist Fathers News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pilot (W)—Boston, Mass.
Pittsburgh Catholic (W)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Prairie Messenger (W)—Muenster, Sask.
Presbyterian Life (S-M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Precious Blood Messenger (M)—Carthagena, Ohio
Protestant Church Builaings & Equipment (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Providence Visitor (W)—Providence, R. I.
Quaker Life (M)—Richmond, Ind.
Register (W)—Evansville, Ind.
Register (W)—Duluth, Minn.
Register (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Register (W)—Helena, Mont.
Register (W)—Reno, Nevada
Register (W)—Steubenville, Ohio
Register (W)—Nashville, Tennessee
Register Peoria Edition (W)—Peoria, Ill.
Reign of the Sacred Heart (M)—Hales Corners, Wis.
Review (W)—La Crosse, Wisc.
Roses & Gold (M)—Carthage, Mo.
St. Anthony Messenger (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
St. Joseph Magazine (M)—St. Benedict, Oreg.
St. Louis Review (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kansas
Saint's Herald (W)—Independence, Mo.
Salesian Bulletin (BM)—New Rochelle, N. Y.
Salve Regina (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Sandle Prints (BM)—Detroit, Mich.
Second Coming (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Sentinel (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Shield, The (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Shrine of Our Lady of the Snows (M)—Belleville, Ill.
Sign, The (M)—Union City, N. J.
Signs of the Times (M)—Mountain View, Calif.
Social Justice Review (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Soul (BM)—Washington, N. J.
Southern Colorado Register (W)—Pueblo, Colorado
Southern Cross (W)—San Diego, Calif.
Southern Isralite Weekly (W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southern Jesuit (BM)—New Orleans, La.
Southern Jewish Weekly (W)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Southwest Jewish Press-Heritage (W)—San Diego, Calif.
Southwest Louisiana Register (W)—Lafayette, La.
Squires (M)—New Haven, Conn.
Staff (M)—Mt. St. Francis, Ind.
Tablet, The (W)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
These Times (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
This Day (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Thought (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Tidings (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Times-Review (W)—La Crosse, Wis.
Today (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Together (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Trinity Methodist (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Unitarian Register (M)—Boston, Mass.
United Church Herald (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Union Signal (B-W)—Evanston, Ill.
Valley Jewish News (W)—North Hollywood, Calif.
Vermont Catholic Tribune (W)—Burlington, Vt.
View (M)—Yonkers, N. Y.
Voice of St. Jude (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Wanderer (W)—St. Paul, Minn.
Way (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
West Texas Register (W)—Amarillo, Tex.
West Virginia Register (W)—Wheeling, W. Va.
Western Catholic (W)—Edmonton, Alberta
Western Michigan Catholic (W)—Grand Rapids, Mich.
White Fathers Missions (M)—Washington, D. C.
Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (W)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Witness (W)—Dubuque, Iowa
Witness (W)—Tunkhannock, Pa.
Work (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Working Boy (Q)—Newton Highlands, Mass.
World Vision (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
World-Wide Missions (M)—Altadena, Calif.
Young Ambassador (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Young Catholic Messenger (W)—Dayton, Ohio
Your Church (Q)—Jenkintown, Pa.
Your News Letter (BM)—Selma, Ala.
Youth (M)—Washington, D. C.
Zeal (BM)—St. Bonaventure, N. Y.
Zions Herald (M)—Boston, Mass.

(15) CLEANING, DYEING & LAUNDERING

American Drycleaner (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Laundry Digest (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Automatic Launderer & Cleaner & Coin-Op Customer Service (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Canadian Cleaner & Launderer (M)—Toronto, Canada
Cleaning & Laundry Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Drycleaners News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Drycleaning World (M)—New York, N. Y.
Guide, The (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Institutional Laundry (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Launder-Matic Age & Coin-Op Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Laundry & Dry Cleaning Journal (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Laundry Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Linen Supply News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
National Cleaner & Dyer (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Rug Cleaner (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pacific Laundry & Cleaning Journal (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Recorder (M)—Arvada, Colo.
Rental Laundry Management (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Texas Laundry & Cleaning Journal (M)—San Antonio, Texas
Textile Maintenance Reporter (M)—Austin, Tex.

(16) CLUBS & FRATERNAL

Ace, The (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
American Legion (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Buzz Saw (Rotary Club) (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Cherry Circle Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Cherry Diamond, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Cleveland Athletic Club Journal (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Club Management (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
D.A.C. News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Delta, The (Sigma Nu Fraternity) (Q)—Lexington, Va.
Eagle (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Elks (M)—New York, N. Y.
Freemason (BM)—Toronto, Ont.
Fund Raiser (Q)—Exeter, New Hampshire
Institutions (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Kansas City Club Happenings (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Kansas Masonic Digest (M)—Wichita, Kans.
M.A.C. Gopher, The (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Manhasset Club Life (M)—Manhasset, N. Y.
Moose (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Observer (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Poor Richard's Almanac—Philadelphia, Pa.
Pythian Spur (M)—Williamsburg, Iowa
Rotarian (M)—Evanston, Ill.
S.A.E. Record (Q)—Evanston, Ill.
Sertoma (BM)—Kansas City, Mo.
Stevens Alumniletter M)—Hoboken, N. J.
Stevens Indicator (B-M)—Hoboken, N. J.
Union League Men & Events (M)—Chicago, Ill.
W. Va. Univ. Fourth Statesman (W)—Morgantown, W. Va.
Winged Foot (M)—New York, N. Y.
Winged Head, The (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Women's City Club (M)—Detroit, Mich.

(17) CONSUMER

America (W)—New York, N. Y.
American Baby, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Girl (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Home, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Mercury (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Americas (M)—Washington, D. C.
Antioch Review (Q)—Yellow Springs, Ohio
Argosy (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arizona Homes & Southwest Living (B-M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Atlantic, The (M)—Boston, Mass.
Atlas (M)—New York, N. Y.
Audubon Magazine (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Baby Care Manual (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Baby Post (M)—New York, N. Y.
Baby Talk Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Beachcomber (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Behind The Scenes (M)—Houston, Texas
Better Homes & Gardens (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Bon Appetit (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Boys' Life (M)—New York, N. Y.
Bride's Magazine (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Bride & Home (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Bride's Dutch Uncle (Q)—Boston, Mass.
Butterick Pattern Book (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Canada-West Indies (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Homes (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Red Cross Junior (9 issues)—Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Cappers Weekly (W)—Topeka, Kansas
Cavalier (M)—New York, N. Y.
Cervi's Rocky Mountain Journal (W)—Denver, Colo.
Challenge (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chatelaine (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Child Life (M)—Boston, Mass.
Children's Digest (M)—New York, N. Y.
Commentary (M)—New York, N. Y.
Community Magazine, The (M)—Albert Lea, Minn.
Contest (M)—Upland, Ind.
Co-Op Highlights (M)—Palisades Park, N. J.
Cooperative Consumer (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Cosmopolitan (M)—New York, N. Y.
Creative Crafts (BM)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Cue Magazine (W)—New York, N. Y.
Current (M)—New York, N. Y.
Dateline Delaware (M)—Wilmington, Dela.
Diplomat (M)—Washington, D. C.
Doctor's Wife (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Easter Seal Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ebony (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Esquire (M)—New York, N. Y.
Evanston Review (W)—Evanston, Ill.
Family Circle (M)—New York, N. Y.
Family Handyman Magazine (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Family Safety (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Freeman, The (M)—Irvington-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.
Friends Magazine (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Frontier Times (Q)—Austin, Tex.
Girl Scout Leader (M)—New York, N. Y.
Glamour (M)—New York, N. Y.
Glenmary's Challenge (Q)—Glendale, Ohio
Good Housekeeping (M)—New York, N. Y.
Gotham Guide W)—New York, N. Y.
Gourmet (M)—New York, N. Y.
Grit (W)—Williamsport, Pa.
Harper's Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Harper's Bazaar (M)—New York, N. Y.
Highlights for Children (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Holiday (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Home Maintenance & Improvement (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Home Modernizing Guide (SA)—New York, N. Y.
Home Safety Review (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
House Beautiful (M)—New York, N. Y.
House & Garden (M)—New York, N. Y.
Human Events (W)—Washington, D. C.
Humpty Dumpty (10)—New York, N. Y.
Independent (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Ingenue (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jet (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Ladies Home Journal (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Life (W)—New York, N. Y.
Living for Young Homemakers (M)—New York, N. Y.
Look (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Los Angeles (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Maclean's (B-W)—Toronto, Ont.
Mademoiselle (M)—New York, N. Y.
Man's Life (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Man's Magazine (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Man to Man (M)—New York, N. Y.
Marriage (Q)—St. Meinrad, Ind.
McCalls (M)—New York, N. Y.
McCalls Pattern Book (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Men (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mode (M)—Farnam, Nebr.
Modern Bride (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Maturity (M)—Ojai, Calif.
Modern Needlecraft (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Romances (M)—New York, N. Y.
Money Making Opportunities (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Mother's Manual (SA)—New York, N. Y.
Mother's-Home Life and Household Guest (M)—Winona, Minn.
Museum News (S-M)—Washington, D. C.
My Baby Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Nation, The (W)—New York, N. Y.
National Bulletin (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
National Business Woman (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Geographic Magazine (M)—Washington, D. C.
Natural History (M)—New York, N. Y.
New America (BW)—New York, N. Y.
New Homes Guide (S-A)—New York, N. Y.
New Leader—New York, N. Y.
New Republic (W)—Washington, D. C.
News Front (M)—New York, N. Y.
Newsweek (W)—New York, N. Y.
New Yorker (W)—New York, N. Y.
Pageant Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Parents Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
People Today (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Perfect Home Magazine (M)—Cedar Rapids, Iowa

(17) CONSUMER (Continued)

Pet Life (Q)—Sacramento, Calif.
Pictorial Homes (M)—LaGrange, Ill.
Playboy (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Plaza Magazine (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Police Gazette (M)—New York, N. Y.
Politics (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Quote (W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Readers Digest (M)—Pleasantville, N. Y.
Redbook Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Reporter, The (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Retirement Life (M)—Washington, D. C.
Rogue (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Saga (M)—New York, N. Y.
Saturday Evening Post (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Scouting (Q)—New York, New York
Secrets (M)—New York, N. Y.
See (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Seventeen (M)—New York, N. Y.
Show (M)—New York, N. Y.
Simplicity Pattern Book (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Sir (M)—New York, N. Y.
Stag (M)—New York, N. Y.
State (B-W)—Raleigh, N. C.
Sunset Magazine (M)—Menlo Park, Calif.
Tan (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Teen (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Tempo (B-M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Time (W)—New York, N. Y.
Timely Tips (M)—Paulding, Ohio
Toastmaster (M)—Santa Ana, Calif.
Today's Health (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Town & Country (M)—New York, N. Y.
Travel In Fashion (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Tropical Living Homemaker & Garden (B-M)—Miami, Fla.
True (M)—New York, N. Y.
True Confessions (M)—New York, N. Y.
True Experience (M)—New York, N. Y.
True Romance (M)—New York, N. Y.
True Story (M)—New York, N. Y.
True West (B-M)—Austin, Texas
U. S. Lady (M)—Syracuse, N. Y.
U.S. News & World Report (W)—Washington, D. C.
Vogue (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Western Homes & Living (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Westsider (3 times yr.)—New York, N. Y.
Wichita This Week (W)—Wichita, Kans.
Wisconsinite (M)—Neenah, Wis.
Wisdom (Q)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Woman's Day (M)—New York, N. Y.
Woodmen Circle Tidings (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
Workbasket (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Yankee (M)—Dublin, N. H.
Your New Baby (M)—New York, N. Y.
YWCA (9 Times)—New York, N. Y.

(18) DAIRY

American Milk Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Dairy & Ice Cream Journal (M)—Toronto, Canada
Certified Milk (M)—New York, N. Y.
Cheese Reporter (W)—Sheboygan Falls, Wisc.
Dairy Digest (M)—New York, N. Y.
Dairy Plant Fieldman (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Dairy Record (W)—St. Paul, Minn.
Dixie Dairyman (M)—Shreveport, La.
Journal of Milk & Food Technology (M)—Shelbyville, Ind.
Michigan Milk Messenger (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Milk Dealer, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Milk Products Journal, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Modern Milk Hauler (M)—Columbus, Wis.
Pure Milk News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Southern Dairy Products Journal (M)—Duluth, Ga.
Western Dairy Foods Review (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Milk & Ice Cream News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(19) DRUGS

American Druggist (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
American Journal of Pharmacy (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
American Professional Pharmacist (M)—Great Neck, N. Y.
Apothecary, The (M)—Boston, Mass.
Arizona Pharmacist (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
California Pharmacy (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Pharmaceutical Journal (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Central Pharmaceutical Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
C.R.D.A. News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Drug and Allied Industries (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Drug and Cosmetic Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Drug Merchandising (S-M)—Toronto, Canada
Drug Progress (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Drug Topics (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Drug Trade News (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Florida State Pharmaceutical Jrl. Fort Myers, Fla.
Indiana Pharmacist (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa Pharmacist (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Journal of American Pharmaceutical Assn. (Practical Ed.) (M)—Washington, D. C.
Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences (M)—Washington, D. C.
Kentucky Pharmacist (M)—Frankfort, Ky.
KPA News (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Maryland Pharmacist, The (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Michigan Drug Journal (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Mid-Atlantic Apothecary (M)—Gloucester City, N. J.
Midwestern Druggist (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Minnesota Pharmacist (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri Pharmacist (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Modern Drugs (M)—New York, N. Y.
N.A.R.D. Journal (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Capital Pharmacist (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Merchandiser (M)—Montreal, Canada
Nebraska Mortar & Pestle (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
New Jersey Journal of Pharmacy (M)—Trenton, N. J.
New York State Pharmacist (M)—New York, N. Y.
North Western Druggist (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Ohio Pharmacist (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Pharmacist (M)—Stillwater, Okla.
Pacific Drug Review (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
P.A.R.D. Bulletin (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Pennsylvania Pharmacist, The (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Rocky Mountain Druggist (M)—Denver, Colo.
South Dakota Journal of Medicine & Pharmacy (M)—Sioux Falls, S. D.
Southeastern Drug Journal (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southern Pharmaceutical Journal (M)—Dallas, Texas
Texas Pharmacy (M)—Austin, Texas
Tile & Till (B-M)—Indianapolis. Ind.
Utah Pharmaceutical Bulletin News (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Virginia Pharmacist (M)—Richmond, Va.
Washington-Alaska Pharmacist (M)—Seattle, Wash.
West Coast Druggist (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
West Virginia Pharmacist (M)—Oak Hill, W. Va.
Western Druggist (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Western Pharmacy (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Wholesale Drug Sales (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Wisconsin Pharmacist (M)—Madison, Wis.

(20) ELECTRICAL & ELECTRONICS

Alabama Rural Electric News (M)—Montgomery, Ala.
Analog (M)—San Antonio, Tex.
Appliance Manufacturer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
BCE Farm News (Q)—Vancouver, B. C.
Bell Tel News (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Buzzer (W)—Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada
Canadian Electronics Engineering (M)—Toronto, Can.
Canadian Telephone Journal (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Chicago, Electrical News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Colorado Rural Electric News (M)—Denver, Colo.
Contractors Electrical Equipment (M)—White Plains, N. Y.
Cooperative Digest (M)—Ithaca, N. Y.
Devry Tech News (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
EASA News (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Electric Appliance Service News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Electric Light & Power (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Construction & Maintenance (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electrical Contracting & Maintenance in Canada (M)—Don Mills, Ontario
Electrical Contractor & Maintenance Supervisor (M)—Toronto, Canada
Electrical Design News (M)—Englewood, Colo.
Electrical Digest (M)—Toronto, Canada
Electrical Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electrical Equipment (M)—White Plains, N. Y.
Electrical Equipment News (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Electrical Maintenance & Engineering (M)—Crystal Lake, Ill.
Electrical Merchandising Week (M)—New York, N.Y.
Electrical News (M)—Shreveport, La.
Electrical News & Engineering (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Electrical South (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Electrical West (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Electrical West Industry News Letter (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Electrical Wholesaling (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electrical World (W)—New York, N. Y.
Electricity on the Farm Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electricity in Building (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Electronic Design (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Electro-Technology (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electronic Industries (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Electromechanical Design (M)—West Newton, Mass.
Electronic & Appliance Specialist (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electronic Equipment Engineering (M)—White Plains, N. Y.
Electrified Industry (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Electronic Markets (M)—New York, N. Y.
Electronic News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Electronic Preview (M)—Elmhurst, Ill.
Electronic Products (M)—Pacific Palisades, Calif.
Electronics—(W)—New York, N. Y.
Electronics & Communications (M)—Toronto, Canada
Electronics Digest (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Electronics Illustrated (M)—New York, N. Y.
Grid (M)— San Mateo, Calif.
Illinois Bell News (10 issues)—Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Rural Electric News (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Illuminating Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Indiana Bell News (B-M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Indiana Rural News (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Industrial Electronics (M)—White Plains, N. Y.
Insulation (M)—Libertyville, Ill.
Iowa Rural Electric News (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
IRE Bulletin (SM)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Kansas Electric Farmer (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kentucky Utilities News (B-M)—Lexington, Ky.
Lamp Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Lighting (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Michigan Bell (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Microwave (M)—Brookline, Mass.
Military Systems Design (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Montana Rural Electric News (M)—Denver, Colo.
National Industrial Electronics Illustrated (M)—Pacific Palisades, Calif.
Nebraska Electric Farmer (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
NEDA Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
New England Electric News (M)—Boston, Mass.
New England Equipment Dealer (M)—Boston, Mass.
New Mexico Electric News (M)—Artesia, N. M.
NIBA News (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
North Dakota Rural Electric Mag. (M)—Bismarck, N. D.
Northwest Ruralite (M)—Portland, Ore.
Ohio Bell (B.M.)—Cleveland, Ohio
Oklahoma Rural News (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
PG&E Life (B-M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Popular Electronics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Proceedings of the IRE (M)—New York, N. Y.
P.T.M. (10 issues)—San Francisco, Calif.
Public Service Magazine (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Public Utilities Fortnightly (B-W)—Washington, D. C.
Qualified Contractor (M)—Washington, D. C.
Retailers Review (BM)—Madison, Wis.
Rural Arkansas (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Rural Electric Missourian (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Rural Electric News (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Rural Electrification Magazine (M)—Washington, D. C.
Rural Georgia (M)—Millen, Ga.
Rural Louisiana (M)—Opelousas, La.
Rural Kentuckian (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Rural Minnesota News—(M)—Alexandria, Minn.
Rural Virginia (M)—Richmond, Va.
Semiconductor Products (M)—New York, N. Y.
Solid State Journal (M)—Brookline, Mass.
Sooner Satellite (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
So. Carolina Electric Co-Op News (M)—Columbia, S. C.
Southern Telephone News (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southwest Electrical (M)—Dallas, Texas
Sun Dial (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Sylvania News (BM)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Telephone Bulletin, The (M)—New Haven, Conn.
Telephone Engineer & Management (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Telephone Review (M)—New York, N.Y.
Telephony (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Tennessee Magazines (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Texas Co-Op Power (M)—Austin, Texas
Think (M)—New York, N.Y.
Volt-age (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
We (B-M)—New York, N.Y.
Western Electronic News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Wisconsin REA News (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Wyoming Rural Electric News (M)—Denver, Colo.

(21) ENGINEERING & CONSTRUCTION

Alaska Construction News (BM)—Seattle, Wash.
American Highways (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Angle (M)—Beaumont, Tex.
Arizona-New Mexico Builder & Contractor (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas Engineer (M)—Fayetteville, Ark.
Asphalt Institute Newsletter (Q)—College Park, Md.
Assembly & Fastener Engineering (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Auburn Engineer (M)—Auburn, Ala.
Aztec Engineer (Q)—San Diego, Calif.
B. C. Professional Engineer (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Better Roads (M)—Chicago, Ill.
bucknell University Engineer (B-M)—Lewisburg, Pa.
Builder, The (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Bulletin of the General Contractors Assoc. (M)—New York, N. Y.
California Engineer & Scientist (M)—Berkeley, Calif.
Canadian Power Engineer (M)—Toronto, Canada
Carnegie Technical (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
C. E. C. Recordings (Q)—Pasadena, Calif.
Central Constructor (W)—Des Moines, Iowa
City College Vector (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Civil Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Clemson College Slip Stick (Q)—Clemson, S. C.
Colorado Engineer (Q)—Boulder, Colo.
Columbia Engineering Quarterly (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Concrete Construction (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Construction (B-W)—Arlington, Va.
Construction Advisor (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Construction Bulletin (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Construction Digest (East Edition) (B-W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Construction Digest (West Edition) (B-W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Construction Digest (Natl. Edit.) (B-W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Construction Equipment (M)—New York, N. Y.
Construction Equipment News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Construction Equipment Operation & Maintenance (B-M)—Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Construction Illustrated (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Construction Methods & Equipment (M)—New York, N. Y.
Construction News (W)—Little Rock, Ark.
Construction News Bulletin (S-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Construction Review (M)—Washington, D. C.
Construction World (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Constructioneer (W)—South Orange, N. J.
Constructor, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Contractors & Engineers (M)—New York, N. Y.
Cooperative Engineer (Q)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Cornell Engineer (8 Times)—New York, N. Y.
Daily Journal of Commerce (D)—New Orleans, La.
Denver Engineer (Q)—Denver, Colo.
Dixie Contractor (W)—Decatur, Ga.
Drexel Technical Journal (Q)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Driller, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Dukengineer (Q)—Durham, N. C.
Earth (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
EGCA (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Engineer (Q)—New York, N. Y.

ENGINEERING & CONSTRUCTION (21) CONTINUED

Engineer of Southern Calif. (M)—Alhambra, Calif.
Engineering Journal (M)—Montreal, Canada
Engineering News-Record (W)—New York, N. Y.
Engineering & Science (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
Excavating Engineer (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Explosives Engineer (B-M)—Wilmington, Del.
Florida Engineer (Q)—Gainesville, Fla.
Georgia Tech Engineer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Heavy Construction News (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Highway Builder (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Idaho Engineer (Q)—Moscow, Idaho
Illinois Technograph (8)—Urbana, Ill.
Iowa Engineer (M)—Ames, Iowa
Iowa Transit (M)—Iowa City, Iowa
Irrigation, Engineering & Maintenance (BM)—New Orleans, La.
Johns Hopkins University Newsletter (Q)—Baltimore, Md.
Journal of Engineering Education (M)—Urbana, Ill.
Journal of Industrial Engineering (B-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Journal of the American Society of Naval Engineers (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Kansas Construction Magazine (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kansas Engineer (Q)—Lawrence, Kan.
Kansas State Engineer (M)—Manhattan, Kan.
Kentucky Engineer (Q)—Lexington, Ky.
Lake Erie Construction News (B-M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Louisiana Tech Engineering (Q)—Ruston, La.
Maine Builder (M)—Brunswick, Maine
Manhattan College Engineer (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Marquette Engineer (Q)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Mechelevic Magazine (M)—Washington, D. C.
Michigan Contractor & Builder (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Michigan Roads & Construction (W)—Lansing, Mich.
Michigan Technic (M)—Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mid-West Contractor (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Military Engineer (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Minnesota Engineer (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Minnesota Technolog (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri Shamrock (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Montana State Engineer (Q)—Bozeman, Mont.
Navy Civil Engineer (M)—Washington, D. C.
Nebraska Blue Print (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
New England Construction (M)—Boston, Mass.
New Mexico Professional Engineer (M)—Carlsbad, New Mex.
New York Construction News (W)—New York, N. Y.
North Dakota Engineer (Q)—Grand Forks, N. D.
North Dakota State Engineer (Q)—Fargo, North Dakota
Northwestern Engineer (Q)—Evanston, Ill.
Notre Dame Technical Review (Q)—Notre Dame, Ind.
Ohio County Engineers News (Q)—Columbus, Ohio
Ohio State Engineer (B-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma State Engineer (Q)—Stillwater, Okla.
O.S.C. Tech Record (Q)—Corvallis, Ore.
Pacific Builder & Engineer (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Pacific Road Builder & Engineering Review (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Penn State Engineer (M)—State College, Pa.
Pennsylvania Road Builder (M)—Altoona, Pa.
Pennsylvania Triangle (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Plant Management (M)—Toronto, Ontario
Princeton Engineer (M)—Princeton, N. J.
Purdue Engineer (B-M)—West Lafayette, Ind.
Rensselaer Engineer (B-M)—Troy, N. Y.
Rice Institute Engineer (Q)—Houston, Texas
Roads & Engineering Construction (M)—Toronto, Canada
Roads & Streets (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Rochester Indicator (Q)—Rochester, N. Y.
Rocky Mountain Construction (North ed.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Rocky Mountain Construction (South ed.) (M)—Denver, Colo.
Rose Technic (M)—Terre Haute, Ind.
Rural Roads (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Rutgers Engineer—New Brunswick, N. J.
S. C. Engineer (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Skyscraper Engineer (BM)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
St. Louis Construction Record (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Slide Rule (Q)—Houston, Tex.
Sooner Shamrock (Q)—Norman, Okla.
Southern Engineer (Q)—Raleigh, N. C.
Southwest Builder & Contractor - Arch. & Bldg. Ed. (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Southwest Builder & Contractor - Engr. Ed. (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Spartan Engineer (Q)—East Lansing, Mich.
Surveying & Mapping (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Tech Engineering News (M)—Cambridge, Mass.
Technology Review (M)—Cambridge, Mass.
Texas A&M Engineering (M)—College Station, Texas
Texas Contractor (W)—Dallas, Texas
Texas Parade (M)—Austin, Texas
Undersea Technology (BM)—Washington, D. C.
Univ. of Tennessee Engineer (Q)—Knoxville, Tenn.
Univ. of Washington Engineer (B-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Univ. of Wisconsin Engineer (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Vanderbilt V-Square (Q)—Nashville, Tenn.
Villanova Engineer (Q)—Villanova, Pa.
Virginia Engineering Review (M)—Charlottesville, Va.
Virginia Tech Engineer (B-M)—Blacksburg, Va.
Washington State Technometer (Q)—Pullman, Wash.
Wayne Engineer (Q)—Detroit, Mich.
Western Builder (W)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Western Construction (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Wisconsin Engineer (M-Oct. to May)—Madison, Wisc.
World Construction (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.

(22) ENTERTAINMENT

Amusement Business (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Amusement Week (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Amusements (M)—Atlantic City, N. J.
Audio (M)—Mineola, N. Y.
Audio Times (W)—New York, N. Y.
Boxoffice (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Boxoffice Digest (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Broadcaster (S-M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Canadian High News-Entertainment (W)—Toronto, Ont.
CQ (M)—New York, N. Y.
Daily Variety (D)—Hollywood, Calif.
Diamond Tatler (W)—Washington, D. C.
Down Beat (B-W)—Chicago, Ill.
Electronic Distributing (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Electronic Technician (M)—New York, N.Y.
Electronics World (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Film Bulletin (W)—New York, N. Y.
Film Daily (D)—New York, N. Y.
Film News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Film World & A-V News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Greater Amusements (B-W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Greater Jackson Advertiser (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Hi-Fi Stereo Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
High Fidelity (M)—Barrington, Mass.
Hollywood Reporter (D)—Hollywood, Calif.
Independent Film Journal (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
International Projectionist (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Journal of Broadcasting (Q)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Modern Screen (M)—New York, N. Y.
Motion Picture Daily (D)—New York, N. Y.
Motion Picture Exhibitor (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Motion Picture Herald (W)—New York, N. Y.
Motion Picture Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Movieland and TV Times (B.M.)—New York, N. Y.
Movie Life (M)—New York, N. Y.
Movie Mirror (M)—New York, N. Y.
Movie Stars Parade (M)—New York, N. Y.
Music Reporter (W)—Nashville, Tenn.
NARDA News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
New Orleans Blue Book (W)—New Orleans, La.
New York Item (W)—New York, N. Y.
Nite Life (W)—New York, N. Y.
P. F. Reporter (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Photoplay (M)—New York, N. Y.
Playbill (W)—New York, N. Y.
Q. S. T. (M)—West Hartford, Conn.
Radio & Television Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y
Radio-Daily Television Daily (D)—New York, N. Y
Radio-Electronics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Raytheon News M)—Waltham, Mass.
Scene (SM)—Chicago, Ill.
Screen Stories (M)—New York, N. Y.
Screenland (M)—New York, N. Y.
Show (M)—New York, N. Y.
Show Business (W)—New York, N. Y.
Show Business Illustrated (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Showmen's Trade Review (W)—New York, N. Y.
Signal (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Silver Screen (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Sound Merchandising (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tape Recording (M)—Severna Park, Md.
Telefilm (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Television Code Bulletin (M)—Washington, D. C.
Television Digest (W)—Washington, D. C.
Television Week (W)—South Boston, Mass.
Theatre (M)—New York, N. Y.
Theatre Arts (M)—New York, N. Y.
This Week in Chicago (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Town Tatler (W)—Washington, D. C.
TV Guide (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
TV Index (B-W)—Green Bay, Wisconsin
T.V. Picture Life (M)—New York, N. Y.
TV Radio Mirror (M)—New York, N. Y.
TV Star Parade (M)—New York, N. Y.
U. S. FM (M)—New York, N. Y.
U. S. Radio (M)—New York, N. Y.
Variety (W)—New York, N. Y.
Variety (D)—Hollywood, Calif.
Vermont Video Guide (W)—Rutland, Vt.
Visitor's Reporter (W)—New York, N. Y.
Where-What-When (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Where-What-When (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Wire & Radio Communications (M)—Verona, N. J.
Your Host (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio

(23) FARM EQUIPMENT

Agricultural Engineering (M)—St. Joseph, Mich.
Canadian Farm Implements (M)—Toronto, Canada
Caterpillar News & Views (BM)—Peoria, Ill.
Co-Operator (M)—Peoria, Ill.
Eastern Dealer, The (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Farm & Power Equipment (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Farm Equipment Dealer (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Harvester World (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Implement & Tractor (B.W.)—Kansas City, Mo.
Mid-West Dealer News (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
News & Views (B-M)—Peoria, Ill.
Northwest Farm Equipment Journal (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Southern Farm Equipment (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Tractor Farming (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Western Farm Equipment (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(24) FARM PUBLICATIONS

Aberdeen-Angus Journal (Natl. Ed.) (M)—Webster City, Iowa
Agricultural Education Magazine (M)—Danville, Ill.
Agricultural Institute Review (B-M)—Ottawa, Ont.
Agricultural Leaders Digest (M)—Corsicana, Tex.
A. I. Digest (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Alabama Conservation (BM)—Montgomery, Ala.
Alabama Farm Bureau News (M)—Montgomery, Ala.
Alabama Farmer (M)—Auburn, Ala.
American Agriculturist (S-M)—Ithaca, N. Y.
American Bee Journal (M)—Hamilton, Ill.
American Breeds (M)—San Antonio, Texas
American Cattle Producer (M)—Denver, Colo.
American Farm Pictorial (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
American Farm Youth (M)—Danville, Ill.
American Fruit Grower (M)—Willoughby, Ohio
American Hampshire Herdsman (M)—Peoria, Ill.
American Hereford Journal (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
American Livestock Journal (M)—Corsicana, Tex.
American Potato Journal (M)—New Brunswick, N. J.
American Poultry & Hatchery News (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
American Rabbit Journal (M)—Warrenton, Pa.
American Small Stock Farmer (M)—Fair Lawn, N. J.
American Vegetable Grower (M)—Willoughby, Ohio
Argus Farmer (W)—Lewistown, Montana
Arizona Cattlelog—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arizona Farm Bureau News (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arizona Farmer Ranchman (W)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas Agriculturist (M)—Fayetteville, Ark.
Arkansas Farmer (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Arkansas Poultry News (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Arkansas Valley Journal (W)—La Junta, Colo.
Ayrshire Digest (M)—Brandon, Vt.
Badger Farm Bureau News (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Berkshire News (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Better Farming Methods (M)—Mount Morris, Ill.
Better Fruit (M)—Portland, Oregon
Blood Horse, The (W)—Lexington, Ky.
Broiler Business (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Broiler Industry (B-M)—Sea Isle City, N. J.
Broiler Journal (S-M)—Seibyville, Del.
Broiler Producer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Broom & Broom Corn News (W)—Arcola, Ill.
Brown Swiss Bulletin (M)—Beloit, Wisc.
Buckeye Farm News (M)—Columbus, Ohic
Business Farmer (W)—Scottsbluff, Nebr.
Business Farming (M)—Sea Isle City, N. J.
Butter-Fat (M)—Vancouver, Can.
California Agriculture (M)—Berkeley, Calif.
California Cattleman (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
California Citrograph (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Dairyman (B-W)—Paramount, Calif.
California Farm Bureau Monthly (M)—Berkeley, Calif.
California Farmer (B-W)—San Francisco, Calif.
California Grange News (S-M)—Sacramento, Calif.
California Livestock News (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
California Rancher (M)—North Sacramento, Calif.
Canadian Cattleman (M)—Winnipeg, Man.
Candian Fruitgrower (M)—Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario
Canadian Poultry Review (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Carolina Co-operator (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Carolina Farmer (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Cash Crop Farming (5 times yr.)—Delhi, Ont. Canada
Cattleman, The (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Chester White Journal (M)—Rochester, Ind.
Citrus & Vegetable Magazine (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Citrus Industry (M)—Bartow, Fla.
Clover Farm Bee (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Colorado Rancher & Farmer (S-M)—Denver, Colo.
Columbia-Luzerne-Wyoming Farm & Home News (M)—Binghamton, N. Y.
Conservation News (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Cooperative Consumer (S-M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Cooperative Farmer (M)—Richmond, Va.
Cornell Plantations (Q)—Ithaca, N. Y.
County Agent & Vo-Ag Teacher (M)—Willoughby, Ohio
Country Guide (M)—Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
Daily Drover Journal (D)—Chicago, Ill.
Daily Drover's Telegram (D)—Kansas City, Mo.
Daily Livestock Reporter (D)—East St. Louis, Ill.
Dairy Goat Journal (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Dairymen's League News (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Dairymen's Price Reporter (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dakota Farmer (S-M)—Aberdeen, S. D.
Delta Farm Press (W)—Clarksdale, Miss.
Digest of Farm News (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ducks & Geese (Q)—Duluth, Minn.
Dude Rancher (Q)—Billings, Mont.
Duroc News (M)—Peoria, Ill.
Eastern Fruit Grower (M)—Boyce, Va.
Eastern Idaho Farmer (W)—Idaho Falls, Ida.
Eastern Indiana Farmer (W)—Knightstown, Ind.
Eastern States Cooperator (M)—West Springfield, Mass.
Eggaminer (M)—Portland, Ore.
Egg Producer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Electric Farmer (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Erie County Farm News M)—East Aurora, N. Y.
Everybody's Poultry Magazine (M)—Hanover, Pa.
Family News (M)—Winnsboro, Tex.
Farm & Dairy (W)—Salem, Ohio
Farm & Garden (W)—Watertown, N. Y.
Farm & Home News (M)—Binghamton, N. Y.
Farm & Home News (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Farm & Home News (B-M)—Nevada, Mo.
Farm & Livestock (W)—Boyce, Va.
Farm & Ranch (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Farm & Ranch, Southwest ed. (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Farm & Ranch Machinery Reports (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Farm & Ranch Review (M)—Calgary, Alberta
Farm Bureau Mirror (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Farm Bureau Press (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Farm Journal (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Farm Light & Power (M)—Regina, Sask.
Farm Quarterly (Q)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Farm Store Merchandising (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Farm Weekly (W)—Sioux City, Iowa

FARM PUBLICATIONS (24) CONTINUED

Farmer, The (S-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Farmer-Stockman (Okla. Edit.) (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Farmer-Stockman (Texas Edit.) (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Farmer's Advocate (SM)—London, Ont.
Farmer's Digest (M)—Ft. Atkinson, Wisc.
Farmers Equity News (BW)—Greenville, Ill.
Farmer's Exchange (W)—New Paris, Ind.
Farmer's Friend (W)—Green Bay, Wisc.
Farmer's Review (W)—Joliet, Ill.
Farmer's Union-Herald (S-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
F.C.X. Patron (M)—Raleigh, N. Caro.
Fed-O-Gram (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Florida Agriculture (M)—Gainesville, Fla.
Florida Cattleman & Livestock Jrl. (M)—Kissimmee, Fla.
Florida Future Farmer (Q)—Kissimmee, Fla.
Florida Grower & Rancher (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Florida Poultryman (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Ford Farming (Q)—Dearborn, Mich.
Free Press Weekly (W)—Winnepeg, Manitoba, Canada
Gardens House & People—Baltimore, Md.
Georgia Farm Bureau News (M)—Macon. Ga.
Georgia Farmers Market Bulletin (W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Georgia Farmer-Northern ed. (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Georgia Farmer-Southern ed. (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Georgia Poultry Times (W)—Gainesville, Ga.
Gleanings in Bee Culture (M)—Medina, Ohio
Gobbles (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Goodfruit Grower (B-W)—Yakima, Wash.
Grit & Steel (M)—Gaffney, S. C.
Grower (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Guernsey Breeder's Journal, The (S-M)—Peterborough, N. H.
Gulf Coast Cattleman, The (M)—Beaumont, Texas
Hampshire Herdsman (M)—Peoria, Ill.
Harness Horse, The (W)—Harrisburg, Pa.
High Plains Journal (W)—Dodge City, Kan.
Hoard's Dairyman (S-M)—Ft. Atkinson, Wisc.
Holstein-Friesian Journal (M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Holstein-Friesian World (B-M)—Lacona, N. Y.
Hoofs & Horns (M)—Ft. Smith, Ark.
Hoosier Farmer (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Horse Lovers' Magazine (B-M)—Richmond, Calif.
Horsemen's Journal (M)—Boston, Mass.
Horse World (M)—Lexington, Ky.
Idaho Farm Journal (W)—Boise, Idaho
Idaho Farmer (S-M)—Boise, Idaho
Idaho Wool Growers Bulletin (BW)—Boise, Ida.
Independent Producers Guide (M)—Syracuse, N. Y.
Indiana Farmer (M)—Huntington, Ind.
International Braham Review (M)—Houston, Texas
Inter-State Milk Products Review (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Iowa Conservationist (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Iowa Farm & Home Register (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Iowa Farm Bureau, Spokesman (W)—Grundy Center, Iowa
Iowa Farm Equipment Retailer (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Jersey Journal (S-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Johnson County Farmer (B-W)—Oxford, Iowa
Journal of Dairy Science (M)—Urbana, Ill.
Journal of Livestock & Agriculture (W)—St. Joseph, Mo.
Journal of Soil & Water Conservation (B-M)—Fairmont, W. Va.
Kansas Farm Bureau News (M)—Manhattan, Kan.
Kansas Farmer (S-M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kansas State Grange (M)—Larned, Kans.
Kansas Stockman (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kansas Union Farmer (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kentucky Farm Bureau News (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Kentucky Farmer (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Lackawanna-Wayne-Pike Farm & Home News (M)—Binghamton, N. Y.
Lancaster Farming (M)—Lancaster, Pa.
Land Improvement (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Livestock (W)—Memphis, Tenn.
Livestock Breeder Journal (M)—Macon, Ga.
Louisiana Conservationist (M)—New Orleans, La.
Maine Farmer & Homemaker (M)—Portland, Me.
Manitoba Co-operator (W)—Winnipeg, Manitoba, Can.
Maritime Farmer & Cooperative Dairyman (S-M)—Sussex, New Bruns., Canada
MFC Co-op News (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Michigan Farm News (M)—Lansing, Mich.
Michigan Farmer (S-M)—East Lansing, Mich.
Midland Cooperator (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Midwest Wool Growers News (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Milking Shorthorn Journal (M)—Springfield, Mo.
Mississippi Farm Bureau News (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Mississippi Farmer (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Mississippi Stockman-Farmer (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Missouri Conservationist (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Missouri Farm Bureau News (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Missouri Farmer (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Missouri Ruralist (S-M)—Topeka, Kan.
Modern Dairyman (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Modern Farmer (W)—Winnipeg, Manitoba
Modern Game Breeding (M)—Doylestown, Pa.
Monroe Co. Farm & Home Bureau News (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Montana Agriculture (M)—Bozeman, Mont.
Montana Farmer-Stockman (S-M)—Great Falls, Mont.
Montana Farmers Union News (M)—Great Falls, Mont.
Montana Wool Grower (M)—Helena, Mont.
National Cranberries Magazine (M)—Wareham, Mass.
National 4-H News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Future Farmer (Q)—Alexandria, Va.
National Grange Monthly (M)—Springfield, Mass.
National Hog Farmer (M)—Grundy Center, Iowa
National Horseman (M)—Louisville, Ky.
National Livestock Producer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Rabbit Raiser (M)—Appleton, Minn.
National Union Farmer (M)—Denver, Colo.
National Wool Grower (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Nation's Agriculture (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Nebraska Agriculture (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Nebraska Farmer (S-M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Nebraska Union Farmer (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
Nevada Agriculture & Livestock Journal (M)—Reno, Nev.
New England Dairyman (M)—Boston, Mass.
New England Homestead (B-W)—Springfield, Mass.
New Mexico Farm & Ranch (M)—Las Cruces, N. M.
New Mexico Stockman (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
New York Holstein-Freisian News (M)—Sandy Creek, N. Y.
News & Farmer (W)—Preston, Md.
Niagara County Farm & Home News (M)—Lockport, N. Y.
Norbest Turkey News (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Northwest Dairy News (SM)—Bellingham, Wash.
Nulaid News (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Ohio Farmer (SM)—Columbus, Ohio
Ohio Grange (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Ohio Holstein News (M)—Salem, Ohio
Ohio Jersey News (M)—Salem, Ohio
Ohio State Grange Monthly (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Farm Bureau Farmer (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oklahoma Livestock News (D)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oklahoma Ranch & Farm World (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Oklahoma Union Farmer (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
OMI Farm News (M)—Maumee, Ohio
Ontario Co. Farm & Home Bureau News (M)—Canandaigua, N. Y.
Ontario Milk Producer (M)—Toronto, Ont., Can.
Oregon Agriculture (M)—Salem, Ore.
Oregon Cattleman (M)—Princeville, Ore.
Oregon Farmer (S-M)—Portland, Ore
Oregon Grange Bulletin (S-M)—Portland, Ore.
Oregon-Washington Farmer Union (M)—Salem, Ore.
Pacific Fruit News (W)—San Jose, Calif.
Pacific Poultryman (M)—Redlands, Calif.
Pacific Stockman (M)—Redwood City, Calif.
Peanut Journal & Nut World (M)—Suffolk, Va.
Penn-Jersey Farming (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pennsylvania Farmer (S-M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Pennsylvania Grange News (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Pennsylvania Holstein News (M)—Sandy Creek, N. Y.
Poland China World (M)—Galesburg, Ill.
Polled Hereford World Magazine (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Popkess' Dairyman's Journal—East St. Louis, Ill.
Poultryman, The (W)—Vineland, N. J.
Poultry Press (S-M)—York, Pa.
Poultry Tribune (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Prairie Farmer (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Produce Marketing (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Progressive Farmer (Carolina-Va. Ed.) (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Progressive Farmer (Ga., Ala. & Fla. Ed.) (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Progressive Farmer (Texas-Oklahoma ed.) (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Progressive Farmer (Ky., Tenn., W. Va. Ed.) (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Progressive Farmer (Miss., Ark. & La. Ed.) (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
QHB (M)—Amarillo, Tex.
Ranchman (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Record Stockman (W)—Denver, Colo.
Red Poll News (B-M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Redwood Rancher (M)—St. Helena, Calif.
Rice Journal (M)—New Orleans, La.
Rocky Mountain Union Farmer (M)—Denver, Colo.
Rural New Yorker (M)—New York, N. Y.
Saddle & Bridle (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Seneca County Farm & Home News (M)—Waterloo, N. Y.
Sheep & Goat Raiser (M)—San Angelo, Texas
Sheep Breeder & Sheepman (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Shorthorn World (S-M)—Aurora, Ill.
Small Stock Magazine (M)—Lamoni, Iowa
Soil & Water (M)—Temple, Texas
South Carolina Farmer (M)—Anderson, S. C.
South Dakota Stock Grower (M)—Rapid City, S. D.
Southeastern Poultry Times (M)—Gainesville, Ga.
Southern California Rancher (M)—San Diego, Calif.
Southern Planter (M)—Richmond, Va.
Southern Tier Town & Country Living (M)—Binghamton, N. Y.
Southwestern Crop & Stock (M)—Lubbock, Texas
Soybean Digest (M)—Hudson, Iowa
Stockman (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Stockman's Journal (D)—Omaha, Nebr.
Successful Farming (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Sunsweet Standard (M)—San Jose, Calif.
Susquehanna-Bradford Farm & Home News (M)—Binghamton, N. Y.
Tennessee Farm Bureau News (M)—Columbia, Tenn.
Tennessee Farmer & Homemaker (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Tennessee Granger (SM)—Maryville, Tenn.
Texas Agriculture (M)—Waco, Texas
Texas Agricultural Progress (B-M)—College Station, Texas
Texas Farming & Citraculture (M)—Harlingen, Texas
Texas Future Farmer (M)—Austin, Texas
Texas Livestock Journal (M)—San Antonio, Texas
Texas Ranch & Farm (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Thoroughbred Record (W)—Lexington, Ky.
Town Talk (W)—Clinton, Iowa
Tung World (M)—Ocala, Fla.
Turkegram (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Turkey Producer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Turkey World (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
U. S. Farm News (B.M.)—Des Moines, Iowa
Utah Farmer (S-M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Valley Farmer (W)—Bay City, Mich.
Vegetable Growers Messenger (B-M)—Preston, Md.
Vermont Farm Bureau News (M)—Burlington, Vt.
Virginia Farm Bureau News (M)—Richmond, Va.
Virginia Poultryman (M)—Richmond, Va.
Wallace's Farmer & Iowa Homestead (S-M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Warren County Extension Service News (M)—Warrensburg, N. Y.
Washington Farmer (S-M)—Spokane, Wash.
Washington Grange News (W)—Seattle, Wash.
Washington State Farm Bureau News (M)—Spokane, Wash.
Wayne Co. Farm & Home News (M)—Alton, N. Y.
Weekly Livestock Reporter (W)—Ft. Worth, Tex.
Western Conservation Journal (NA)—Seattle, Wash.
Western Crops & Farm Management (M)—Los Angeles, Cal.
Western Dairy Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Farm Life (S-M)—Denver, Colo.
Western Farmer (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Western Fruit Grower (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Horseman (M)—Colorado Springs, Colo.
Western Livestock Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Livestock Journal, Mountain & Plains ed. (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Livestock Journal, Pacific Slope ed. (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Livestock Reporter (W)—Billings, Mont.
Western Producer (W)—Saskatoon, Sask.
West Virginia Farm News (M)—Buckhannon, W. Va.
West Virginia Farm News (M)—Morgantown, W. Va.
Wisconsin Agriculturist (SM)—Racine, Wis.
Wisconsin Granger (M)—Clinton, Wisc.
Wisconsin State Grange (M)—Knowles, Wis.
Wool Sack (M)—Brookings, S. D.
World Farming (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Wyoming Stockman Farmer (M)—Cheyenne, Wyo.
Yuma County Farmer (W)—Yuma, Ariz.

(25) FEED & MILLING

American Miller and Processor (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulk Feed & Grain (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Grain Journal (M)—Winnipeg, Man.
Canadian Milling & Feed (M)—Montreal, Canada
Commercial Review (W)—Portland, Ore.
Daily Market Record (D)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Eastern Feed Merchant (M)—Sea Isle City, N. J.
Farmers Elevator Guide (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Feed Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Feed & Farm Supplier (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Feed Bag, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Feedlot (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Feeds Illustrated (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Feedstuffs (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Grain Age (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Grain & Feed Journals Consolidated & Rice News (SM)—Chicago, Ill.
Grain & Feed Merchants, The (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Grain & Feed Review (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Grain Terminal & Processing Plants (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Feed Folks (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Modern Miller & The Baker News (B-W)—Prospect Hts., Ill.
Northwestern Miller, The (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Southwestern Miller, The (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Westernews (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Western Feed & Seed (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Wheat Scoop (M)—Great Falls, Mont.
Zip News (M)—Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

(26) FERTILIZERS & AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS

Agrichemical West (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Agricultural Chemicals (M)—New York, N. Y.
Agricultural Animonia News (BM)—Memphis, Tenn.
Agricultural Chemicals in Canada (M)—Winnipeg, Man., Canada
Agronomy (BM)—Madison, Wis.
Better Crops With Plant Food (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Cereal Science Today (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Chemurgic Digest (M)—New York, N. Y.
Commercial Fertilizer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Croplife (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Crop Science (BM)—Madison, Wis.
Crops & Soils Monthly Except June to Sept. B.M.)—Madison, Wisc.
Farm Chemicals (M)—Willoughby, Ohio
Jrl. of Agricultural & Food Chemistry (B-W)—Washington, D. C.
Jrl. of Assn. of Official Agricultural Chemists (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Plant Food Review (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Soil Science (M)—Baltimore, Md.

(27) FLORIST & NURSERY

American Nurseryman (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Rose Magazine (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Bryologist (Q)—Durham, N. C.
California Garden (Q)—San Diego, Calif.
Canadian Florist, Greenhouse & Nursery (BW)—Streetsville, Ont.
Florist Exchange & Horticultural Trade World (W)—New York, N. Y.
Florist's Review (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Flower & Garden (Eastern Edition)—(M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Flower & Garden's Merchandiser for Mid-America (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Flower Grower (M)—New York, N. Y.
Flower News (W)—Chicago, Ill.

Your Clippings FAST from the Geographical Center of the Country

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU—Publications List

(27) FLORIST & NURSERY (Continued)

Gardener, The (Q)—Morrisville, N. Y.
Garden Journal (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Garden Supply & Hardware Dealer (BM)—Toronto, Ont.
Gloxinian (B-M)—Gray, Oklahoma
Home & Garden Supply Merchandiser (M)—Towson, Md.
Horticulture (M)—Boston, Mass.
Journal of the Arnold Arboretum (Q)—Cambridge, Mass.
Landscape Architecture (Q)—Boston, Mass.
Landscape Design & Construction (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Lawn Equipment Journal (M)—Ft. Worth, Tex.
Minnesota Horticulturist (9 mos.)—St. Paul, Minn.
Modern Garden Center (M)—Costa Mesa, Calif.
National Gardner (BM)—St. Louis, Mo.
Northwest Garden Supplier (M)—Portland, Oreg.
Organic Gardening & Farming (M)—Emmaus, Pa.
Pacific Coast Nurseryman (M)—Arcadia, Calif.
Popular Gardening (M)—New York, N. Y.
Professional Florist (M)—New York, N. Y.
Professional Gardener (M)—Mineola, N. Y.
Seedmen's Digest (M)—San Antonio, Texas
Seed Trade News (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Seed World (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Southeastern Nurseryman (M)—Miami, Fla.
Southern Florist and Nurseryman (W)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Telegraph Delivery Spirit (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Trees (M)—Olmstead Falls, Ohio

(28) FOOD

ARF of Illinois Inst. of Technology (A)—Chicago, Ill.
Butcher Workman (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Food Industries (M)—Gardenvale, Canada
Canner/Packer (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Canning Trade (W)—Baltimore, Md.
Coffee & Tea Industries (M)—New York, N. Y.
Cotton Gin & Oil Mill Press (B-W)—Dallas, Texas
Florida Food & Grocery News (M)—Indian Rocks Beach, Fla.
Food Engineering (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Food Herald (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Food In Canada (M)—Toronto, Canada
Food International (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Food Marketing in New England (Q)—Somerville, Mass.
Food Processing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Food Promotions (M)—Indian Rocks Beach, Fla.
Food Technology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Research Newsletter (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Journal of Food Science (BM)—Champaign, Ill.
Macaroni Journal (M)—Palatina, Ill.
Oil Mill Gazetteer (M)—Wharton, Tex.
Potato Chipper (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Quick Frozen Foods (M)—New York, N. Y.
St. Louis Food News (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Sugar (M)—New York, N. Y.
Sugar Beet Journal (M)—Saginaw, Mich.
Sugar Bulletin, The (S-M)—New Orleans, La.
Sugar Journal, The (M)—New Orleans, La.
Sugar Y Azucar (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Tea & Coffee Trade Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Western Fisheries (M)—Vancouver, Canada

(29) FURNITURE & HOME FURNISHINGS

Bedding (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Brushware (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Casual Living & Summer and Casual Furniture (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chicago Market Daily (D)—Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Market News (D)—Chicago, Ill.
Contract (M)—New York, N. Y.
Curtain & Drapery Department Mag. (M)—New York, N. Y.
Floor Covering Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
F.U.R.N. Club Facts (M)—Denver, Colo.
Furniture Design & Manufacturing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Furniture Digest (Twin City) (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Furniture Field (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Furniture & Furnishings (M)—Toronto, Canada
Furniture Manufacturer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Furniture Production (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Furniture Retailer (inc. Furniture Age) (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Furniture South (M)—High Point, N. C.
Furniture World & Furniture Buyer & Decorator (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Housewares Buyer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Housewares Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Interior Design (M)—New York, N. Y.
Interiors (M)—New York, N. Y.
Linens & Domestics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mart (M)—New York, N. Y.
Midwest Furniture News (B-M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Modern Floor Coverings (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Furniture Review (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Pacific Marketer (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Quinn's Appliance & TV Dealer News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Rental Service Forecaster (M)—Boynton Beach, Fla.
Southeast Furniture (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Southern Furniture News (M)—High Point, N. C.
Southwest Furniture News (B-M)—Dallas, Texas
Upholstering Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Western Fabrics, Curtains & Draperies (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Furniture Manufacturing (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Western Merchandiser (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Window Vues (M)—Ft. Worth, Tex.

(30) FUR TRADE

American Fur Breeder (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Fur Age Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Fur Trade Jrl. Of Canada (M)—Toronto, Ont.
National Chinchilla Breeder (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
National Fur News (M)—Denver, Colo.
U. S. Fur Rancher (M)—Merrill, Wisc.

(31) GAS & OIL

AGRA (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
American Gas Assn. Monthly (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Gas Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arkansas LP News (M)—Little Rock, Ark.
Bulletin (Q)—San Francisco, Calif.
Bulletin of the Amer. Assn. of Petroleum Geologists (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Butane-Propane News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Oil World (S-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Gas Journal (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Oil & Gas Industries (M)—Gardenvale, Canada
Co-op Co. News (M)—Hudson, Iowa
Drill Bit (M)—Odessa, Texas
Drilling (M)—Dallas, Texas
Drilling Contractor, The (B-M)—Dallas, Texas
ESPA (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ethyl News (M)—New York, N. Y.
First State Gasoline Dealer News (9 times)—Wilmington, Del.
Gas (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Gas Age (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Gas Heat & Comfort Cooling (M)—New York, N. Y.
Gas Industries (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Gas Industries Equipment & Appliance News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Gas Service (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Gas Turbine (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Geophysics (Q)—Tulsa, Okla.
GeoTimes (8 times)—Washington, D. C.
Hoosier Independent (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Hose & Nozzle (M)—Shreveport, La.
Hydrocarbon Processing & Petroleum Refiner (M)—Houston, Tex.
Inch (Q)—Shreveport, La.
Independent Dealer (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Independent Petroleum Monthly (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Industrial Gas (M)—New York, N. Y.
International Oilman (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Iowa Oil Spout (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Journal of Geophysical Research (M)—Washinton, D. C.
Jrl. of Petroleum Technology (M)—Dallas, Texas
Kansas Oil Marketer (M)—Wichita, Kansas
Kansas-Oklahoma Oil Reporter (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Kermac News (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Lamp (Q)—New York, N. Y.
LP-Gas (M)—New York, N. Y.
LPGA Times (M)—Chicago, Ill.
MCF (Q)—Owensboro, Ky.
Missouri Oil Jobber (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Mobile World (M)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Home News (3 issues)—New York, N. Y.
Montana Oil Journal (W)—Great Falls, Mont.
National Oil Jobber (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Petroleum News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Nebraska Oil Jobber (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Offshore (M)—Conroe, Tex.
Oil (M)—New Orleans, La.
Oil Can (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Oil Daily, The (D)—Chicago, Ill.
Oil Gas & Equipment (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Oil & Gas Journal (W)—Tulsa, Okla.
Oil & Gas News (W)—Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
Oil in Canada (W)—Winnipeg, Canada
Oil Light (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Oil Marketer (B-W)—Bayonne, N. J.
Oil News (B-W)—Albuquerque, N. M.
Oil Week (W)—Calgary, Alberta, Canada
Oklahoma Oil Marketer (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Orange Disc (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Panhandle Lines (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Petro & Chem. Engineer (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Petroleo Interamericano (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Petroleum Engineer for Management (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Petroleum Engineer-Drilling & Producing ed. (M)—Dallas, Tex.
Petroleum Equipment (BM)—Dallas, Tex.
Petroleum Marketer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Petroleum Picture (W)—Williston, N. D.
Petro Process Engineering (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Pipe Line Construction (M)—Houston, Texas
Pipeline Engineer (M)—Dallas, Texas
Pipe Line Industry (M)—Houston, Texas
Pipe Line News (M)—Bayonne, N. J.
Producers Monthly (M)—Bradford, Pa.
Rocky Mountain Oil Reporter (M)—Denver, Colo.
Service (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Skelly News (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
South Dakota Independent Oil Jobber (M)—Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Southeastern Oil Review (W)—Jackson, Miss.
Southern Natural News ( )—Birmingham, Ala.
Texaco Star (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Texaco Topics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Texas Butane News (M)—Austin, Texas
Texas Eastern News (M)—Houston, Tex.
Texas Oil Jobber (M)—Austin, Texas
Texas Oil Journal (M)—Longview, Texas
Western Oil & Refining (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Williston Basin Oil Review (M)—Bismark, N. D.
Wisconsin Gasoline Pump (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Wisconsin Petroleum Press (M)—Madison, Wisc.
World Oil (M)—Houston, Texas
World Petroleum (M)—New York, N. Y.

(32) GOVERNMENT

Alabama Municipal Journal (M)—Montgomery, Ala.
American City Magazine, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Jrl. of Correction (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
APCO Bulletin, The (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Arkansas Municipalities (M)—North Little Rock, Ark.
California State Employee (M)—Sacramento, Calif.
Canadian Municipal Utilities (M)—Toronto, Ont. Canada
Chicago Fire Fighter (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Chief (W)—New York, N. Y.
Civic Administration (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Civil Service News (M)—Dayton, Ohio
Colorado Municipalities (M)—Boulder, Colo.
Community Life (Q)—Edmonton, Alberta
County Officer, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
County Progress (M)—Brownwood, Texas
Federal Employee (M)—Washington, D. C.
Fire Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Firefighting in Canada (B-M)—Montreal, Que.
Fire Station Digest (B-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Florida Firemen (M)—Chattahoochee, Fla.
Florida Municipal Record (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Illinois Co. and Township Official (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Illinois Municipal Review (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Illinois State Employee (B-W)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Water & Waste (M)—Chicago, Ill.
International Fire Fighter (M)—Washington, D. C.
Iowa County Officer (M)—Shenandoah, Iowa
Iowa Rural Letter Carrier (M)—Moville Iowa
Jrl. of American Water Works Assn. (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the Air Polution Control Assn. (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Journal of the New England Waterworks Assn. (Q)—Boston, Mass.
Journal Water Pollution Control Federation (M)—Lancaster, Pa.
Kansas City Fire Fighter (Q)—Kansas City, Mo.
Kansas Government Journal (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Kentucky City (M)—Lexington, Ky.
Law and Order (M)—New York, N. Y.
Looking Ahead—Washington, D. C.
Louisiana Municipal Review (M)—Alexandria, La.
Maine Townsman, The (M)—Mallowell, Me.
Mayor & Manager (M)—New York, N. Y
Michigan Municipal Review (M)—Ann Arbor, Mich.
Midwest Municipal Utilities (B-M)—McPherson, Kan.
Minnesota Municipalities (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri Municipal Review (M)—Columbia, Mo.
Modern Sanitation & Building Maintenance (M)—Easton, Pa.
Municipality, The (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Municipal Signal Engineer (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Municipal South (M)—Charlotte, N. C.
National Civic Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Safety News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Sheriff, The (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Nebraska Municipal Review (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
New Jersey Municipalities (M)—Trenton, N. J.
Ohio Cities & Villages (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Ohio Public Works (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Pacific Coast Fire Journal (M)—Sacramento, Calif.
Park Maintenance (M)—Appleton, Wisc.
Parks & Recreation (M)—Aurora, Ill.
Pest Control (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Police (B-M)—Springfield, Ill.
Police Chief, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Public Employee (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Public Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Public Service News (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Public Works (M)—Ridgewood, N. J.
Public Works in Canada (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Quarterly of the NFPA (Q)—Boston, Mass.
Safety Education (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Sanitarian, The (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Sanitarian Maintenance (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Safety Magazine (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Safety Maintenance (M)—New York, N. Y.
South Dakota Journal of County Government (M)—Vermillion, S. D.
South Dakota Municipalities (M)—Vermillion, S. D.
Southern City Magazine (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Southwest Water Works Journal (M)—Temple, Texas
Street Engineering Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Texas Public Employee—Austin, Texas
Texas Town & City (M)—Austin, Texas
Traffic Engineering (M)—Washington, D. C.
Traffic Safety (M)—Chicago, Ill.
United Nations Review (M)—United Natons, Ney York
Virginia Municipal Review (M)—Richmond, Va.
Volunteer Firefighter (M)—Charlotte, N. C.
Wastes Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Water & Sewage Works (M)—New York, N. Y.
Water Well Journal (B-M)—Urbana, Ill.
Water Works Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Western City (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(33) GROCERY

American Grocer (W)—New York, N. Y.
Arizona Grocers (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas Grocer (Q)—Pine Bluff, Ark.
Associated Food Retailer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Buckeye Grocer (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Buyers Guide ( )—Cincinnati, Ohio
California Grocers Advocate (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Canadian Grocer (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Carolina Food Dealer (M)—Charlotte, N. C.

(33) GROCERY (Continued)

Cleveland Food Dealer (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Colorado Grocer (M)—Denver, Colo.
Commercial Bulletin (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Co-operative Merchandiser (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Cooperator—Palisades Park, N. J.
Dixie Foods (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
First National Store Door Institutional Distributors Jrl. (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Florida Grocer (M)—Hialeah, Fla.
Florida Grocers Bulletin (M)—Miami, Fla.
Food Broker (M)—New York, N. Y.
Food Business (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Food Distributors News (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Food, Drug & Liquor Digest (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Food Field Reporter (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Food Industries New Idea (BM)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Food Mart News (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Food Mart News (So. Calif. Ed.) (B-W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Food Merchants Advocate (M)—New York, N. Y.
Food Selling Digest, inc. Sanitary Age (M)— Los Angeles, Calif.
Food Topics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Food Trade News (B-W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Food World (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Freezer Provisioning (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Frosted Food Field (M)—New York, N. Y.
Frozen Food Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Georgia Grocer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Grocer-Graphic (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Grocers Advocate (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Grocers' Beacon (BW)—Cleveland, Ohio
Grocer's Guide, The (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Grocers' Spotlight (SM)—Detroit, Mich.
Idea (BM)—Minneapolis, Minn.
IGA Grocergram, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Indiana Food Merchant (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Intermountain Food Retailer (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Iowa Food Dealer, The (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Kansas City Grocer (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Kentucky Grocer (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Kentucky Grocers News (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Louisiana Grocer (M)—New Orleans, La.
Maine State Grocers Bulletin (M)—Portland, Me.
Maryland Grocers' Skirmisher (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Merchants Journal (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Michigan Food News (S-M)—Lansing, Mich.
Minnesota Food Guide (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Mississippi Grocers Guide (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Missouri Grocer (M)—Sedalia, Mo.
Modern Grocer, The (W)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Super Marketing (M)—New York, N. Y.
Montana Food Distributor (M)—Missoula, Mont.
Nargus Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Nebraska Retailer (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
NEGM Magazine (M)—Boston, Mass.
Oklahoma Food Journal (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oregon Food Merchants Mag. (M)—Portland, Ore.
Pacific Coast Review (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Pennsylvania Grocer (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Plee-Zing Answer (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Progressive Grocer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Retail Clerks Intl. Advocate (M)—Lafayette, Ind.
Safeway News (M)—Oakland, Calif.
So. Cal. Grocers Journal (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Successful Grocer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Super Market Merchandising (M)—New York, N. Y.
Supermarket Methods (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Supermarket News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Telefood Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Tennessee Food Field (M)—Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas Food Merchant (M)—Waco, Texas
Tri-State Food Trade (W)—McKeesport, Pa.
Virginia Foodsman, The (M)—Richmond, Va.
Voluntary & Cooperative Groups Mag. (M)—New York, N. Y.
Washington (State) Food Dealer (M)—Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia Merchant (S-M)—Charleston, W. Va.
Western Grocer & Food Store Manager (M)—Winnipeg, Can.
Western Grocery News (M)—Menlo Park, Calif.
Wholesale Grocer News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Wisconsin Food Dealer (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Yankee Grocer (B-W)—Boston, Mass.

(34) HARDWARE

Canadian Housewares (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Hardware Age (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Hardware Consultant (M)—New York, N. Y.
Hardware & Farm Equipment (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Hardware Handbook (BM)—North Hollywood, Calif.
Hardware & Housewares (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Hardware Merchandising (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Hardware Retailer (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Hardware Trade (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Hardware World (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Locksmith Ledger (M)—Wood Ridge, N. J.
Product News (M)—Gardenvale, Canada
Southern Hardware (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Thor Scoreboard (39 issues)—Aurora, Ill.

(35) HOME ECONOMICS

Co-ed (8 times yr.)—New York, N. Y.
Forecast for Home Economists (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Home Economists (M)—Washington, D. C.
Modern Miss (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Teacher (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Practical Home Economics (M)—New York, N. Y.
What's New in Home Economics (M)—Chicago, Ill.

(36) HOTELS

American Motel (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Hotel Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Apartment-Motel (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Boston Courier & Hotel News (W)—Dorchester, Mass.
Bugler (B-M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Canadian Hotel Review & Restaurant (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Motels & Motor Courts (B-M)—Owen Sound, Ont., Canada
Caterer and Hotel Proprietors Gazette (M)—New York, N. Y.
Florida Motel Journal (M)—Orlando, Fla.
Host (W)—New York, N. Y.
Hotel Bulletin (M)—New York, N. Y.
Hotel & Club News (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Hotel Gazette (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Hotel Industry (B.M.)—New York, N. Y.
Hotel Monthly, The (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Hotel & Restaurant News (W)—Boston, Mass.
Hotels & Restaurants in Western Canada (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Hotel World Review (W)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of American Innkeeping (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Michigan Hotel-Bar-Restaurant Review (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Pacific Northwest Hotel News (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Pennsylvania Hotel Herald (S-M)—Gettysburg, Pa.
Resort Management (B-M)—Memphis, Tenn.
South Florida Innkeeper (M)—Miami Beach, Fla.
Tavern Talk & Mid-West Hotel Reporter (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Texas Hotel Review (M)—San Antonio, Texas
Tourist Court Journal (M)—Temple, Texas

(37) INDUSTRIAL

Advanced Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Engineer (M)—Washington, D. C.
American Industry (M)—Great Neck, N. Y.
American Journal of Physics (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Journal of Science (M)—New Haven, Conn.
American Scientist (Q)—New Haven, Conn.
Arf of Illinois Institute of Technology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Arkansas Professional Engineer (Q)—Little Rock, Ark.
Atom Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Atomics (Q)—Barrington, Ill.
Automatic Machining (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Industrial Equipment News (SM)—Gardenvale, Que.
Cleveland Engineering (W)—Cleveland, Ohio
CMD Magazine (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Commerce (W)—Portland, Ore.
Compressed Air Magazine (M)—Phillipsburg, N. J.
Connecticut Industry (M)—West Hartford, Conn.
Consulting Engineer (M)—St. Joseph, Mich.
Corrosion (M)—Houston, Texas
Current Science (W)—Middletown, Conn.
Data Magazine ((M)—Washington, D. C.
Datamation (B.M.)—New York, N. Y.
Delaware Valley Announcer (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Design-Draftsman (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Design Engineering (M)—Toronto, Canada
Design News (S-M)—Englewood, Colo.
Distribution Age (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Dun's Review & Modern Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
EDP Weekly (W)—Washington, D. C.
Environmental Quarterly (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Equipment & Materials Reporter (M)—Glendale, Calif.
Equipment Distribution (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Factory (M)—New York, N. Y.
Factory Equipment & Production Information (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Flatbush (M)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Georgia Engineer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Global Technology (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Greater Philadelphia Magazine (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Great Lakelands (M)—Kalkasa, Mich.
Grinding & Finishing (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Grits & Grinds (M)—Worcester, Mass.
Handling & Shipping (BM)—Cleveland, Ohio
Hawaii Industry (M)—Honolulu, Hawaii
Hyd-Air (M—Bensenville, Ill.
Indiana Business & Industry (M)—Culver, Ind.
Industrial Bulletin (M)—Chcago, Ill.
Industrial Canada (M)—Toronto, Canada
Industrial Design (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial Development & Manufacturers Record (M)—North Atlanta, Ga.
Industrial Digest (M)—Toronto, Canada
Industrial Distribution (M)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial Distributor News (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Industrial Equipment News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial Improvement (M)—North Brook, Ill.
Industral Index (S-M)—Columbus, Ga.
Industrial Maintenance & Plant Operation (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Industrial Medicine & Surgery (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Industrial News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Industrial News Review (M)—Portland, Ore.
Industrial Psychology, Inc. Newsletter (M)—N. Y. C., N. Y.
Industrial Research (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Research News Letter (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Science & Engineering (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Security (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Industry (M)—Boston, Mass.
Intermountain Industry & Engineering (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Iowa Business & Industry (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Iowa State Scientist (M)—Ames, Iowa
Jrl. of the Acoustical Soc. of America (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal Of The American Society Of Training Directors (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Journal of Applied Physics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Colloid Science (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Environmental Science (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Journal of Industry (M)—Union City, N. J.
Lubrication Engineering (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Machine Design (B-W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Magazine of Standards, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Maintenance & Plant Improvement (M)—Cos Cob, Conn.
Maintenance & Sanitary Supplies (M)—New York, N. Y.
Manage Magazine (M)—Dayton, Ohio
Marking Industry (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Material Handling Engineering (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Materials Handling in Canada (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Materials Protection (M)—Houston, Tex.
Materials Research & Standards (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Materials in Design Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mechanical Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Michigan Mfgr. & Financial Record (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Midwest Engineer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Midwest Industry (M)—Topeka, Kansas
Midwest Manufacturing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mill & Factory (M)—New York, N. Y.
Modern Materials Handling (M)—Boston, Mass.
Monitor, The (M)—Albany, N. Y.
National Equipment Review (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
National Safety News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Navigation (Q)—Los Angeles, Calif.
New Equipment News (M)—Toronto, Canada
New Jersey Industrial Products (M)—Hackensack, New Jersey
New York Industrial World (M)—Flushing, N. Y.
NLGI Spokesman (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Noise Control (B-M)—Scarsdale, N. Y.
Nondestructive Testing (B-M)—Evanston, Ill.
Non-Metallic Minerals Processing (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Northwest Science (Q)—Pullman, Wash.
Nucleonics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Occupational Hazards (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Ohio Engineer (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Pacific Factory (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Pangborn News (Q)—Hagerstown, Md.
Physics Today (M)—New York, N. Y.
Plant Administration & Engineering (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Plant Engineering (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Plant Equipment News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Product Engineering (W)—New York, N. Y.
Production Magazine (M)—Birmingham, Mich.
Production Equipment (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Productionwise (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pump Digest (Q)—Santa Ana, Calif.
Rapid-Handler (M)—Grand Rapids, Mich.
Rental Equipment Register (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Resale (M)—Boston, Mass.
Research/Development (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Reviews Of Modern Physics (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Scale Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Science (W)—Washington, D. C.
Science Digest (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Science & Mechanics (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Science News Letter (W)—Washington, D. C.
Science World (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Scientific American (M)—New York, N. Y.
Scope (Q)—West Lafayette, Ind.
Scrap Age (M)—Springfield, Ill.
Southern Industrial Supplier (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southern Machinery & Manufacturing (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Supervision (M)—Madison, N. J.
Surplus Record (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Test Engineering (M)—Oakhurst, N. J.
Texas Industry (M)—Houston, Texas
Texas Journal of Science, The (Q)—Austin, Texas
Texas Professional Engineer (M)—Dallas, Texas
Toledo Technical Topics (M)—Toledo, Ohio
Ultrasonic News (Q)—Stamford, Conn.
W & T Topics (Q)—Belleville, N. J.
Waste Trade Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Western Business & Industry (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Western Engineer (M)—Denver, Colo.
Western Manufacturing (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Materal Handling (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Wire and Wire Products (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Yale Scientific Magazine (M)—New Haven, Conn.

(38) INSTRUMENTATION

Analyzer, The (Q)—Fullerton, Calif.
Astronautics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Automatic Control (M)—New York, N. Y.
Automation (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Business Automation (M)—New York, N. Y.
Computers and Automation (M)—New York, N. Y.
Computing News (S-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Control Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Experimental Mechanics (M)—Westport, Conn.
Industrial Quality Control (B-M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Instrument and Apparatus News (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Instruments & Control Systems (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
ISA Journal (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Modern Precison (Q)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Review of Scientific Instruments (M)—Upton, N. Y.

(39) INSURANCE

Acacia Clarion—Washington, D. C.

Your Clippings FAST from the Geographical Center of the Country

(39) INSURANCE (Continued)

Accident Sickness Review, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Aim (M)—Skokie Ill.
American Agency Bulletin, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Insurance Digest & Ins. Monitor (W)—Chicago, Ill.
American Underwriter (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Best's Ins. News (Fire & Cas. Ed.) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Best's Ins. News (Life Ed.) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Best's Weekly News Digest (Fire And Casualty Ed.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
Best's Weekly News Digest (Life Ed.) (W)—New York,N. Y.
California Agency Bulletin (M)—Oakland, Calif.
Canadian Insurance (M)—Toronto, Canada
Canadian Underwriter (S-M)—Toronto, Canada
District Management (B-M)—Hartford, Conn.
Eastern Underwriter, The (W)—New York, N. Y.
Fire Insurance Facts & Trends (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Fraternal Monitor (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Good Property (B-M)—Newark, N. J.
Health Insurance Underwriter (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Home & Highway Magazine (Q)—Skokie, Ill.
INA World (BM)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Inside News (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Insurance Advocate (W)—New York, N. Y.
Insurance Broker-Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Insurance Exchange Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Insurance Field (Fire-Cas. Ed.) (B-W)—Louisville, Ky.
Insurance Field (Life Ed.) (B-W)—Louisville, Ky.
Insurance Graphic (M)—Dallas, Texas
Insurance Index (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Insurance Journal (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Insurance Law Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Insurance News (M)—Portland, Ore.
Insurance Prospector Magazine (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
Insurance Record (W)—Dallas, Texas
Insurance Salesman, The (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Insuranceweek (W)—Seattle, Wash.
Journal of Insurance Information (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the American Society of Chartered Life Underwriters (Q)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Leadership (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Life Association News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Life Insurance Courant (M)—New York, N. Y.
Life Insurance Selling (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Life Insurer, The (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Life Underwriters News (M)—Toronto, Canada
Local Agent, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Managers Magazine (Q)—Hartford, Conn.
Mid-America Insurance (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Minutes (B-M)—Columbus, Ohio
Modern Woodman (B-M)—Rock Island, Ill.
Mutual Review (M)—Washington, D. C.
National Insurance Buyer (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
National Underwriter (Fire Ed.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
National Underwriter (Life Ed.) (W)—New York, N. Y.
News From Home (A)—New York, N. Y.
Northwest Insurance (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Notes & Quotes (M)—Hartford, Conn.
Pacific Northwest Underwriter (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Pilot's Log (M)—Boston, Mass.
Premium, The (M)—Topeka, Kans.
Record (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Rough Notes (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Sail (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Southern Insurance (M)—New Orleans, La.
Spectator, The (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Standard, The (W)—Boston, Mass.
Title News (M)—Washington, D. C.
Today's Insurance Woman (M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Triangle, The (Q)—Albany, N. Y.
Underwriters' Report (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Underwriters' Review (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
United States Review (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Weekly Underwriter (W)—New York, N. Y.
Western Underwriter (Life Ed.) (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Western Underwriter (Prop. & Cas. Ed.) (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Woodmen Of The World Magazine (M)—Omaha, Neb.

(40) JEWELRY

American Horologist & Jeweler (M)—Denver, Colo.
American Jewelry Manufacturer (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Fashion Accessories (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jewelers' Circular-Keystone (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jewelers Digest (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Manufacturing Jeweler (B-M)—Providence, R. I.
Mid-Continent Jeweler (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
National Jeweler (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Northwestern Jeweler (M)—Albert Lea, Minn.
Pacific Goldsmith (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Southern Jeweler (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Watchmakers & Jewelers News (M)—Chattanooga, Tenn.

(41) LABOR-GENERAL

A.F.L.-C.I.O. News (W)—Washington, D. C.
Albuquerque Leader (W)—Albuquerque, N. Mex.
American Aeronaut (SM)—Burbank, Calif.
American Federationist (M)—Washington, D. C.
Anthracite Tri-District News (B-W)—Hazelton, Pa.
Arizona Labor Journal (W)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas Union Labor Bulletin (BW)—Little Rock, Ark.
Beach Cities Labor Jrl. (W)—Santa Monica, Calif.
Belleville Labor News (M)—Belleville, Ill.
Boilermakers-Blacksmiths Journal (M)—Kansas City, Kans.
Brotherhood of Maint. of Ways Employees Jrl. (M)—Washington, D. C.
Canadian Labor Press (M)—Montreal, Quebec
Canadian Labour (M)—Ottawa, Canada
Capitol Area (N. Y.) Labor News (M)—Worcester, Mass.
Central Labor Journal (M)—Salina, Kan.
Chronicle (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Colo. Labor Advocate (W)—Denver, Colo.
Connecticut Labor News (M)—Worcester, Mass.
Dallas Craftsman (W)—Dallas, Tex.
Detroit Mich. Labor News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Dispatch (W)—San Antonio, Texas
Farmer-Labor Press (W)—Council Bluffs, Iowa
Federation News (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Flint Weekly Review (W)—Flint, Mich.
Fox Valley Labor News (W)—Aurora, Ill.
Galesburg Labor News (W)—Galesburg, Ill.
Georgia Labor News Digest (B-W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Grundy Co. Labor News (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Gulf Coast News Digest (W)—Mobile, Ala.
Industrial News (W)—Lansing, Mich.
Int. Moulders' & Foundry Workers' Jrl. (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
International Operating Engineer (M)—Washington, D. C.
Kansas Labor Weekly (W)—Topeka, Kans.
Kansas Workman (M)—Newton, Kan.
Kern Co. Union Labor Journal (W)—Bakersfield, Calif.
Labor Advocate (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
Labor Advocate (W)—El Paso, Texas
Labor Advocate (W)—Tacoma, Wash.
Labor Beacon (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Labor Beacon (W)—Michigan City, Ind.
Labor Digest (BM)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Labor Journal (W)—Durham, N. C.
Labor Journal (W)—Everett, Wash.
Labor Journal (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Labor Journal (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Labor Leader (W)—San Diego, Calif.
Labor Market Letter (Detroit Metro. Area (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Labor Market Letter (NYC) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Labor Market Letter (Upper Peninsula) (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Labor News (M)—Belleville, Ill.
Labor News (W)—Bellingham, Wash.
Labor News (W)—Burlington, Iowa
Labor News(W)—Joliet, Ill.
Lobor News (W)—Peoria, Ill.
Labor News (W)—Quincy, Ill.
Labor News (W)—Rockford, Ill.
Labor News (W)—Saginaw, Mich.
Labor News (M)—Streator, Ill.
Labor News (W)—Worcester, Mass.
Labor Press (W)—Hannibal, Mo.
Labor Press (W)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Labor Press (W)—Portland, Oregon
Labor Record (W)—Joliet, Ill.
Labor Record (M)—Kankakee, Ill.
Labor Review (S-M)—Augusta, Ga.
Labor Review (W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Labor Temple News (W)—Peoria, Ill.
Labor Tribune (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
Labor Union (W)—Dayton, Ohio
Labor World (E-O-W)—Chattanooga, Tenn.
Lake County Labor News (M)—Waukegan, Ill.
Leader (W)—Dubuque, Iowa
Leader (W)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Locomotive Engineer (BW)—Cleveland, Ohio
Los Angeles Citizen (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Machinist (W)—Washington, D. C.
Michigan AFL-CIO News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Michigan's Labor Market (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Mine-Mill Union (M)—Denver, Colo.
National Rural Letter Carrier (M)—Washington, D. C.
Negro Labor News (W)—Houston, Texas
New England Journal of Labor (M)—Worcester, Mass.
New Hampshire Labor News (M)—Manchester, N. H.
Northern LaSalle County Labor News (M)—Joliet, Ill.
Northwestern Labor News (M)—De Kalb, Ill.
Organized Labor (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Palm Beach Co. Labor News (W)—West Palm Beach, Fla.
Personnel Journal (M)—Swathmore, Pa.
Potters Herald (W)—East Liverpool, Ohio
Review (W)—Flint, Mich.
Rhode Island Labor News (M)—Providence, R. I.
So. Cal. Teamster (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Southwestern Labor Record (W)—Tucson, Ariz.
Square Deal (W)—Battle Creek, Mich.
Summit Co. Labor News (W)—Akron, Ohio
Tampa Independent (W)—Tampa, Fla.
Times Advocate (W)—Norfolk, Va.
T.W.U. Express (M)—New York, N. Y.
UAW Solidarity (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
U. I. U. Journal (M)—Phila., Pa.
Unionist (W)—Austin, Minn.
Unionist (W)—Omaha, Nebr.
Union Labor Record (W)—Springfield, Mo.
Union Observer (W)—St. Joseph, Mo.
Union Register (W)—Portland, Ore.
United Mine Workers Journal (S-M)—Wash., D. C.
Valley Labor Citizen (W)—Fresno, Calif.
Vermont Labor News (M)—Worcester, Mass.
Wage Earner (M)—Detroit, Mich.

(42) LEATHER

American Shoemaking (W)—Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Recorder (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Coast Shoe Reporter (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Footwear News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Jrl. of Amer. Leather Chemists Assn. (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Leather Manufacturer (M)—Boston, Mass.
Leather and Shoes (W)—Boston, Mass.
Luggage and Leather Goods (M)—New York, N. Y.
Master Shoe Rebuilder, The (M)—Boston, Mass.
Shoe & Leather Journal (M)—Toronto, Canada
Shoe Service (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Shoe Service Wholesaler Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Weekly Bull. of Leather and Shoe News (W)—Manchester, N. H.

(43) LUMBER

American Forests (M)—Washington, D. C.
American Tree Farmer & Forestry Digest (M)—Washington, D. C.
California Lumber Merchant, The (S-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canada Lumberman (M)— Don Mills, Ont.
Canadian Woodsman (M)—Portland, Ore.
Canadian Woodworker (M)—Toronto, Canada
Chain Saw Age (M)—Portland, Ore.
Chain Saw Industry (M)—Sheveport, La.
Classified Exchange (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Crow's Lumber Digest (S-M)—Portland, Ore.
Dixie Lumberman & Forester (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Forest Farmer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Forest Products Journal (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Forests & People (Q)—Shreveport, La.
Furniture & Woodworking—(M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Gulf Coast Lumberman (S-M)—Houston, Texas
Hi-Baller (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Hitchcock's Wood Working Digest (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Industrial Woodworking (M)—Cos Cob, Conn.
Iowa Lumber Dealer (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Journal of Forestry (M)—Washington, D. C.
Lumber Co-operator, The (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Lumber Journal (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Lumber Merchant, The (M)—Lincoln, Nebr.
Lumberman (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Mississippi Valley Lumberman (B-W)—Minneapolis, Minn.
National Hardwood Magazine (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
News (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
New York Lumber Trade Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Northeastern Logger, The (M)—Old Forge, N. Y.
Northwestern Lumber Dealer (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Pacific Logger (M)—Eureka, Calif.
Plan (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Prairie Lumberman (M)—Winnipeg, Canada
Retail Lumberman (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Southern Lumberman (S-M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Timber of Canada (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Timberman, The (M)—Portland, Ore.
Timber Operator, The (S-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Timber Producers (M)—Ironwood, Mich.
Truck Logger (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Western Equipment & Timber News (M)—Portland, Oreg.
Western Timber News (S-M)—Portland, Ore.
Wood Construction & Building Materialist (M)—Xenia, Ohio
Wood Preserving News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Wood & Wood Products (M)—Chicago, Ill.
World Wood (Q)—San Francisco, Calif.

(44) MACHINERY

American Machinist/Metalworking/Manufacturing (BW)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Machinery & Metal Working (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Hydraulics & Pneumatics (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Industrial Machinery News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Machine and Tool Blue Book (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Machinery (M)—New York, N. Y.
Optical Tooling for Industry (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Tool & Manufacturing Engineer (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Tooling & Gaging (M)—Milford, Mich.
Tooling & Production (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Western Machinery & Steel World (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(45) MEAT PACKING

Bull. of the N.Y.S. Assn. of Retail Meat Dlers. (M)—New York, N. Y.
Butchers Advocate (W)—New York, N. Y.
Food Merchandising (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Meat (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Meat Dealer, The (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
National Provisioner, The (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Swift News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Western Meat Industry (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(46) METALS

Aluminium News (M)—Montreal, Quebec, Canada
American Metal Market (D)—New York, N. Y.
Arm-Co-operator (M)—Middletown, Ohio
Blast Furnace & Steel Plant (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Canadian Metal Working (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Cast Iron Pipe News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Copper & Brass Bulletin (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Cutting Tool Engineering combined with Carbide Engineering (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Die Casting Engineer (BM)—Detroit, Mich.
E & M J Metal and Mineral Markets (W)—New York, N. Y.
Foundry (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Gray Iron News (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Inco Nickel Topics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial Bulletin (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Finishing (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Iron Age (W)—New York, N. Y.

(46) METALS (Continued)

Iron & Steel (M)—London, England
Iron & Steel Engineer (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Journal of Metals (M)—New York, N. Y.
Lead (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Light Metal Age (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mechanical Topics (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Men and Steel (B-M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Metals Engineering Quarterly (Q)—Novelty, Ohio
Metal Finishing (M)—Westwood, N. J.
Metal Products Manufacturing (M)—Elmhurst, Ill.
Metal Progress (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Metal Removing (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Metals Review (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Metal Treating (BM)—Pompano Beach, Fla.
Metalworking (M)—Boston, Mass.
Metalworking News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Metlfax (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Modern Castings & American Foundryman (M)—Des Plaines, Ill.
Modern Metals (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Nickelsworth (Q)—Huntington, W. Va.
Plating (M)—Newark, N. J.
Plating Management (M)—Cedar Grove, N. J.
Precision Metal Molding (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Products Finishing (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Republic Reports (B-M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Steel (W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Steel Construction Digest (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Steel Equipment & Maintenance News (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Steel Facts (M)—New York, N. Y.
Steelways (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
U. S. Piper, The (M)—North Birmingham, Ala.
US Steel News (Q)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Western Metalworking (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(47) MILITARY

Air Reservist (M)—Mitchell Field, N. Y.
AGRV Newsletter (M)—Washington, D. C.
Armed Forces Management (M)—Washington, D. C.
Army (M)—Washington, D. C.
Army Information Digest—Ft. Slocum, N. Y.
Army-Navy-Air Force Journal (W)—Washington, D. C.
Army-Navy-Air Force Register & Defense Times (B-W)—Washington, D. C.
Army Times (W)—Washington, D. C.
CAP Times (M)—Washington, D. C.
Club Executive (M)—Washington, D. C.
Leatherneck (M)—Washington, D. C.
Marine Corps Gazetta (M)—Quantico, Va.
Michigan National Guardsman (M)—Lansing, Mich.
Military Market, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Military Review (M)—Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.
National Guardsman, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Naval Affairs (M)—Washington, D. C.
Navy News (M)—Norfolk, Va.
Navy Times (W)—Washington, D. C.
Ordnance (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Our Navy (S-M)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pointer, The (B-W Sept. June)—West Point, N. Y.
Quartermaster Review, The (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings (M)—Annapolis, Md.

(48) MINING

American Gold News (M)—Sonora, Calif.
Black Diamond, The (B-W)—Chicago, Ill.
B.T.U. (BM)—New York, N. Y.
California Mining Journal (M)—Santa Cruz, Calif.
Canadian Mining Journal (M)—Gardenvale, Que.
Coal Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Coal Dealer, The (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Coal Heat (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Coal Mining (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Engineering & Mining Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Independent Coal Operator (M)—Middleboro, Ky.
Mechanization (M)—Washington, D. C.
Mines Magazines (M)—Denver, Colo.
Mining Congress Journal (M)—Washington, D. C.
Mining Engineering (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mining Equipment News (M)—Middlesboro, Ky.
Mining & Quarrying (M)—Harrison, N. Y.
Mining Record, The (W)—Denver, Colo.
Mining World (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Missouri Miner (W-school year)—Rolla, Mo.
Northern Miner (M)—Toronto, Canada
Pay Dirt (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Precambrian (Mining in Canada) (M)—Winnipeg, Mani., Canada
Prospector-Outdoorsman (M)—Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Retail Coalman (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Saward's Journal (W)—New York, N. Y.
Skilling Mining Review (W)—Duluth, Minn.
Uranium Prospector American Outdoorsman (M)—Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Western Miner & Oil Review (M)—Vancouver, Canada
World Mining (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(49) MORTUARY & CEMETARY

American Art in Stone (M)—Quincy, Mass.
American Cemetery (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Funeral Director (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Funeral Service (M)—Toronto, Canada
Casket & Sunnyside (M)—New York, N. Y.
Florida Funeral Director (B-M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Mid-Continent Mortician (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Monumental News-Review (M)—Buffalo, N. Y.
Morticians of the Southwest (M)—Dallas, Texas
Mortuary Management (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
National Funeral Service Jrl. (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ohio Monument Builder (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Southern Funeral Director (M)—Atlanta, Ga.

(50) MOTORCYCLES & TRAILERS

American Bicyclist & Motorcyclist (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Motorcycling (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Arizona Mobile Citizen (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Enthusiast (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
Mobile Home Dealer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mobile Home Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mobile Home Park Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mobile Homes (M)—Hinsdale, Ill.
Mobile Homes & Trailers (M)—Toronto, Canada
Mobile Living (M)—Sarasota, Fla.
Motorcyclist (M)—Pasadena, Calif.
Trailer Body Builders (M)—Houston, Texas
Trailer Life and Travel Trailer News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Trailer Lot & Rental Equipment Journal (M)—Wichita, Kans.
Trailer News (W)—Coral Gables, Fla.
Trail-R-News (M)—Glendale, Calif.
Trailer Times (SM)—National City, Calif.
Trailer Topics Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Trailer Travel Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Western Mobile Home News (W)—Long Beach, Calif.

(51) OFFICE EQUIPMENT & STATIONERY

Administrative Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Office (M)—Toronto, Canada
Canadian Stationer & Office Equipment Dealer (M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
College Store Jrl. (Q)—Oberlin, Ohio
Data Processing (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Geyer's Dealer Topics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of Machine Accounting (M)—Mt. Prospect, Ill.
Modern Office Procedures (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Modern Stationer & Office Equipment Dealer (M)—Duluth, Minn.
National Shorthand Reporter (M)—Oskaloosa, Iowa
National Stationer, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Office, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Office Appliances (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Office Equipment & Methods (M)—Toronto, Canada
Office Executive (M)—Willow Grove, Pa.
Pacific Stationer and Office Outfitter (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Paperwork Simplification (Q)—Dayton, Ohio
Personnel Administration (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Secretary, The (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sheaffer's Review (M)—Fort Madison, Iowa
Southern Stationer and Office Outfitter (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Today's Secretary (M)—New York, N. Y.

(52) OPTICAL

A.M.A. Archives of Ophthalmology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Journal of Ophthalmology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Jnl. of Optometry & Archives of Amer. Academy of Optometry (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Contacto-The Contact Lens Journal (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Dispensing Optician (M)—Oakland, Calif.
Guildcraft (M)—New York, N. Y.
Iowa Optometrist (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Jnl. of Amer. Optometric Association (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Jnl. of the California Optometric Assn. (B-M)—Fresno, Calif.
Jnl. of New Jersey Optometric Assn. (M)—Trenton, N. J.
Jnl. of Optical Society of America (M)—Washington, D. C.
Jnl. of Texas Optometric Association (M)—Austin, Texas
Kansas Optometric Journal (M)—Topeka, Kans.
New England Journal of Optometry (M)—Boston, Mass.
Optical Index (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Optical Journal & Review of Optometry (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Optometric Weekly (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Optometric World (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Southern Journal of Optometry (B-M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Transactions (B-M)—Rochester, Minn.
Wisconsin Optometrist (M)—Madison, Wisc.

(53) PACKAGING

American Boxmaker (M)—Los Gatos, Calif.
Boxboard Containers (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Packaging (M)—Toronto, Canada
Consumer Packaging (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Food & Drug Packaging (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Glass Packer, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Good Packaging (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Industrial Packaging (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Modern Packaging (M)—New York, N. Y.
Packaging Design (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Package Engineering (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Paperboard Packaging (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Wooden Barrel, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Wooden Box & Crate (Q)—Washington, D. C.

(54) PAINT & WALLPAPER

AID (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
American Paint Journal (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
American Painter & Decorator (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
American Paint and Wallpaper Dealer (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Canadian Paint & Varnish (M)—Toronto, Canada
Coloramic (M)—St. Petersburg, Fla.
Official Digest (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter (W)—New York, N. Y.
Paint Industry Magazine (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Paint and Varnish Production (M)—New York, N. Y.
Painter & Decorator (M)—Lafayette, Ind.
Specialty Worker (M)—Pressman's Home, Tenn.
Spotlights (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Wallpaper & Wall Coverings (M)—New York, N. Y.
Western Paint Review (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(55) PAPER INDUSTRY

American Paper Merchant (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Canadian Pulp & Paper Industry (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Daily Mill Stock Reporter (D)—New York, N. Y.
Mandonian (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Modern Converter (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Official Board Markets (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Paper, Film and Foil Converter (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Paper Industry, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Paper Mill News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Paper Sales (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Paper Trade Journal (W)—New York, N. Y.
Paper & Twine Journal, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Pulp & Paper (BW)—Chicago, Ill.
Pulp & Paper International (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Pulp & Paper Magazine in Canada (M)—Gardenvale, Canada
Southern Pulp and Paper Manufacturer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Tappi (M)—New York, N. Y.

(56) PETS & PET SUPPLIES

All-Pets Magazine (M)—Fond du Lac, Wisc.
American Cage-Bird Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
American Pidgeon Journal (M)—Warenton, Mo.
Aquarium (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Cats Magazine (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dog News (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Dog World (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Humane Review (B-M)—Denver, Colo.
National Humane Review, Michigan ed. (BM)—Denver, Colo.
Petfood Industry (M)—Sea Isle City, N. J.
Pet Shop Management (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Popular Dogs (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Pure-Bred Dogs—Amer. Kennel Gazette (M)—New York, N. Y.
Shelter Shoptalk (M)—Denver, Colo.

(57) PHOTOGRAPHY

American Cinematographer (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Bolex Reporter (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Business Screen (8)—Chicago, Ill.
Camera Equipment News (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Photographer (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Educational Screen & Audio Visual Guide (M)—Maplewood, N. J.
Image (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Industrial Photography (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
International Photographer (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Kodakery (W)—Rochester, N. Y.
Modern Photography (M)—New York, N. Y.
National Press Photographer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Photo Dealer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Photo Developments (M)—Jackson, Mich.
Photo Merchandising (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Photo Methods for Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Photo Trade (M)—Toronto, Canada
Photo Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Photographic Trade News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Popular Photography (M)—New York, N. Y.
Professional Photographer (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
PSA Journal (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Rangefinder, Inc., The (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Reproduction Engineer (M)—Detroit, Mich.
U. S. Camera Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.

(58) PLASTICS

Canadian Plastics (M)—Toronto, Canada
Modern Plastics (M)—New York, N. Y.
Plastics Design & Processing (M)—Libertyville, Ill.
Plastics Technology (M)—New York, N. Y.
Plastics World (M)—Cos Cob, Conn.
Society of Plastics Engineers Jrl. (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Western Plastics (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(59) PLUMBING & HEATING

Actual Specifying Engineer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Air Conditioning, Heating & Ventilating (M)—New York, N. Y.
Alabama Contractor (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
American Artisan (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Automatic Heating Plumbing Air Conditioning (M)—Toronto, Canada
California Plumbing Contractor (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Contractor, The (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Crane World (Q)—New York, N. Y.
District Heating (Q)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Domestic Engineering (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Electric Heat & Airconditioning (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Electric Heating Journal (M)—Madison, Wis.
Florida Plumbing & Heating Contractor (M)—Lakeland, Fla.
Fuel Oil News (M)—Bayonne, N. J.
Fuel Oil & Oil Heat (M)—New York, N. Y.
Gulf Coast Plumbing & Heating News (M)—Houston, Tex.

Your Clippings FAST from the Geographical Center of the Country

(59) PLUMBING & HEATING (Continued)

Hal Rogers P & H Journal (M)—Toronto, Canada
Heating & Air Conditioning Contractor (M)—Tarrytown, N. Y.
Heating, Piping & Air Conditioning (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Heating-Plumbing & Air Conditioning News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Heating & Plumbing Engineer (M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Heating & Plumbing News (Va.) (M)—Richmond, Va.
Heating & Plumbing Merchandiser (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Home Comforts Wholesaler (M)—New York, N. Y.
Houston Plumbing and Heating News (M)—Houston, Texas
Illinois Master Plumber (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Indiana Plumbing Contractor (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Indoor Comfort News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Industrial Heating (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jnl. of Plumb.-Heat.-Air Condition. (M)—Tarrytown, N. Y.
Ladle, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
La. Journal of Plumbing, Heating, Air Conditioning Mechanical Contractor (M)—New Orleans, La.
Maryland Master Plumber, The (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Master Plumber & Heating Contractor (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mechanical Contractor (M)—New York, N. Y.
Michigan Master Plumber (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Minnesota Master Plumber (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri Master Plumber (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
New Mexico Plumbing & Heating Contractor (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
North Carolina Plumbing & Heating Forum (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Ohio State Contractor (M)—Canton, Ohio
Oil Heating and Air Conditioning Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Oregon Plumber (M)—Portland, Ore.
Palmetto Piper (M)—Columbia, S. C.
Pennsylvania Plumbing Contractor (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Plumb (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Plumbers Friend (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Plumb.-Heat.-Air Conditioning Wholesaler (M)—Tarrytown, N. Y.
Plumbing Heating Cooling Business (M)—New York, N.Y.
Plumbing & Heating News Of Oklahoma (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Progress (M)—Boston, Mass.
Reeve's Plumbing & Heating Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Sentinel (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Snips (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Southern Plumb., Heat., & Air Conditioning (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Supply House Times (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Tennessee Plumbing, Heating & Mechanical Contractor (M)—Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas Journal (M)—Austin, Tex.
United Assn. Jrneymen & Apprentices of Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry Jrl. (M)—Washington, D. C.
Virginia Heating & Plumbing News (M)—Richmond, Va.
Washington Plumbing & Heating Contractor (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Wisconsin Master Plumber, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.

(60) POWER

Chief Engineer (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Combustion (M)—New York, N. Y.
Contact (M)—Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Diesel & Gas Engine Progress (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Diesel & Transportation Engineering (BM)—Toronto, Ont.
Equipment Superintendent (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Locomotive (Q)—Hartford, Conn.
Modern Power & Engineering (M)—Toronto, Canada
PGE Life (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Plant Management & Engineering (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Power (M)—New York, N. Y.
Power Drive Engineering (B-M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Power Engineering (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Power Parade (Q)—Detroit, Mich.
Power Transmission Design (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Public Power (M)—Washington, D. C.
Southern Power and Industry (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Transmission & Distribution (M)—Cos Cob, Conn.

(61) PRODUCE

American Egg & Poultry Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Fruit & Vegetable Review (M)—Orange, Calif.
Packer, The (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Poultry & Eggs Weekly (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Poultry & Farm Supply World (M)—Freetown, Ind.
Poultry Processing & Marketing (M)—Mt. Morris, Ill.
Produce News (W)—New York, N. Y.
Western Grower & Shipper (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.

(62) PURCHASING

Alabama Purchasor (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Baltimore Purchaser (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Buyers Purchasing Digest (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Chicago Purchaser, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati Purchasor, The (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Connecticut Purchasor (M)—Ansonia, Conn.
Detroit Purchasor (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Dixie Purchasor (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Electrical/Electronic Procurement (M)—Englewood, Colo.
Federal Procurement & Subcontracts Daily (D)—Long Island City, N. Y.
Florida Purchaser (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Genesee Valley Buyer (M)—Rochester, N. Y.
Heart of America Purchaser (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Hoosier Purchasor (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Industrial Purchasing Agent (M)—Great Neck, N. Y.
Kentuckian Purchasor (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Mid-Continent Purchaser (S-M)—Tulsa, Okla.
Midwest Purchasing Agent, The (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Modern Purchasing (M)—Toronto, Ont.
New England Purchaser (M)—Boston, Mass.
New York Purchasing Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
North Central Purchaser (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Oregon Purchaser (M)—Portland, Oreg.
Philadelphia Purchaser (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Purchaser (M)—Syracuse, N. Y.
Purchaser's Digest (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Purchasing (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Purchasing in Western Canada (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Purchasing Week (W)—New York, N. Y.
Southwestern Purchaser, The (M)—Dallas, Texas
Southwestern Purchasing Agent (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Tennessee Journal of Purchasing (M)—Knoxville, Tenn.
Utility Purchasing & Stores (M)—Darien, Conn.
Washington Purchaser (M)—Seattle, Wash.

(63) RAILROAD

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen's Magazine (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Canadian National Magazine (M)—Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Canadian Transportation (M)—Toronto, Canada
Central of Georgia Magazine (M)—Savannah, Ga.
Chessie News (B-W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Conductor & Brakeman (M)—Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Erie-Lackawanna Magazine (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Federated Railwayman (M)—Montreal, Canada
Headlight (M)—New York, N. Y.
Illinois Central Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
International Railway Journal (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jersey Central Lines (M)—Jersey City, N. J.
Keeping Track (M)—Montreal, Can.
L & N (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Missouri Pacific Lines Magazine (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Modern Railroads (M)—Chicago, Ill.
News Reel (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Pennsy (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Railroad Journal (M)—Richmond, Va.
Railroad Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Railroad Telegrapher, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Railway Age (W)—New York, N. Y.
Railway Carmen's Journal (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Locomotives & Cars (M)—New York, N. Y.
Railway Purchases and Stores (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Railway Signaling and Communications (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Railway Track and Structures (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Rocket (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Santa Fe Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Signalman's Journal, The (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Southern Pacific Bulletin (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Spanner—Montreal, Canada
Stanray News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Train Dispatcher (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Trainman News (W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Trains (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.

(64) REAL ESTATE

Apartment Journal (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Buildings (M)—Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Building & Realty Record (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Building Maintenance & Modernization (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
California Real Estate Magazine (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Real Estate News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Realtor (M)—Toronto, Canada
Daily Real Estate Report (D)—Fresno, Calif.
Journal of Housing (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Real Estate Investor (M)—New York, N. Y.
Properties (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Property Owner & Building Maintenance—Toronto, Canada
Real Estate Advertiser (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Real Estate Forum (M)—New York, N. Y.
Real Estate Investment (M)—New York, N. Y.
Real Estate News (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Real Estate Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Realty (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Realty and Building (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Skyscraper Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Southwest Properties Magazine (M)—Dallas, Texas

(65) RESTAURANTS

American Restaurant Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Catering Industry Employee (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Chef's Magazine, the Culinary Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Chuck Wagon, The (M)—Austin, Texas
Cooking For Profit (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Diners Club (M)—New York, N. Y.
Drive-In Management (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Drive-In Restaurant (M)—Pratt, Kans.
Fast Food (M)—New York, N. Y.
Food Executive (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Food & Equipment Manual (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Food Service Equipmet Supplier (BM)—Toronto, Ont.
Food Service Magazine (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Inplant Food Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Kansas Restaurant (M)—Wichita, Kan.
Mid-West Restaurant News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Pacific Coast Record (With Western Restaurant) (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Restaurant & Institutions (B-M)—Toronto, Canada
Restaurant Equipment Dealer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Restaurant Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Restaurant Review (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Restaurant Service (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Restaurant Service Magazine (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Restaurant South (M)—Columbia, S. C.
School Lunch Journal (M)—Denver, Colo.
Volume Feeding Management (M)—New York, N. Y.
Wisconsin Restauranteur, The (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.

(66) ROCK PRODUCTS

Asbestos (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Canadian Pit & Quarry (M)—Montreal, Que.
Concrete Products (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Jrl. of American Concrete Institute (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Missouri Limestone News (M)—Jefferson City, Mo.
Modern Concrete (M)—Chicago, Ill.
PCI Journal (Q)—Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Pit & Quarry (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Rock Products (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Stone (M)—New Rochelle, N. Y.

(67) RUBBER & TIRES

Goodyear News (B-M)—Akron, Ohio
Modern Tire Dealer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Rubber Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Rubber Digest and Newsletter (W)—Atlanta, Ga.
Rubber World (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tire, Battery & Accessory News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tire & TBA Review (M)—Akron, Ohio

(68) SELLING

American Salesman (M)—New York, N. Y.
Home Business Digest (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Installment Retailing (M)—New York, N. Y.
Premium Buyers Guide (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Sales Executive (W)—New York, N. Y.
Sales Management (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Salesman's Opportunity (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Sales Meeting (Q)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Sample Case, The (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Specialty Salesman Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Successful Selling (M)—New York, N. Y.
World Convention Dates (M)—Hempstead, N. Y.

(69) SHIPPING

American Cartagemen (M)—Detroit, Mich.
American Import & Export Bulletin (M)—New York, N. Y
Boston Marine Guide (W)—Boston, Mass.
Brandon's Shipper & Forwarder (W)—New York, N. Y.
Export-Import News (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Export Trade (W)—New York, N. Y.
Furniture Warehouseman (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Galveston (M)—Galveston, Tex.
Harbour & Shipping (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Import Bulletin (W)—New York, N. Y.
Industrial World (M)—New York, N. Y.
International Trade Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Jacksonville Seafarer (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Mayflower Warehouseman (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Midwest Ports (BM)—Chicago, Ill.
Motor Transport Shipping News (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Movers News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Natl Defense Transportation Jrl. (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
New Orleans Port Record (M)—New Orleans, La.
Pacific Air & Truck Traffic (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Pacific Shipper (W)—San Francisco, Calif.
Packing and Shipping (M)—Plainfield, N. J.
Port of Houston (M)—Houston, Tex.
Port of Mobile News (M)—Mobile, Ala.
Port of New Orleans Weekly Bulletin (W)—New Orleans, La.
Port of Tampa Commercial Digest (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Ports of Philadelphia (M)—Phila., Pa.
Seaports & Transport World (M)—Montreal, Canada
Shipping Digest (W)—New York, N. Y.
Shipping Management-National Hi-Way Shipper (M)—New York, N. Y.
Storage and Distribution (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Tampa Port Newsletter (W)—Tampa, Fla.
Traffic World (W)—Washington, D. C.
Via Pensacola (M)—Pensacola, Fla.
World's Business (M)—New York, N. Y.
World Ports and the Mariner (M)—Washington, D. C.

(70) SPORTS & SPORTING GOODS

Alaska Fisherman (10)Nakned, Alaska
Alaska Sportsman (M)—Juneau, Alaska
Amateur Athlete (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Rifleman, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Arizona Wildlife-Sportsman (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Athletic Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Badger Sportsman (M)—Portage, Wis.
Bicycle Journal (M)—Ft. Worth, Texas
Bowler, The (W)—Schenectady, N. Y.
Bowling Magazine (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Bowling News (M)—Milwaukee, Wis.
California Bowling News (W)—Glendale, Calif.
Camping Guide (3 times)—New York, N. Y.

(70) SPORTS & SPORTING GOODS (Continued)

Camping Magazine (M)—Plainfield, N. J.
Canadian Fisherman (M)—Gardenvale, Canada
Canadian Bowling Management (M)—Toronto, Ot.
Canadian Pools, Parks & Recreation (M)—Owen Sound, Ont.
Canadian Sportsman (M)—Tillsenburg, Canada
Central Ohio Bowling News (W)—Columbus, Ohio
Chicago Bowler (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Chronicle of the Horse (W)—Berryville, Va.
Cleveland Kegler (W)—Cleveland, Ohio
Employee Recreation (M)—Fairfield, Conn.
Field and Stream (M)—New York, N. Y.
Fishing & Hunting News (W)—Spokane, Wash.
Fishing Tackle Trade News (M)—Wilmette, Ill.
Florida Wildlife (M)—Tallahassee, Fa.
Frontier Times (Q)—Austin, Texas
Fur-Fish-Game (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Golf Course Reporter (8 Times)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Golf Digest (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Golfdom (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Golf Life (M)—Beverly Hills, Calif.
Golf World (W)—Pinehurst, N. C.
Gulf Coast Sportsman (M)—Tallahassee, Fla.
Gun Report (M)—Aledo, Ill.
Guns (M)—Skokie, Ill.
Guns & Ammo (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Guns & Hunting (8 nos.)—New York, N. Y.
Horseman & Fair World (W)—Lexington, Ky.
Hounds & Hunting (M)—Bradford, Pa.
Hunting & Fishing In Canada (M)—Montreal, Que.
Indiana Bowler (10)—Shelbyville, Ind.
Michigan Out-of-Doors (M)—Lansing, Mich.
Mid-South Sportsman (BM)—Memphis, Tenn.
National Bowling Illustrated (M)—Miami Beach, Fla.
National Bowlers Jrl. & Billiards Review (M)—Chicago, Ill.
National Golfer (M)—San Mateo, Calif.
Northern Sportsman (M)—St. Frances, Ont., Canada
Outdoor Life (M)—New York, N. Y.
Outdoor Maine (M)—Camden, Me.
Outdoors in Illinois (2 times yearly)—Springfield, Ill.
Pacific Northwest Dealer News (M)—Spokane, Wash.
Pittsburgh Bowler (BW)—Brownsville, Pa.
Pool News (BM)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Popular Bowling (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Professional Golfer (M)—Dunedin, Fla.
Punch (M)—New Orleans, La.
Recreation (M)—New York, N. Y.
Recreation Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ring, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Rink & Arena (M)—Madison, Wis.
Rod & Custom (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Rod & Gun (M)—Beaconsfield, Que., Canada
Rodeo Sport News (M)—Denver, Colo.
Salt Water Sportsman (M)—Boston, Mass.
Scholastic Coach (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Selling Sporting Goods (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Shooting Goods Retailer (6 times)—Skokie, Ill.
Skating (M)—Boston, Mass.
Skeet Shooting Review (M)—Dallas, Texas
Ski Life (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Skier (6)—Littleton, N. H.
Skiing (M)—Denver, Colo.
Skin Diver (M)—Lynwood, Calif.
Southern Bowler (M)—Marietta, Ga.
Southern Outdoors (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Sport (M)—Newark, N. J.
Sporting Goods Dealer, The (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Sporting Goods Products (M)—Cleveland Hgts, Ohio
Sporting News (W)—St. Louis, Mo.
Sports Afield (M)—New York, N. Y.
Sports Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Sports Illustrated (W)—New York, N. Y.
Sports Review (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Sportsmen's Life (M)—Roosevelt, N. Y.
Swimming Pool Age (M)—New York, N. Y.
Swimming Pool Weekly (W)—Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Tenneva Bowler (M)—Bristol, Tenn.
"300" Magazine (M)—Redwood City, Calif.
Trap & Field (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Turf & Sport Digest (M)—Baltimore, Md.
U. S. Golfer (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Western Sporting Goods Review (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Wildlife Crusader (B-M)—Winnipeg, Mant.
Winter Sports (M)—Denver, Colo.
World Tennis (M)—New York, N. Y.
Woman Bowler (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Zion Bowling News (BM)—Salt Lake City, Utah

(71) STORES-RETAIL, CHAIN, DEPT.

Chain Store Age—Drug Executives Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Drug Store Managers Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Fountain-Restaurant Executives Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Fountain-Restaurant Store Managers Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—General Merchandise Variety Executives Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—General Merchandise Variety Store Managers Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Grocery Executives Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Grocery Store Manager Edition—(M)—New York, N. Y.
Chain Store Age—Headquarters Executives Edition (M)—New York, N. Y.
Commercial Bulletin and Apparel Merchant (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Dealerscope (M)—Boston, Mass.
Department Store Economist (M)—New York, N. Y.
Discount Store News (BW)—New York, N. Y.
Gas Appliance Merchandising (M)—New York, N. Y.
Handbags and Accessories (M)—New York, N. Y.
Home Furnishings Daily (D)—New York, N. Y.
Home Goods Retailing (B-W)—Toronto, Ont.
Industrial Retail Stores (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Maritime Merchant (M)—Sackville, New Brunswick
Merchants Trade Journal (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Michigan Tradesman (S-M)—Grand Rapids, Mich.
Notion & Novelty Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Post Exchange & Commissary (M)—Red Bank, N. J.
Rack Merchandising (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Retail Journal, The (B-M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Stores (M)—New York, N. Y.
Variety Store Merchandiser (M)—New York, N. Y.

(72) TEXTILES

American Dyestuff Reporter (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
American Fabrics (Q)—New York, N. Y.
America's Textile Reporter (W)—Boston, Mass.
Canadian Textile Journal (B-W)—Montreal, Que.
Canvas Products Review (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Celanese World (BM)—New York, N. Y.
Cotton Digest (W)—Houston, Texas
Cotton Trade Journal (W)—Memphis, Tenn.
Daily News Record (D)—New York, N. Y.
Dixie Co-Op News (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Dyestuffs (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Fabric & Trimming News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Fibre and Fabric (B-W)—Cambridge, Mass.
Modern Textiles Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Needle's Eye (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Non-Food Buyer (M)—Hollywood, Calif.
Southern Textile News (W)—Charlotte, N. C.
Textile Bulletin (M)—Charlotte, N. C.
Textile Engineer (Q)—Plainfield, N. J.
Textile Industries (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Textile World (M)—New York, N. Y.

(73) TOBACCO

Bright Leaf (B-M)—Delhi, Ont., Canada
Canadian Tobacco Grower (B-M)—Delhi, Ont., Canada
Retail Tobacconist, The (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Southern Tobacco Journal (M)—Winston Salem, N. C.
Tobacco (W)—New York, N. Y.
Tobacco & Confectionery Guide (M)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Tobacco Jobber, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tobacco Leaf, The (W)—New York, N. Y.
Tobacco News (Q)—Washinton, D. C.
Tobacco Record (M)—Evanston, Ill.
United States Tobacco Journal (W)—New York, N. Y.
Western Tobacco Journal (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Western Tobacconist (M)—San Francisco, Calif.

(74) TOYS, GIFTS, NOVELTIES & HOBBIES

American Modeler (M)—New York, N. Y.
Antiques (M)—New York, N. Y.
Antiques Dealer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Covers (M)—Albany, Oreg.
Craft Horizons (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Craft, Model & Hobby Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Flying Models (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Gift and Art Buyer, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
Gift Buyer (M)—Toronto, Canada
Giftwares (M)—New York, N. Y.
Greeting Card (M)—New York, N. Y.
Handweaver & Craftsman (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Home Craftsman (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Leather Craftsman (B-M)—Ft. Worth. Tex.
Linn's Weekly Stamp News (W)—Sidney, Ohio
Mechanix Illustrated (M)—New York, N. Y.
Mekeel's Weekly Stamp News (W)—Portland, Me.
Model Airplane News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Model Railroader Magazine (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Model Trains (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
National Stamp News (M)—Anderson, S. C.
Picture and Gift Journal (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Playthings (M)—New York, N. Y.
Popular Mechanics Magazine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Popular Science (M)—New York, N. Y.
Railroad Model Craftsman (M)—Ramsey, N. J.
Spinning Wheel (M)—Taneytown, Md.
Toy & Hobby Retailer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Toy & Hobby Wholesaler (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Toy Manufacturer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Toys & Novelties (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Western Stamp Collector (SW)—Albany, Oreg.
Workbench (B-M)—Kansas City, Mo.

(75) TRAVEL

AAA Motorist of Northeastern Pa. (BM)—Scranton, Pa.
American International Travel (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
American Motorist (M)—Washington, D. C.
Arizona Highways (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
ASTA Travel News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Auto Club News (B-M)—St. Louis, Mo.
California Highways & Public Works (B-M)—Sacramento, Calif.
Canadian Geographical Journal (M)—Ottawa, Canada
Car, The (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Connecticut Motorist (M)—New Haven, Conn.
Desert Magazine (M)—Palm Desert, Calif.
Down East Magazine (9 times yr.)—Camden, Maine
Erie Motorist, The (M)—Erie, Pa.
Florida (M)—Sarasota, Fla.
Florida Explorer (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Florida Traveler (M)—Tampa, Fla.
Hartford Automobiler, The (B-M)—Hartford, Conn.
Highway Magazine (M)—Middletown, Ohio
Holiday Inns (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Hoosier Motorist, The (B-M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Hotel Greeter, The (M)—Denver, Colo.
Hotel Greeters Guide to Southern California (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Iowan, The (B-M)—Shenandoah, Iowa
KA-SE-AC Monthly (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Keystone Motorist (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Maryland Motorist (B-M)—Baltimore, Md.
Minnesota Motorist (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Motor Mention (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Motor News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Motor News (Michigan) (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Motor News (N. J.) (M)—Camden, N. J.
Motor Topics (B.M.)—Palmyra, Pa.
Motor Travel (M)—Greenfield, Ohio
Motorland (B-M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Motour (M)—Cincinnati, Ohio
National Motorist (B-M)—San Francisco, Calif.
New Hampshire Profiles (M)—Portsmouth, N. H.
New Jersey Autoist (M)—Bloomfield, N. J.
New Mexico Magazine (M)—Albuquerque, N. M.
New York Motorist (M)—New York, N. Y.
Northampton County Motorist (M)—Easton, Pa.
Official Steamship & Airways Guide (M)—New York, N. Y.
Ohio Motor Travel (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oregon Motorist, The (M)—Portland, Oregon
Pacific Travel News (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Palm Springs Life (S-M)—Palm Springs, Calif.
Pictorial California (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Pittsburgh Automobilist (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Posh (Q)—San Francisco, Calif.
Pottstown Motorist (M)—Pottstown, Pa.
Promenade (Mayflower Edit.) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Promenade (St. Regis Edit.) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Promenade (Waldorf Edit.) (M)—New York, N. Y.
Que Pasa in Puerto Rico (M)—San Juan, P. R.
Reading Automobile Club Mag. (M)—Reading, Pa.
Rocky Mountain Motorist (M)—Denver, Colo.
Scenic Idaho (Q)—Boise, Idaho
Scenic South M)—Louisville, Ky.
Schuylkill Co. Motor Club Mag. (Q)—Pottsville, Pa.
South African Scope (M)—New York, N. Y.
Spotlight (W)—Newark, N. J.
Sun Colony (SM)—Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
Sunrise (SA)—Pensacola, Fla.
Travel (M)—New York, N. Y.
Travel Agents (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Travel Topics (M)—London, England
Travel Trade (M)—New York, N. Y.
Travel Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Washington Motorist (M)—Seattle, Wash.
West (Q)—Las Vegas, Nev.
Westmoreland Motorist (M)—Greensburg, Pa.
Westways (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
White Rose Motorist (M)—York, Pa.
Wisconsin AAA Motor News (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Wisconsin Counties (M)—Madison, Wisc.
Wyoming Valley Motorist (B-M)—Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

(76) TRUCKS & BUSES

American Motor Carrier (M)—Marietta, Ga.
Arizona Roadrunner (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
ATA News—Chicago, Ill.
Bus & Truck Transport (M)—Toronto, Canada
Colorado Motor Carrier (B-M)—Denver, Colo.
Commercial Car Journal (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Eastern Truck News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Fifth Wheel, The (M)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Fleet Owner (M)—New York, N. Y.
Fleet Product News (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Florida Truck News (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
GO (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Highway Traffic (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Illinois Truck News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Jobber Product News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Kansas Transporter, The (M)—Topeka, Kan.
Louisiana Motor Transport Assn. News (M)—Baton Rouge, La.
Maine Trucking News (M)—Portland, Maine
Maritime Truck Transport Review (M)—Sackville, New Brunswick
Maryland Transport News (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Metropolitan Transportation (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
Michigan Motor Carrier (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Midwestern Trucker & Shipper (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
Midwest Motor Transport (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Mid-West Truckman (M)—Yates Center, Kan.
Mississippi Transports (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Modern Trans (M)—Boston, Mass.
Motor Carrier (M)—Vancouver, Canada
Motor News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Motor Transport (M)—Calgary, Canada
Motor Transportation Hi-Lites (M)—Columbia, S. C.
Motor Truck & Coach (M)—Toronto, Canada
Motor Truck News (Iowa) (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Motorway Transport (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ohio Trucking News (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Motor Carrier (S-M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.

Your Clippings FAST from the Geographical Center of the Country

(76) TRUCKS & BUSES (Continued)

Passenger Transport (W)—New York, N. Y.
Petroleum & Chemical Transporter, The (M)—Washington, D. C.
Power Wagon (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Rolling Along (M)—Bismark, N. D.
School Bus Transportation combined with School Bus Trends (M)—Wheaton, Ill.
South Dakota Motor Carrier (M)—Sioux Falls, S. D.
Southern Motor Cargo (M)—Memphis, Tenn.
Steering Wheel (W)—Austin, Texas
Tarheel Wheels (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
Taxi Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Taxicab Industry (M)—New York, N. Y.
Tennessee Progress (BM)—Nashville, Tenn.
Transportation Supply News (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Transport Topics (W)—Washington, D. C.
Transport Topics Quarterly Digest (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Truck Transportation (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Trucking News (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Trux (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Virginia Trucks (M)—Richmond, Va.
Western Trucking and Motor Transportation (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
West Virginia Transporter (M)—Charleston, W. Va.
Western Motor Fleet & Traffic Age (M)—Regina, Sask.
Wisconsin Motor Carrier News (M)—Madison, Wisc

(77) VENDING MACHINES

AARN News Letter (Q)—Edmonton, Alberta
American Automatic Merchandiser (M)—Wilmette, Ill.
Canadian Coin Box (M)—Owen Sound, Ont.
Canadian Vending (M)—Owen Sound, Ont.
Cash Box, The (W)—New York, N. Y.
Coin Machine Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Mass-Vending (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Vend (SM)—Chicago, Ill.

(78) WEARING APPAREL

Apparel Manufacturers (M)—New York, N. Y.
Bobbin (M)—Columbia, S. C.
Boys' Outfitter, The (M)—New York, N. Y.
California Apparel News (W)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Men's & Boys Stylist (B-M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California Stylist (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Canadian Clothing Journal (B-M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Corset and Underwear Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Corsets & Brassieres Magazine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Earnshaw's Infants' Boys' Girls' Wear (M)—New York, N. Y.
Femme-Lines (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Gentlemen's Quarterly (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Hats (M)—New York, N. Y.
Hat Worker (M)—New York, N. Y.
Hosiery & Underwear Reivew (M)—New York, N. Y.
Infants' & Children's Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Juvenile Merchandising (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Knitted Outerwear Times (W)—New York, N. Y.
Knitter, The (M)—Charlotte, N. C.
Knitting Industry Weekly (W)—New York, N. Y.
Knitting Mill News (M)—Berwyn, Pa.
Masculines (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Men's Wear (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Millinery Research (W)—New York, N. Y.
NAWCAS News (SM)—Atlanta, Ga.
NAWCAS Retailer (Q)—Atlanta, Ga.
New England Apparel Register (M)—Boston, Mass.
New England Retail Register (M)—Boston, Mass.
Pacific Northwest Merchandiser & Apparel Journal (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Small World (M)—New York, N. Y.
Southern Garment Manufacturer (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Southwestern Retailer (M)—Dallas, Texas
Style (B-W)—Toronto, Ont.
Western Apparel Industry (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Women's Wear Daily (D—New York, N. Y.

(79) WELDING

Canadian Welder (M)—Winnipeg, Canada
Hobart ARC Welding News (B-M)—Troy, Ohio
Welding Design & Fabrication (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Welding Distributor (E-O-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Welding Engineer (M)—New York, N. Y.
Welding Journal, The (M)—New York, N. Y.

(80) DENTAL

Dental Assistant (B-M)—La Porte, Ind.
Dental Industry News (M)—Minneapols, Minn.
Dental Management (M)—Stamford, Conn.
Dental Students (M)—Winnetka, Ill.
Fortnightly Review (BW)—Chicago, Ill.
Illinois Dental Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Journal of American Dental Assn. (M)—Chicago, Ill.
N. Y. State Dental Jrl. (M, 10 mo.)—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Oral Hygiene (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Proofs (M)—Pittsburgh, Pa.

(81) HOSPITALS AND NURSING

AARN News Letter (Q)—Edmonton, Alberta
American Assn. of Industrial Nurses Jrl. (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Journal of Nursing (M)—New York, N. Y.
Better Times (W)—New York, N. Y.
Canadian Hospital (M)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Canadian Nurse (M)—Montreal, Que.
Catholic Nurse (Q)—Washington, D. C.
CSNA Bulletin (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
Hospital Administration in Canada (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Hospital Administration & Construction (M)—Don Mills, Ont.
Hospital Digest (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Hospital Forum (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Hospital Management (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Hospital Progress (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Hospital Topics (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Hospitals (S-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Modern Hospital (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Nursing Home Administrator (B-M)—New York, N .Y.
Nursing Outlook (M)—New York, N. Y.
Practical Nurses Digest (BM)—Norfolk, Va.
Practical Nursing (M)—New York, N. Y.
Signa (BM)—Topeka, Kans.
Southern Hospitals (M)—Charlotte, N. C.
Texas Hospitals (M)—Austin, Tex.
Tomorrow's Nurse (BM)—Nantucket, Mass.

(82) MEDICAL & HEALTH

Accent on Living (Q)—Bloomington, Ill.
ACCMA Bulletin (M)—Oakland, Calif.
AMA Archives of Dermotology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Environmental Health (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Industrial Health (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Internal Medicine (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Neurology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Pathology (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Archives of Surgery (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA Journal of Diseases of Children (M)—Chicago, Ill.
AMA News (B-W)—Chicago, Ill.
American Heart Journal (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
American Journal of Medicine (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Journal of Orthopedics (M)—Houston, Tex.
Amer. Jrl. of Public Health (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Practitioner & Digest of Treatment (M)—Phila., Pa.
American Psychologist (M)—Washington, D. C.
American Vegetarian Hygienist (M)—Arroyo Grande, Calif.
Annals of Internal Medicine (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Antibotic Medicine & Clinical Therapy (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arizona Medicine (M)—Phoenix, Ariz.
A S T A Journal (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Audecibel (B-M)—Detroit, Mich.
Blue Print for Health (Q)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulletin of the Alameda-Contra Costa Medical Assn. ( )—Oakland, Calif.
Bulletin for Maternal & Infant Health (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulletin for Medical Research (B-M)—Chicago, Ill.
Bulletin of Muscogee County Medical Soc. (M)—Columbus, Ga.
Bulletin of the N. Y. Academy of Medicine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Bulletin of Orleans Parish Medical Soc. (M)—New Orleans, La.
California Clinicion (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
California GP (B-M)—San Francisco, Calif.
California Medicine (M)—San Francisco, Calif.
California Veterinarian (B-M)—San Franisco, Calif.
Canadian Doctor (M)—Gardenvale, Que.
Canadian Journal of Public Health (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Canadian Medical Assn. Journal (W)—Toronto, Ont., Canada
Canadian Veterinary Journal (M)—Guelph, Ont.
Chicago Medicine (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Chiropractic Physician (M)—Glendale, Calif.
Chiropractor (M)—Davenport, Iowa
Clinical Medicine (M)—Winnetka, Ill.
Contemporary Psychology (M)—Cambridge, Mass.
Cornell Veterinarian (Q)—Ithaca, N. Y.
Current Medical Digest (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Detroit Medical News (W)—Detroit, Mich.
Diabetes Journal (B-M)—New York, N. Y.
Dental Laboratory Review (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Eye, Ear, Nose & Throat Monthly (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Family Physician (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Florida Veterinary Bulletin (Q)—Gainesville, Fla.
Georgia Veterinarian (B-M)—Athens, Ga.
Geriatrics (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
GP (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Greater Kansas City Medcal Bulletin (W)—Kansas City, Mo.
Group Practice (M)—Charlottesville, Va.
Hawaii Medical Journal (BM)—Honolulu, Hawaii
Health (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Health (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Health Culture (M)—Passaic, N. J.
Hearing Dealer (M)—Duluth, Minn.
Industrial Medicine & Surgery (M)—Miami, Fla.
Infinity (M)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the American Dietetic Assn. (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Journal of American Geriatrics Society (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Journal of American Medical Assn. (W)—Chicago, Ill.
Journal of American Podiatry (M)—Washington, D. C.
Journal Of Arkansas Medical Society (M)—Ft. Smith, Ark.
Journal of Florida Medical Assn. (M)—Jacksonville, Fla.
Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation (M)—Washington, D. C.
Jrl. of Iowa State Medical Soc. (M)—Des Moines, Iowa
Journal of the Kansas City Southwest Clinical Society (Q)—Kansas City, Mo.
Journal of the Kentucky State Medical Assn. (M)—Louisville, Ky.
Journal-Lancet (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Journal Of Maine Medical Ass'n (M)—Brunswick, Maine
Journal of Medical Assn. of the State of Alabama (M)—Montgomery, Ala.
Journal of Medical Society of New Jersey (M)—Trenton, N. J.
Journal of National Medical Assn. (B-M)—Washington, D. C.
Journal of Oklahoma State Medical Assn. (M)—Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Journal of the Omaha Mid-West Clinical Society (M)—Omaha, Nebr.
Jrl. Of Osteopathy (M)—Kirksville, Mo.
Journal of Urology (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Lab World (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Lets Live (M)—Los Angeles, Calif.
Life & Health (M)—Washington, D. C.
Maryland State Medical Journal (M)—Baltimore, Md.
McCleary Thornton Minor News (Q)—Excelsior Springs, Mo.
M D Medical Magazine (M)—New York, N.Y.
Medical Digest (M)—Winnetka, Ill.
Medical Economics (M)—Rutherford, N. J.
Medical Radiography & Photography (Q)—Rochester, N. Y.
Medical Science (SM)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Medical Times (M)—Manhasset, N. Y.
Medical World News (B-W)—New York, N. Y.
Mental Hygiene (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Military Medicine (M)—Wash., D. C.
Minnesota Medicine (M)—St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri Medicine (M)—St. Louis, Mo.
Modern Medicine (BW)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Modern Medicine of Canada (M)—Toronto, Ont.
M.S.U. Veterinarian (3 times)—E. Lansing, Mich.
National Health Federation Bull. (B-M)—San Francisco, Calif.
National Hearing Aid Journal (M)—Sioux City, Iowa
National Medical Secretary (B-M)—Boston, Mass.
Nature's Path (M)—New York, N. Y.
New England Journal of Medicine (W)—Boston, Mass.
New Medical Material (M)—New York, N. Y.
New Physician (M)—Chicago, Ill.
New York Medicine (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
New York State Journal Of Medicine (S-M)—New York, N. Y.
Northwest Medicine (M)—Seattle, Wash.
Northwest Veterinarian (Q)—Seattle, Wash.
Oklahoma Veterinarian (Q)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Ontario Medical Review (M)—Toronto, Ont.
Pennsylvania Medical Journal (M)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Philadelphia Medicine (W)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Physical Culture (B-M)—Branford, Conn.
Physical Therapy Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Popular Medicine (M)—New York, N. Y.
Postgraduate Medicine (M)—Minneapolis, Minn.
Prevention (M)—Emmaus, Pa.
Radiology (M)—Detroit, Mich.
Resident Physician (M)—Manhasset, N. Y.
Rhode Island Medical Journal (M)—Providence, R. I.
Rocky Mountain Medical Journal (M)—Denver, Colo.
Rocky Mountain Veterinarian (M)—Denver, Colo.
Small Animal Clinician (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Social Health News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Southeastern Veterinarian (Q)—Athens, Ga.
Southern Medical Journal (M)—Birmingham, Ala.
Southwestern Medicine (M)—El Paso, Tex.
Southwestern Veterinarian (Q)—College Station, Texas
Star (B-M)—Carville, La.
Surgical Business (M)—New York, N. Y.
Texas Cancer Triangle (B-M)—Austin, Tex.
Texas State Journal of Medicine (M)—Austin, Texas
Texas Veterinary Medical Journal (Q)—College Station, Tex.
Toledo Academy of Medicine Bulletin (M, except July and August)—Toledo, Ohio
U.S. Armed Forces Medical Jrl.—Washington,D. C.
Veterinary Economics (M)—Cleveland, Ohio
Veterinary Medicine (M)—Kansas City, Mo.
Virginia Medical Monthly (M)—Richmond, Va.
VM News Digest (SM)—Kansas City, Mo.
Western Journal of Surgery, Obstetrics & Gyncology (B-M)—Seattle, Wash.
Wisconsin Medical Journal (M)—Madison, Wis.
World Medical Journal (BM)—New York, N. Y.
X-Ray Technician (B-M)—St. Paul, Minn.

(83) MUSIC & ART

American Artist (M)—New York, N. Y.
American Record Guide (M)—New York, N. Y.
Art in America (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Art News (M)—New York, N. Y.
Arts (M)—New York, N. Y.
Baldwin Organ News (4-6 issues)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Diapason (M)—Chicago, Ill.
International Musician (M)—Newark, N. J.
Metronome (M)—New York, N. Y.
Music Educators Jrl. (6 times)—Washington, D. C.

(83) MUSIC & ART (Continued)

Music Journal (8 times)—New York, N. Y.
Music Life (M)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Music Trades (M)—New York, N. Y.
Musical America (M)—New York, N. Y.
Musical Courier (M)—Evanston, Ill.
Musical Leader (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Musical Merchandise Review (M)—New York, N. Y.
Musical Quarterly (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Music Week (W)—Cincinnati, Ohio
Pictures on Exhibit (M)—New York, N. Y.
Playback (M)—New York, N. Y.
PTM (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Showcase (5 times)—Chicago, Ill.

(84) SCHOOLS & EDUCATION

Adult Leadership (M)—Chicago, Ill.
Ambition (Q)—Scranton, Pa.
Amer. School Bd. Jrl. (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
American Teacher (9 Times)—Chicago, Ill.
American Vocational Journal (9 Times)—Washington,, D. C.
Arizona Alumnus (Q)—Tucson, Ariz.
Arizona Teacher (Q)—Phoenix, Ariz.
Audiovisual Instruction (M)—Washington, D. C.
BC Teacher (M)—Vancouver, B. C.
Bethel College Bulletin (M)—North Newton, Kans.
Business Education World (10 Times)—New York, N. Y.
California Monthly (M)—Berkeley, Calif.
Canadian School Journal (8 Times)—Toronto, Canada
Carnegie Alumnus (BM)—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Catholic School Journal (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Childhood Education (Sept. to March)—Wash., D. C.
Coach & Athlete (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
College Chips (W)—Decorah, Iowa
College Reporter (TW)—Mankato, Minn.
Colorado School Journal (M)—Denver, Colo.
Connecticut Teacher (8 Times)—Hartford, Conn.
Courier (SM)—Dubuque, Iowa
C T A (9 times)—Burlingame, Calif.
Education Digest (M-School yr.)—Ann Arbor, Mich.
Elementary English (Q)—Champaign, Ill.
Elementary School Science Bulletin (M)—Washington, D. C.
Eureka College Pegasus (9 times)—Eureka, Ill.
Exponent, The (W)—Berea, Ohio
Florida Education (M)—Tallahassee, Fla.
Florida School Bulletin (Q)—Tallahassee, Fla.
Georgia Education Journal (M)—Atlanta, Ga.
Grade Teacher (10 times)—Darien, Conn.
Higher Education (M)—Washington, D. C.
Holy Cross Alumnus (Q)—Worcester, Mass.
Idaho Education News (Sept. to May)—Boise, Idaho
Illinois Education (9 times)—Springfield, Ill.
Illinois School Board Jrl. (B-M)—Springfield, Ill.
Indiana Teacher (9 times)—Indianapolis, Ind.
Industrial Arts & Vocational Education (M)—Milwaukee, Wisc.
Intructor (M)—Danville, N. Y.
Journal of American Association of University Women (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Journal Of Arkansas Education (9 Times)—Little Rock, Ark.
Journal of Educational Sociology (M - Sept. to May)—New York, N. Y.
Journal of the Florida Education Assn. (M)—Talahassee, Fla.
Junior Scholastic (M)—New York, N. Y.
Junior Scholastic (W)—New York, N. Y.
KU Today Newsletter (W)—Lawrence, Kans.
Lindenwood College Bulletin (BM)—St. Charles, Mo.
Louisiana Schools (9 times)—Baton Rouge, La.
Maryland Teacher (M)—Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Teacher (9 Times)— Boston, Mass.
Michigan Education Journal (9 times)—Lansing, Mich.
Midland Schools (9 times)—Des Moines, Iowa
Minnesota Journal Of Education (9 Times)—St. Paul, Minn.
Mississippi Educational Advance (M)—Jackson, Miss.
Modern Instructor (10 times)—Regina, Sask.
Modern Schools (BM)—Madison, Wis.
Montana Education (8 Times)—Helena, Mont.
Mountain Echo (M)—Emmitsburg, Md.
Nation's Schools (M)—Chicago, Ill.
NEA JOURNAL (9 issues)—Washington, D. C.
Nebraska Educational News (school yr.)—Lincoln, Neb.
News (B-M)—Newark, N. J.
New York State Education (9 times)—Albany, N. Y.
North Carolina Education (M)—Raleigh, N. C.
North Dakota Teacher (M)—Bismarck, N. Dak.
Northwestern University Alumni News (Q)—Evanston, Ill.
Ohio Schools (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Oklahoma Teacher (M)—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oregon Education (S-M)—Portland, Oregon
Overseas (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Overview (M)—New York, N. Y.
Panorama (Q)—Washington, D. C.
Pennsylvania Gazette (M)—Philadelphia, Pa.
Pennsylvania School Jrl. (9 Times)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Progressive Teacher (9 times)—Morristown, Tenn.
PSEA Education Bulletin (W)—Harrisburg, Pa.
Report Card, The (M)—Columbus, Ohio
Scholastic Roto (M)—New York, N. Y.
Scholastic Teacher, Jr. Edit. (W School yr.)—Dayton, Ohio
Scholastic Teacher, Sr. Edit. (W School yr.)—Dayton, Ohio
School Activities (9 Times)—Lawrence, Kans.
School Arts (M)—Buffalo, New York
School & Community (9 times)—Columbia, Mo.
School Life (9 times)—Washington, D. C.
School Management (M)—Greenwich, Conn.
School Planning (M)—Chicago, Ill.
School Progress (B-M)—Toronto, Canada
School Shop (M except July/Aug.)—Ann Arbor, Mich.
Schools & Society (W)—New York, N. Y.
Science Education (5 issues)—Tampa, Fla.
Science & Math Weekly (W)—Middletown, Conn.
Science & Society (Q)—New York, N. Y.
Science Teacher (8 Times)—Washington, D. C.
S D E A News (9 Times)—Pierre, S. Dak.
Senior Scholastic (W)—New York, N. Y.
Social Science (Q)—Menasha, Wisc.
Swarthmore Bulletin (BM)—Swarthmore, Pa.
Tech News (W)—Worcester, Mass.
Tennessee Teacher (M)—Nashville, Tenn.
Texas Aggie (M)—College Station, Tex.
Texas Outlook (M)—Austin, Tex.
University of Kansas Alumni (M)—Lawrence, Kans.
Utah Educational Review (5 Times)—Salt Lake City, Utah
Virginia Journal of Education (9 times)—Richmond, Va.
Washington Education (M-school yr.)—Seattle, Wash.
Washington & Lee Alumni (Q)—Lexington, Va.
West Virginia School Journal (M)—Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin Journal of Education (M)—Madison, Wis.
Wyoming Education News (M)—Cheyenne, Wyo.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPING

Headquarters & Production Office:
Luce Building
912 Kansas Avenue
Topeka, Kansas
CEntral 2-0201

Sales & Service Offices:
39 Cortlandt Street
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How They Organize in Jackson

(When a boycott for justice sweeps Jackson, Miss., the headquarters of the White Citizens Council, it is national news. This "how-we-are-doing-it" article is written by one of the participants.)

By JOHN R. SALTER, JR.

JACKSON, Miss.—For the first time in its history, this city is experiencing a far-flung Negro action economic boycott which—despite arrests, threats, and other harassment—is showing considerable signs of ultimate success.

The boycott is aimed at ending discrimination against Negro workers and consumers in this unhappy citadel of the White Citizens Council, where nearly all of the business is owned by white people who adhere rigidly to the official mores of Mississippism.

Every business in the economic nerve center of Jackson—downtown Capitol Street—is under boycott, plus selected other businesses in outlying areas. In all, 127 business establishments have experienced a dramatic fall-off in Negro trade.

There are 70,000 Negro residents in the Jackson area, which has a total population of about 150,000. The boycott is currently estimated at being at least 60 to 65 per cent successful. It will continue—week after week and month after month—until its equalitarian demands have been met.

On December 12, my wife and myself and four students—all of us NAACP members and all from Tougaloo College — officially launched the boycott by picketing in front of the Woolworth store in the center of the downtown

PICKETS who faced a corps of 50 to 100 policemen and sure arrest to demonstrate in support of Jackson, Miss., boycott included (from left) Rupert Crawford, Charles Bracey, Ronald Mitchell, Walter Mitchell, and John R. Salter, with Mrs. Eldri Salter at front. Also arrested but not shown in picture were Dorie Ladner and Bette Anne Poole. Boycott leaders say there will be more picketing.

the many Negro churches in the area.

When we got out of jail, our home—which is on the college campus — became converted to boycott headquarters, and my wife and other ladies began cooking a seemingly endless supply of food and coffee for the boycott workers who came and went.

About this time, the SNCC Freedom Singers arrived on campus—and from that time onward, everyone has been singing as they work.

Christmas drew near. All over Jackson, students from Tougaloo and other schools, as well as adults, worked on the boycott. On December 21, two more NAACP student members from Tougaloo picketed in front of Woolworth and were immediately arrested on the "obstructing" charge, jailed, and released on

Highlights of the Month

James Meredith enrolled at Ole Miss for the second semester, reversing earlier indications that he might not because of continuing persecution. But another Negro attempting to enter, Dewey Green, was refused. The Federal Government dropped charges against Gen. Edwin A. Walker, accused of helping incite Ole Miss riots last fall, after a Federal grand jury in Mississippi refused to indict him. The new governor of Alabama, George C. Wallace, shouted defiance to desegregation orders as he took office.

In contrast, however, Negroes entered peacefully for the first time at Tulane University in New Orleans and Clemson College in South Carolina (see page 3). And the governor of North Carolina, Terry Sanford, called on his state to insure equal employment to Negroes.

The U.S. Justice Department filed suits to desegregate public schools in six Deep South districts near defense installations. Included were Huntsville and Madison County, Ala., Mobile, Ala., Biloxi and Gulfport City, Miss., and Bossier Parish, La.

In Washington, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the last of Virginia's massive resistance laws. This one has restricted the role of the NAACP in integration cases, by holding the promotion of desegregation suits constituted "improper solicitation of legal business." The Court said the statute violated the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 21 No. 2

February, 1963

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Victory By Protest

The civil rights movement won two major victories in Mississippi during the past month. Each is important not only for itself but as an illustration of the power of organized protest against injustice.

One was the case of Clyde Kennard, young Negro who was sentenced to seven years in prison on a charge of chicken-feed theft after he tried to enroll at Mississippi Southern University. (See January *Patriot*.)

Kennard, who is critically ill with cancer, had been in prison over two years. In just about two months after publicity and protest over

U.S. Lawyers Show How Not To Win

(By Staff Correspondent)

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On December 12, my wife and myself and four students—all of us NAACP members and all from Tougaloo College — officially launched the boycott by picketing in front of the Woolworth store in the center of the downtown area.

We were immediately arrested by 50 or so policemen on a charge of "obstructing the sidewalk" — an offense punishable by six months in jail and a $500 fine. After two days we were released on $500 bonds.

Our arrests produced an immediate reaction. Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, quite sensitive indeed to the wishes of the Citizens Councils, went several times on radio and TV, and before meetings of city officials and businessmen, to threaten to line Capitol Street with "1,000 policemen" to prevent picketing. The pickets, said he, were "outside agitators who are trying to destroy our city."

While the mayor was ranting, the students at Tougaloo College mobilized and held a series of action-oriented mass meetings in which leaflet distributing teams were lined up, a chain telephone call system was set up, and delegations were organized to visit everyone has been singing as they work.

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By this time, the mayor had posted—not his threatened "1,000" —but at least 100 policemen on Capitol Street. Dozens of police began to travel through the Ne-

(Continued on Page 3).

See Special Supplement

With this issue, the Patriot publishes a special supplement on the expansion of Operation Freedom into Mississippi. This is a move to ease the suffering of thousands penalized for trying to vote and a development too important to cover adequately in our regular space. We call your attention to the supplement and urge you to act.

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Kennard, who is critically ill with cancer, had been in prison over two years. In just about two months after publicity and protest over the case became nationwide, Gov. Ross Barnett suspended his sentence and freed him. (Immediately after his release, Kennard entered a Chicago hospital for treatment.)

The second case was that of Ivanhoe Donaldson and Ben Taylor, Michigan students who were arrested on narcotics charges when they took food and medicine to Negroes being harassed for trying to vote in the Mississippi Delta. Police claimed there were narcotics in the medicine. (Background also in January *Patriot*.)

Donaldson and Taylor faced the possibility of long prison terms. After protests flowed into both Mississippi and Washington from across the country, a grand jury in Clarksdale, Miss., refused to indict them.

Aaron Henry, Mississippi president of the NAACP, called it a "tremendous victory for all the people of this nation who raised their voices in protest against this injustice."

(People answered the arrests with more food shipments as well as protests, and ironically the jailing of Donaldson and Taylor helped turn what had started with a few students into a nationwide relief drive for Mississippi.)

What really happened? Pangs of conscience among segregationist officials? Embarrassment at being made to look like ogres before the world—or a desire to keep the Federal Government off their necks?

There is no real way to know, but the important thing is that the decent people of this country *can* make their voices heard, even in the Deep South. When they write a letter, send a telegram, or pick up a telephone, it does make a difference. If more people realized this, justice would win more often.

U.S. Lawyers Show How Not To Win

(By Staff Correspondent)

AMERICUS, Ga. — While the civil-rights movement was winning the victories recounted at left, the U.S. Justice Department was providing a good illustration of how not to defeat Southern racists in a Federal court case here.

The case was that of Denver Edgar Short, deputy town marshal of Sasser, Ga., in nearby Terrell County, charged by the Justice Department with running three student voter-registration workers out of town at gunpoint.

This Southwest Georgia area is where interracial teams from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have been braving violence and terror to register voters. (See December *Patriot*.) The incident with Deputy Short occurred at the end of last summer. The Justice Department filed charges in January—after widespread criticism that it was doing nothing to protect the registration campaign.

The case was crucial. Charles Sherrod, director of the SNCC

(Continued on Page 4).

BULLET MISSED little Maria Salter by inches. (See story above.) She is shown here with her parents, John and Eldri Salter. Mr. Salter is a professor at Tougaloo College.

Deep South Action Spurs the Southwest

By BOB ZELLNER
(Special Correspondent)

The heroism, dedication and pure bravery exhibited by students and other militant freedom fighters in the Deep South has inspired students in the Southwest to organize and start action of their own to eliminate discrimination.

During a recent field trip through the Southwest I had a unique opportunity to gauge this effect. On a 2,000-mile trip, I visited some 15 colleges and spoke to about 330 students.

(The author of this article is on the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For more recent news of him, see page 4.)

I also spoke at two student conferences: the state conference of the Arkansas Methodist Student Movement (MSM) and the organizational conference of the new Southwest Student Action Coordinating Committee (SSACC).

One of the purposes of this tour was to promote the SSACC conference held in Dallas, Tex. I also sought to inform students of the work of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and to interest them in doing effective work in their own areas.

When I arrived at the University of Arkansas, I went to the Wesley Foundation House. As I entered the living room, I saw a young Negro and a young white man sitting deep in conversation.

Soon I became aware that the two earnest conversationalists were discussing world peace. Reconditioned Southerner that I am, I was thrilled to see these young Americans, both from the South, discussing peace as plain, everyday human beings.

The assistant director of the Wesley House arranged a meeting for me with several students. We discussed possible projects for the University students, and I asked them what some of their problems were.

I learned that even though the school has been desegregated for several years, sports are still for white students only, some social events are segregated and campus housing is totally segregated. The Wesley House is the only place where Negro and white students can live together.

As I am writing this several weeks later, I learn that students at the University of Arkansas are demonstrating for the removal of segregated housing. This, I think, is largely the result of the inspiration they have received from students in the Deep South who have stood up to be counted.

The Arkansas students are also negotiating for integration of theaters in Fayetteville, where the University is located. In past weeks, they have conducted sit-in

(Continued on Page 4).

The Southern Patriot

The Southern Patirot is published monthly except July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., dedicated to ending segregation and distriminaiton based on race, creed, color, or national origin. Editorial offices, 4403 Virginia Ave., Louisville 11, Ky.; business offices, Suite 404, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.; office of publication, 150 Tenth Ave. North, Nashville, Tenn. Twenty-five cents a copy, $2 a year. Entered as second-class mail matter, Nashville, Tennessee.

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Vol. 21 No. 2 — February, 1963

News Notes in Brief

In Petersburg, Va., pickets demonstrated to protest short voter registration hours, under sponsorship of the Petersburg Improvement Association, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They said the hours (noon until 3 p.m.) are "not conducive to working people registering" and said the protest was for the rights of all working people, not Negroes alone.

* * *

In Mississippi, the U.S. Justice Department filed suit against voting violations in Sunflower County, Sen. James O. Eastland's home.

with SNCC, announced that eight major stores had agreed to upgrade Negroes. The agreement came after the students told merchants a campaign of demonstrations and economic withdrawal was being planned.

* * *

In Clarksdale, Miss., a circuit judge reversed the convictions of State NAACP President Aaron Henry and three others who were sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine for leading a boycott of white merchants. The boycott in support of demands for equal employment and basic courtesies, is still in progress. The reversal of the conviction came too late for one of the de-

Book Notes

New Light on Monroe, N.C.

Two important publications on Monroe, N.C., have recently been issued. One is a 128-page paperback book, **Negroes With Guns** by Robert Williams, controversial leader now in Cuba (Marzani & Munsell, 100 W. 23rd St., New York City, $1.95).

The book is edited by journalist Marc Schleifer from a taped interview with Williams. It carries a prologue by Truman Nelson, novelist and scholar of the Abolitionist period, and reprints of two brief articles on nonviolent direct action by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The other publication is a 37-page pamphlet, **People With Strength,** by Truman Nelson (Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, 168 W. 23rd St., New York City, 35¢).

Everybody who cares about human freedom should read these publications—first, because they give a full account of what actually happened in Monroe: background of the struggle there and the tragic events that culminated in a riot and kidnap charges against Williams and four others.

Although many will debate the interpretations and conclusions, the facts—which have been reported fully in only a few places—are here.

Additionally, the book and pamphlet should be read for the light they throw on the debate over violence vs. nonviolence in the Southern struggle.

There is much misunderstanding as to what this debate is about. In my opinion, it is *not*—although some opponents of nonviolence paint it that way—an argument over whether a man has a right to defend his home and family against attack.

Some individuals take the position that they would not take up arms in such a situation, but so far as I know no one in the organized nonviolent movement is trying to force this decision on anyone else. What the nonviolent movement says is that the weapons of the organized social struggle should be nonviolent.

On the other hand, neither is the argument—despite the misconceptions of some believers in nonviolence—a question of aggressive violence by Negroes to attack white people. Williams has never advocated this.

What he believes is that an armed Negro community becomes a deterrent to violent white attacks and thus may lessen violence ultimately. Thus, the mounting of organized armed force becomes a weapon in the struggle—a concept similar to a deterrence policy in international affairs, and of course incompati-

fail to comprehend Williams' position, there seems to me in these publications a total lack of comprehension of what nonviolence means in the current Southern struggle. This is especially true in Truman Nelson's writing.

In the first place, Nelson repeatedly uses the term "nonresistance," a phrase never used among non-violent actionists of the South. Their phrase is always nonviolent direct action (NVDA).

Regardless of what Nelson thinks, Southerners involved in the nonviolent movement see it as the very opposite of submission and as the essence of resistance — people organized through their very numbers and determination to challenge oppression.

He says over and over that the nonviolent movement is draining the militancy out of Southern Negroes. And yet the facts of recent history are that it is the nonviolent idea that has *inspired* militancy, action and hope in community after community.

Many of the beauties Nelson found in Monroe — the dignity that comes with strength and knowing you don't have to submit anymore — are also found in Albany, Nashville, Birmingham, and all across the South where people have chosen the weapon of nonviolence.

He describes a wounded 15-year-old boy leaning against a jail wall who could yet speak with dignified defiance to a bullying policeman, and implies that this is because he was produced by a community that believed in

Galleries Too

ATLANTA, Ga. — Segregation fell in the galleries too as the Georgia Legislature seated its first Negro senator since Reconstruction days, Leroy Johnson. It was a far cry from last year's session when 40 demonstrators were arrested while protesting segregation during sit-ins in the galleries. Last year's demonstra-

are "not conducive to working people registering" and said the protest was for the rights of all working people, not Negroes alone.

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* * *

In Knoxville, Tenn., the Knoxville Civic Improvement Committee, a student group that works

In Clarksdale, Miss., a circuit judge reversed the convictions of State NAACP President Aaron Henry and three others who were sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine for leading a boycott of white merchants. The boycott in support of demands for equal employment and basic courtesies, is still in progress. The reversal of the conviction came too late for one of the defendants, the Rev. Theodore Trammel. He died of a heart attack last year while campaigning for a seat in Congress.

ATLANTA, Ga. — Segregation fell in the galleries too as the Georgia Legislature seated its first Negro senator since Reconstruction days, Leroy Johnson. It was a far cry from last year's session when 40 demonstrators were arrested while protesting segregation during sit-ins in the galleries. Last year's demonstrations were led by SNCC and the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, an Atlanta student group.

Ministers Ask Freedom Order

(By Staff Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — The Charleston Ministerial Association has called on President Kennedy to issue a Second Emancipation Proclamation, and thus "lead this nation in a dramatic leap toward full realization of democracy."

This is believed to be the first ministerial association in a Southern or Border state to take this action. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights groups have asked the President for such a proclamation.

In a letter to the President, the ministers noted that 100 years after the First Emancipation Proclamation ended slavery Negroes are still denied full rights as citizens. They said that a new Proclamation from the White House "would have a tremendous effect upon the climate of opinion" and "would provide the impetus that is needed to set us on the road to more accelerated change."

The letter was drafted at the request of the ministers by Dr. James L. Hupp, West Virginia state historian and archivist. Dr. Hupp is a member of the board and secretary emeritus of SCEF, and has long worked for an end to segregation.

The action of the integrated Ministerial Association came immediately after an address that Dr. Hupp made at its regular meeting. He outlined the history of the original proclamation, put into effect on January 1, 1863, by President Lincoln. Hupp urged the ministers to take the lead in calling on Kennedy for the second one.

They voted immediately to do so and asked Dr. Hupp to draft it. The letter was sent to the President two weeks later, with copies to all West Virginia congressmen and senators.

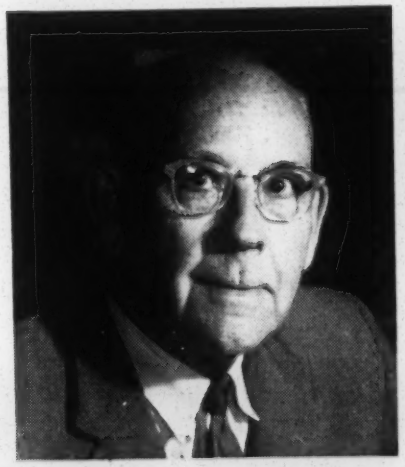
An interesting sidelight on the ministers' action was that the motion to send the communication to the President was made by the Rev. Dunbar Ogden, courageous minister who was forced to leave Little Rock, Ark., because of his stand for integration during the school crisis.

It's an indication that ministers forced from their pulpits for standing on conscience can find ways to continue witnessing to their beliefs.

Mr. Ogden is now associate pastor of Bream Memorial Presbyterian Church here, and it was in this church that the Ministerial Association met when Dr. Hupp spoke.

Pastor of the church is the Rev. Robert B. McNeill, who was also forced to leave a Georgia pulpit a few years ago because of his Christian position on race. Both Mr. McNeill and Mr. Ogden have spoken out and given leadership for human rights on many occasions since they have been in West Virginia.

In 1960, both were on a committee which drafted a resolution supporting student sit-ins which was endorsed by the Kanawha Presbytery, representing 61 Presbyterian churches in this area. (See June, 1960, *Patriot.*) The church where the two ministers now serve is integrated.



Dr. James L. Hupp

The Rev. Dunbar Ogden

They Gave Leadership to Ministers' Call

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What he believes is that an armed Negro community becomes a deterrent to violent white attacks and thus may lessen violence ultimately. Thus, the mounting of organized armed force becomes a weapon in the struggle—a concept similar to a deterrence policy in international affairs, and of course incompatible with nonviolence.

The two publications under discussion clarify the views of Williams and his followers and the circumstances which led them to this position. Those who hope nonviolence will prevail should read them, because they articulate what many people feel and many more will express unless change comes rapidly.

One inescapable fact emerges: that Williams came to his final conclusion that organization for armed self-defense was the only solution for Southern Negroes as a result of the utter failure of the supposed forces of law (local, state *or* federal) to lift a finger to protect Negroes who were victims of vicious violence by white men.

In some places Federal officials at least make an effort; in Monroe they did not. And the suspicion is inevitable that Washington turned a deaf ear to Monroe precisely because many liberals had written Williams off as beyond the pale after his statements that "we must meet violence with violence."

Those who so wrote him off forgot what the real enemy was. They were fighting Williams instead of the violent racism that produced him.

Supporters of nonviolence should face the challenge this book and pamphlet raise, and make sure that nonviolence has not appealed to them just because it sounds nice and peaceful. True nonviolent direct action is revolutionary, and these writings are a reminder that it had better be if it is to solve basic problems.

On the other hand, this misunderstanding works both ways. If many endorsers of nonviolence

Albany, Nashville, Birmingham, and all across the South where people have chosen the weapon of nonviolence.

He describes a wounded 15-year-old boy leaning against a jail wall who could yet speak with dignified defiance to a bullying policeman, and implies that this is because he was produced by a community that believed in violent self-defense.

But the same description could be made of the student non-violent leader who stood up to the Georgia sheriff who slapped him and refused to stop singing freedom songs. The dignity and strength come from struggle and action, not from violence.

Nelson also needs to remember that the enemy is racism; sometimes he seems to feel it is Martin Luther King. I object when people seem to oppose Robert Williams not so much out of belief in nonviolence as because he is "unrespectable" and militant. I also object when Nelson implies that all believers in nonviolence are racist if white, and tools of racism if Negro.

This question should be argued out on the issue and not by attacks on each other by people who are supposedly fighting the same enemy.

—ANNE BRADEN

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A Letter from Clemson

By JERRY W. GAINEY

(Mr. Gainey is a Clemson student. This report was written the day after Harvey B. Gantt entered the college.)

In general, the Clemson College campus on January 28 was a scene of calmness and near-normal activity as South Carolina joined other Deep South states in lowering its barriers of segregation in education.

Although there was some vocal resistance by a few political office-holders, Harvey B. Gantt of Charleston, S. C., became the first Negro student at Clemson or in any white public school in the state.

Having learned a lesson from the careless and irresponsible position of Mississippi leaders, South Carolina business, religious, and political leaders urged that law and order reign in people's actions whether they liked the situation or not.

College officials, who also profited from the episode in Mississippi, warned students that violence or demonstrations of any kind would not be tolerated—that they were there to get an education alone. Student government leaders and other students who commented agreed.

To carry out Gantt's enrollment peacefully, the college set up precautionary measures. For example, outsiders—who reports indicate were a major factor in the calamity at Oxford—were kept off campus.

Harvey Gantt's arrival, registration, etc., proceeded smoothly. Law officers did not escort Harvey, but they were close by; as was expected, newsmen crowded around him to get his comments and picture.

Student onlookers, for the most part, were greeting Harvey with blank stares and the scanning eyes of the usual curiosity-seekers. However, there were some catcalls and sly remarks uttered throughout his first day on the campus.

The crowd followed him all afternoon. Law officers were posted in the cafeteria as he ate; they will probably be there for several days.

The blank and curious faces are still present, but several students are speaking and talking freely with him. There has been no *physical* restraint on these friendly students by the administration, but such is still possible.

The student attitude, typical of the Old South, does not offer much to the optimist, but there is hope in the actions already expressed by several students. What they do will quiet the fears of those who want to express themselves to another human being in friendship or acquaintance.

Suspicion, curiosity, and in some cases, antagonism are expressed in most of the students' actions, because their attitude has not been changed by the spirit of love and justice. Most students think the best way "to get him out" is to ignore him. Yet, there are others who think he should be at Clemson if he is qualified, and these admire him for his stand.

Religious Leaders Urge Action

(Special Correspondent)

CHICAGO, Ill.—A major event in race relations was the National Conference on Religion and Race held here in January.

About 700 Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders attended. It was the first such national gathering convened by all the major faiths in the United States. A number of Southern ministers and laymen, Negro and white, attended.

The conference seemed to many a significant breakthrough in the awakening of the nation's religious forces to work for an end to racial barriers. In a final statement, the conference called racism "our most serious domestic evil" and said:

"We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in pepetuating racial discrimination in civil, political, social and private life."

But the conference was more than statements. There were workshops that came out with very specific suggestions as to what each person could go back home and do.

One of the main speakers was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and he called on delegates not to let the conference end up in a "paralysis of analysis."

He said the church should "take the lead in social reform. . . . remove the yoke of segregation from its own body" and "become increasingly active in social action outside its doors."

Another Southern speaker was the Rev. Will D. Campbell, Nashville, associate director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.

He said that rather than looking for an answer to the race problems through the inner life of church and synagogue, it may be that it is through an honest approach to race that the church and synagogue can find and achieve its true "inner life."

Many of the speakers called dramatic attention to the failure of the church and synagogue to practice what it preaches. Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel of Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, said: "By negligence and silence we have all become accessories before the God of mercy to the injustice committed against the Negroes of our nation . . . Indifference to evil is more insidious than evil itself . . . more universal, more contagious, more dangerous. . ."

Prof. Franklin H. Littell of Chicago Theological Seminary, said the choice before the Protestant churches is clear: "The old America of white, rural and Protestant dominance is dying. . . . Either they can accept the logic voluntaristic and pluralistic situation, wherein lies their true genius. . . . or they can end up as embittered and negative minorities which the course of history has passed by."

Among the specific suggestions from the workshops were: direct action projects by groups of laymen against segregation, campaigns for open occupancy housing pledges from church members, use of church or synagogue as a "service center" for buyers and sellers in interracial housing, efforts in behalf of laws to enforce fair housing and employment, investment of church funds in interracial housing and development of church-sponsored "Justice Corps" for work in nonviolent protest and voter registration in difficult areas.

Over and over its was stressed that "the most effective education is education of the deed."

One of the South's most militant civil rights leaders, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, an SCEF director who attended the conference, commented afterwards that it was a "giant step in the right direction" toward the activation of the church for its "true mission." He said he would like to see such conference on the local level in Southern cities.

Against HUAC

WASHINGTON, D.C. — At least 84 congressmen were prepared to vote their opposition to the House Un-American Activities Committee as Congress opened this year, but were denied the right to do so because Speaker John McCormack refused to give the floor to representatives who wanted to present resolutions against the committee. This information comes from the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, which made a careful poll of

Tougaloo Student Wins Award

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"—Dear Ol' Golden Rule Days—"

Time alone will not change the Southern attitude — understanding and loving people will. More and more students will come to accept Harvey Gantt as a person and not as a Negro who broke down the barrier of racial discrimination.

I say this with others with faith in God as progress is made to place beside the name of South Carolina and the United States: "Equality and Justice."

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Tougaloo Student Wins Award

CHICAGO, Ill. — The United Packinghouse Workers announced that its annual Russell Bull Scholarship for "outstanding contribution in the area of civil rights or liberties" was divided between two students. One is Miss Joan Trumpauer, a white student at predominantly Negro Tougaloo College in Jackson, Miss. (See September *Patriot* for Miss Trumpauer's account of her experiences there.)

The other recipient was David W. Johnson, a graduate of Ball State College, Muncie, Ind. now doing graduate work, for his leadership in a campaign to end discriminatory off-campus housing.

Applications for the 1963-64 Russell Bull Award must be in by March 30. Inquiries may be sent to Ralph Helstein, Room 1800, 608 S. Dearborn, Chicago. The award is $1000.

How They Organize to Win in Jackson

(Continued from Page 1).

gro sections of Jackson, attempting without success to apprehend the leaflet distributors.

Late one night, shortly before Christmas, a bullet was fired through a window in our home where our 10-month-old baby, Maria, lay sleeping—but she was unhurt.

A sign found on our lawn indicated that someone felt us to be "poor white trash." Strange cars were reported on the Tougaloo campus—cars filled with white men.

Work on the boycott continued right along—and still does. In an associated realm, the legal defense maneuvers promise to be more than a little unique. Our attorneys—William Kunstler and Clarence Jones, both of New York City, and R. Jess Brown of Jackson—filed a petition to get our cases out of the state courts into Federal court on a primarily First Amendment basis.

When a segregationist-oriented, Eastland-sponsored Federal judge, Harold Cox, appointed himself to hear the petition, we immediately filed a second petition—charging bias on his part and asking that he disqualify himself.

We shall win in the courts and, although it will take awhile, we shall win our boycott demands: equality in hiring and promotion, an end to segregated facilities in the stores, use of courtesy titles, and service on a first-come first-served basis.

We shall win because we have unity. Initiated by the Jackson-area NAACP youth, the boycott was immediately backed by NAACP at all levels and by CORE and SNCC. Bail bond has been provided by NAACP, SCEF, the Gandhi Society for Human Rights (associated with SCLC,) and interested individuals. Legal defense has been provided by the Gandhi Society and the NAACP.

We shall win because we have students and adults who are willing to do the things necessary: to continue the picketing, of which there will be much more; to add thousands more leaflets to the 25,000 already distributed; to continue the countless telephone calls; to attend the innumerable church services and other meetings as speakers; and to cook the food and coffee.

And we are going to win because we have the people behind us—people who are learning quickly indeed the power of money on strike.

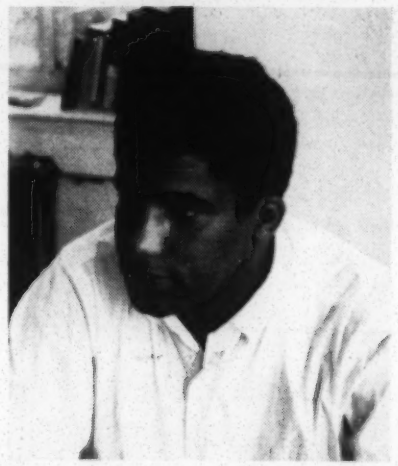
The solidarity of those people will win in the courts and it will win in the boycott, and it will go on to win a democratic Mississippi. It will crack things open and then it will build.

Atlanta Drive

ATLANTA, Ga.—Over 500 social and civic clubs are supporting a selective buying campaign launched by 400 Negro ministers here against Highland Bakeries. The campaign started after the negotiations for upgrading and hiring of Negroes on skilled jobs failed.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is cooperating in the campaign, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., SCLC president, indicated there may soon be a nationwide conference on selective buying programs.

Forman Ill



JIM FORMAN, hard-working executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), became critically ill in January and was hospitalized for a bleeding ulcer. Forman is one of the people who has welded SNCC into fast-moving action organization that it is, often working around the clock and neglecting to eat to do it. Students in various parts of the country rushed to volunteer blood for the widely-respected leader, who required repeated transfusions for a week. He is now released from the hospital, resting at home, and hopes to be back on the job soon.

You Can Stay at Home and Help

Wherever you live, you can help the people who are organizing for justice in Jackson, Miss. Seventeen of the stores under boycott there are national chains.

The Jackson movement asks you to (1) withdraw your trade from them, (2) tell your friends to do likewise and take it up with your local organization, (3) write the stores telling them why you are doing it, and (4) picket them if you can.

The stores are: Bakers Shoes, Bell Brothers Shoes, Bomar Shoes, Butler's Shoes, Grayson's Dress Shops, H. L. Green (dime stores), J. C. Penney, Lerner's Dress Shops, National Shirt Shops, Nora Day Shops (women's wear), Owens Ltd. (men's clothing), Parisian (women's wear), Schwobilt (men's clothing), Shainbergs (dept. stores), Thom McAn Shoes, Walgreen Drugs, Woolworth.

The Jackson people would like to hear from you as to what you are doing. Write North Jackson NAACP Youth Council, Box 13, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Miss.

Citizens Assail 'The Wall' in Atlanta

—Photos by H. D. Dodson

PART OF THE CROWD that entirely hid the 'Atlanta wall' from view during a recent protest meeting there. At right is the way the 'wall,' a buffer erected by the city to stop Negro housing advancement, looks when uncovered. (See January Patriot.) The protest meeting was called by the All-Citizens Committee for Better City Planning, a coalition group which includes all Negro leadership groups opposing the wall. Working closely with this committee is an interracial group, the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, which sent representatives to an aldermanic hearing before the wall was erected and urged the aldermen not to do it, and which is continuing to encourage opposition throughout the community. The council of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta also called for removal of the barriers. The struggle points up rising concern over housing segregation in the South.

Southwest Students Organize

(Continued from Page 1).

tests of local lunch counters, restaurants, hotels and motels.

The Wesley Foundation group at Henderson State Teachers College invited me to speak, and we had a three-hour discussion. The school was integrated, they said, but Negro students could not use the dining room or student center.

For a while Negro students would sit together near the main gate of the campus between classes, but the Administration told them that "looked bad for the school" and asked them to sit elsewhere. So now they sit in their cars or in a bus in front of the Wesley

reaction would be to open the Center to all persons; as a Christian, an American, and a human being, I would have no other choice.

I told them how students in the Deep South were risking their lives every day by standing up for their principles. I think the example of these students will inspire them to take a firm stand.

* * * *

At Centenary College in Shreveport, La., I had an interesting experience. Vivien Franklin, who was directing the SSACC conference, had given me only one student's name at Centenary. I found him and inquired

I explained to him that most of the people who would be at the conference believed in democracy and that was the main reason they would be there—to try to make it work.

"Sounds communist to me," he said.

* * * *

After visiting colleges in Texas, I arrived in Dallas for the conference and was pleased to find that many of the schools I had visited were represented.

The SSACC conference was the first attempt to start a student civil rights movement in the Southwest with action groups on individual campuses. About 75 white and Negro stu-

How Not To Win

(Continued from Page 1).

project, called it a "beacon of hope to the Negroes in all this part of Georgia." Finally it appeared that the Federal Government was moving in their support. There was a sudden spurt of people going to register in Terrell County. People who had stayed away from registration meetings since Negro churches were burned here last summer began to come back.

And then came the letdown. Short was tried at the end of January. An all-white jury deliberated 33 minutes and set him free.

The students immediately put the blame on the Federal Government. They were outraged at the way the Justice Department lawyers conducted the trial.

"They wanted us to act like 'Uncle Toms'," said Sherrod. "They told us to stay 'Yes sir' and 'No sir' on the witness stand, to say 'colored people' instead of 'Negro' so we wouldn't upset the jury. They told a Negro student to take her hat off because her dignified dress might offend Sasser farmers." (She didn't.)

The lawyers, the students said, fraternized with local officials and took pains to assure the jurors that they were also "Southern boys." One of them stated repeatedly during the trial that they took no position on whether what the students were doing in Southwest Georgia was right or wrong. ("In 10 years, these students themselves may feel it was wrong," he added), and that their only interest was law and order.

Worst of all, they failed to invite the press to the trial and insisted to the students that they issue no releases on it. They said they didn't want a lot of publicity to create tension and "panic the judge," the students reported.

Sherrod made it clear that he did not think the Government lawyers deliberately "threw the case." According to their lights, they were apparently sincerely seeking a conviction. But they tried to get it by catering to the prejudices of the local community and protecting it from the spotlight of national opinion. The verdict was eloquent proof that such accommodation simply will not defeat Southern racists.

If they had fought the case on an aggressive, principled basis, it probably would not have affected the verdict. But it would have strengthened local Negroes with the knowledge that Washington really means to fight for them, and it would have made the case a kickoff for a crusade that could win.

For if the Justice Department had let the press of the nation know that the Kennedy Administration considered this a vital case and the registration efforts of Georgia Negroes a matter of crucial concern to the nation, the world would have known about Deputy Short. This might not have helped in this case, but it could have made a difference next time.

If a few civil-rights organizations could stir the protests that won the two cases described on page 1, what would happen if the White House

but Negro students could not use the dining room or student center.

For a while Negro students would sit together near the main gate of the campus between classes, but the Administration told them that "looked bad for the school" and asked them to sit elsewhere. So now they sit in their cars or in a bus in front of the Wesley Foundation building.

The Wesley Foundation group wanted to invite the students to use the lounge and other facilities of the Wesley Center, but they said the Center board of trustees, composed of local white Methodists, had threatened to close the building if Negroes were welcomed there.

The group said the building was new and they had worked very hard to get it; they asked me what I would do in this situation.

I told them I couldn't advise them to do anything, that they had to decide for themselves. But I told them my personal lives every day by standing up for their principles. I think the example of these students will inspire them to take a firm stand.

* * * *

At Centenary College in Shreveport, La., I had an interesting experience. Vivien Franklin, who was directing the SSACC conference, had given me only one student's name at Centenary. I found him and inquired if he and others might be able to attend the conference. He said, "What kind of conference is this now?"

I said: "A conference of students who are interested in social issues, improving the racial situation in the Southwest, for instance."

"Improving it how?" he asked warily.

"By doing away with the system of segregation," I said.

He said, "Look, mister, you got the wrong man. I'm a Baptist and we believe in separation of the races. God planned it that way. What system of government do y'all believe in anyway?"

* * * *

After visiting colleges in Texas, I arrived in Dallas for the conference and was pleased to find that many of the schools I had visited were represented.

The SSACC conference was the first attempt to start a student civil rights movement in the Southwest with action groups on individual campuses. About 75 white and Negro students attended, representing more than 20 schools.

Students reported on their campus and community situations, and there were several lectures and panel discussions. Civil rights were discussed as they relate to politics, economics, civil liberties, academic freedom, and world peace. There were discussions of nonviolent direct action (NVDA) and also of voter registration. Speakers included a number of regional and local leaders.

I felt that the conference indicated the need that Southwestern students are feeling for a liberal, interracial movement which will —as the Southern students have done and are doing—change the face of their region.

The movement has hardly begun in the Southwest, but resistance there is less, and great success is possible.

SSACC will, I hope, give students the tool with which (in the words of the poet) to "post proofs that Brotherhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend."

The Pursuit of Zellner

Bob Zellner, author of the above article, is a native white Southern student who has placed himself directly in the front lines of struggle with young Negroes—and he has been the recipient of that special fury segregationists reserve for the white Southerner who does this.

He's been jailed for criminal anarchy in Louisiana, conspiracy in Alabama, and assorted other charges in Georgia and Mississippi.

His latest persecution occurred (after the above article was written) in Montgomery, Ala., when he was arrested on the campus of his alma mater, Huntingdon College, on a charge of vagrancy.

Police then added a charge of "false pretenses" over a check Bob had written. The charge carries a 10-year sentence.

(Bob wrote the check with reason to believe certain funds had been deposited to his account but, through an error, they had not been. Police checked with the bank; the check was never presented for payment; if it had been, the funds would have been there when it cleared through normal channels.)

After he was released on bond, state police followed him everywhere he went and trailed him to Mobile, Ala., where they created a state of terror among relatives and friends during the last illness and funeral of Bob's grandmother.

Bob's father, who is a Methodist minister, and his mother both made appeals to the police to go away and leave the family in peace during the funeral but to no avail. The agents later followed Bob and his father into Florida.

SCEF, SNCC, and other groups have protested the harassment as a "disgrace to America" in communications to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, State Attorney General Richmond Flowers in Montgomery, Ala., and to the U.S. Justice Department and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington. You are urged to add your protest.

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If a few civil-rights organizations could stir the protests that won the two cases described on page 1, what would happen if the White House led the outcry of indignant national opinion against atrocities in the South?

After the Short acquittal, Sherrod issued an open statement to the President and Attorney-General. "Must we die before the Federal Government stops compromising. . .?" he asked. "If we are murdered in our efforts to make real the tenets of democracy, our blood will be on your hands. . ."

There are things Washington can do. If Southern juries won't convict, there are always injunctions and contempt actions before a Federal judge—if you have a decent Federal judge, and Kennedy appoints the judges. Also, Federal agent's can be placed on the scene to protect civil rights workers. But nothing will change until Washington realizes that the fight can't be won by compromising with racists.

Challenge in Alabama

(By Staff Correspondent)

HUNTSVILLE, Ala.—The University of Alabama canceled an extension course offered here after a Negro woman applied for admission.

Officials at the university's Huntsville Center said it was because they could not get speakers needed for the course, a six-week seminar on current affairs. But integration leaders say they are sure the cancellation was because Mrs. John Cashin, wife of a local dentist, applied.

They point out that officials stopped all admissions to the main university at Tuscaloosa for this semester after Negroes applied there. The Huntsville extension is especially vulnerable, as it is used by many students from Redstone Arsenal near here, which is operated by the Federal Government. Civil rights leaders point out that listings of courses are posted regularly at the Arsenal to encourage employees to qualify for advancement, although Negro Arsenal employees cannot attend the University extension.

Mrs. Cashin has been active in many desegregation efforts here.

Little Rock Action Opens Counters

(By Special Correspondent)

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Several lunch counters, some hotels and a bowling alley desegregated peacefully here in January.

The victory came after local students, affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, staged sit-ins and marches in the fall. These were the first demonstrations against segregation here in two years.

Bill Hanson, SNCC field worker, and Worth Long, Philander Smith College student, were arrested during a sit-in in November. This sparked more demonstrations.

Meantime, action is spreading to other parts of Arkansas. Hanson and Ben Grinage, also a SNCC field worker, and Leon Nash, student at Arkansas A.M. & N. College, were recently arrested on vagrancy charges in Pine Bluff.

In Ft. Smith, Ark., lunch counters at three dime stores desegregated in January as a result of a negotiations by the local CORE group.

INTERRACIAL team of SNCC field workers, Ben Grinage (left) and Bill Hanson, have been traveling through Arkansas helping students organize against segregation. They were arrested in Pine Bluff recently.

Special Supplement

The Southern PATRIOT

February, 1963

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

Special Supplement

Operation Freedom Expands to Mississippi

(By Staff Correspondent)

CINCINNATI, Ohio — In the spring of 1961, when landlords in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tenn., were evicting Negroes who registered to vote and banks were cutting off their credit, a group of concerned citizens came together here and formed an organization to help.

The organization was called Operation Freedom. It launched a nationwide drive to raise money to enable the Negroes of West Tennessee to survive economically as they organized to win their freedom at the ballot box.

During the past two years, Operation Freedom has loaned over $80,000 to Negroes (and a few white supporters also suffering reprisals) in Haywood and Fayette Counties. Ten times that much could have been put to good use, but with what was available Operation Freedom has made it possible for scores of families who would otherwise have had to leave to stay in West Tennessee.

Now the problem that Operation Freedom was set up to meet has expanded into the Mississippi Delta, and Operation Freedom is expanding with it.

its dimensions are tremendous. To meet it even partially, Operation Freedom will need more money than it has ever had before. But, in the words of one official of the organization, "the task is too important to the entire future of democracy for us to even think of saying 'we can't'."

The Delta area of Mississippi covers 18 counties (see map) and includes some of the richest farming land in the world. In this area live approximately 300,000 Negroes—about two-thirds of the total population and in one county as much as 79 per cent.

Until recently, virtually no Negroes in this area were registered to vote, and the number is still minute because officials use every possible device to prevent it. But in the past year, intensive registration drives have been launched in the area by several civil rights organizations.

And when the registration efforts stepped up, the reprisals began. In some cases there has been violence: homes have been shot into; two student registration workers in LeFlore County narrowly escaped being lynched.

But when people make up their minds to be free, terror

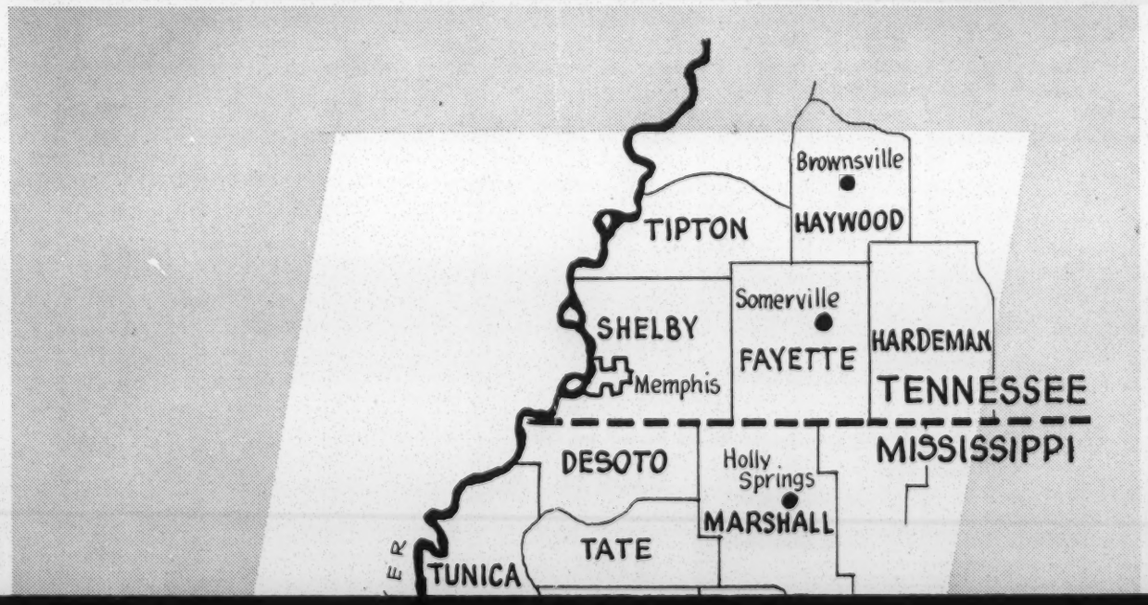
that will be used to (1) enable those who have land to make their crops when banks cut them off from credit; (2) stop foreclosures on homes and farm equipment; and (3) help landless Negroes who lose their jobs survive until a permanent solution is found.

Three well-known leaders in the Delta, Aaron Henry, Bob Moses, and Amzie Moore, are among those working with Operation Freedom in setting up the necessary machinery.

The money from Operation Freedom is generally made available to those who need it in the form of loans, although outright grants are sometimes made when it is necessary. Local committees will process loan applications. The loan fund is revolving, and as loans are repaid, the money can be loaned out again.

A student registration worker recently said: "The success of our program depends on the protection we can offer the individual while he is waiting for his one small vote to become part of a strong social-political structure."

This is Operation Freedom's job. It is your job too. The article at the bottom of this page tells you what you can do.



use, but with what was available civil rights organizations.

Operation Freedom has made it possible for scores of families who would otherwise have had to leave to stay in West Tennessee.

Now the problem that Operation Freedom was set up to meet has expanded into the Mississippi Delta, and Operation Freedom is expanding with it.

It has voted to extend its operations into the Delta area and attempt to do there what it has been doing and will continue to do in Tennessee: in the words of its charter, "promote brotherhood, especially by helping to secure the economic conditions conducive of the free exercise of civil rights."

The need in the Delta is crucial;

And when the registration efforts stepped up, the reprisals began. In some cases there has been violence: homes have been shot into; two student registration workers in LeFlore County narrowly escaped being lynched.

But when people make up their minds to be free, terror of this kind won't stop them. The most effective weapon the segregationists have—and they know it—is economic pressure.

In the Delta, as in West Tennessee, people who try to register are being put off the land, fired from their jobs, and cut off from credit.

Operation Freedom proposes to defeat this weapon with a fund

What Will You Do?

Operation Freedom appeals to people throughout the nation to help it meet the challenge in Mississippi and West Tennessee. This is what you can do:

1. Send money to Operation Freedom, c/o the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton St., Cincinnati 14, Ohio, to assist those harassed for trying to vote. Make your gift as generous as you can, but do not let the magnitude of the need make you feel that only large gifts are solicited. Whether yours is a dollar or several thousand dollars, it is needed.

2. Write to Operation Freedom at the above address, obtain additional literature and take this matter up with your church, with other organizations to which you belong, and with your individual friends.

3. Send to Operation Freedom suggested names of persons and organizations to whom they may appeal for funds.

4. Better still, order descriptive literature from Operation Freedom and do your own mailing to a list of your friends or enclose in a regular mailing to your organization. Operation Freedom runs on a shoestring, so has little money for postage. (See page 2 for OF structure.)

(All contributions to Operation Freedom are deductible for income tax purposes.)

AFTER 35 YEARS on one plantation, this woman was driven off the land for registering to vote. She is typical of thousands being harassed in Mississippi and Tennessee and for whom Operation Freedom is seeking help.

—Southern Patriot Map

THIS IS THE DELTA of Mississippi, core of the segregation problem in the United States. At its heart is the huge plantation of U.S. Senator James O. Eastland, who leads the attacks on integrationists and others favoring civil rights. Geographers don't agree as to the precise area of the Delta, but it is generally considered to be 18 counties east of the Mississippi River between Memphis and Vicksburg. It is an alluvial plain formed by the river and should not be confused with the delta of the river itself, which is in Louisiana (see inset map). North of the Delta are Fayette and Haywood Counties, Tennessee, where Negroes have been harassed as they are in the Delta. Jackson, the state capital, and Oxford, scene of the riots at Ole Miss, are to the east of the Delta. Indianola in Sunflower County (where the Eastland plantation is located) is where the White Citizens Council movement had its origin. Nearby is the home of Robert "Tut" Patterson, national executive secretary of the WCC.

'When Thousands Suffer'

Returning from a two-week tour of the Mississippi Delta, Jack McKart of Ohio, coordinator for Operation Freedom, wrote:

"I wish every person in this country could visit Mississippi . . . sit as I have in the cold sharecroppers' cabins with coat on . . . see the hunger and the children out of school because they have no adequate clothes . . . see the bullet holes in the homes of registration workers . . . hear of the young women shot there who lay unattended for two hours in a white hospital . . . talk to the young man just out of jail charged with telephoning a white woman . . . hear of the mutilated body found near Canton. . . .

"You have to be there to believe it. When I told one Northern minister about these things, he said 'Don't take it too seriously, that sort of thing has been happening a long time in the South.' This minister is not a segregationist, he is not an evil man. He would do anything to help a hungry family next door—people he could see. Most people would. But it is so hard to comprehend when thousands of people are suffering, when a whole state is suffering. I guess that is why the Germans couldn't comprehend about 6 million Jews in gas chambers. It was too big. They didn't see the human beings. It was just an abstraction—like Mississippi to many people now. When you see, you have to act. I wish everyone could go and see for themselves."

Who Is O.F.?

Operation Freedom (OF) is a group of individuals, all of whom have their primary work in other areas, who have come together for the single purpose for which OF was formed.

It is an ad hoc group to meet a special emergency and will go out of existence when that emergency is past. But that time is not yet.

Among its founders and leaders, all of whom have devoted much time to its work are:

The Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, who serves as chairman of OF. He is now pastor of Scott Memorial Methodist Church, Detroit, was formerly district superintendent in the Lexington Conference

the groups that helped found it. As coordinator, he will be working with persons getting help in Tennessee and Mississippi as well as those who provide funds.

It should be noted that no funds for Jack's expenses or the other minimal administrative costs of OF are taken out of money raised for the loan fund. Every cent given in response to appeals like the present one goes to people in Tennessee and Mississippi. Administrative funds are raised occasionally through special appeals for that purpose.

Besides the officers, other members of the OF Board of Trustees are the Rev. Samuel Beaty, Anne Braden, Rabbi Stanley Bray

You Can Help

The People Who Make History

(By Staff Correspondent)

CLEVELAND, Miss. — Who are the people who come to Operation Freedom for help? Here are some typical cases:

● A man in a small Delta town was employed in the city sanitation department. His wife went to register to vote. He was fired. She lost her job as a cleaning woman in a public building. They have a son. They own their own house but have a $800 mortgage on it.

Occasionally they get odd jobs; friends and food collected in food drives over the nation enable them to eat; if they can get a long-term loan from OF to pay off that house mortgage, they may be able to survive.

Asked how she feels about registering after all the trouble she has had, this woman said: "I feel wonderful about it. I'd do it over again."

● Another man, his wife, and seven children worked on a plantation. His *mother* tried to register. He was fired. He got a job in a plant in a small town. People from the plantation found out about it, got him fired.

Meantime, his wife got a job as a cook in the cafeteria of a white school. Someone who had known her on the plantation saw her there, got her fired. She told OF: "I don't know how we will live, we have no money and no food."

This family needs a monthly subsidy on a long-term loan basis, until some permanent solution

brochure, Operation Freedom said:

"Action for freedom in Montgomery meant staying off the buses. In Greensboro it meant eating at lunch counters. In Birmingham and Jackson it meant walking into waiting rooms. In Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tenn., it means registering to vote."

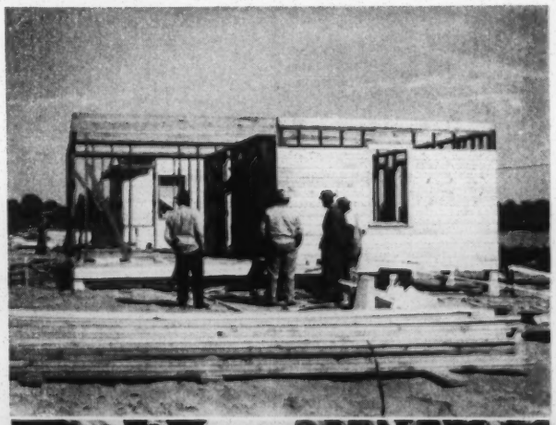
That is also what it means now in the Mississippi Delta. All through this area, people are glimpsing a vision of what the vote can mean. They know the danger, but when they go to the registrar's office, they are taking their stand.

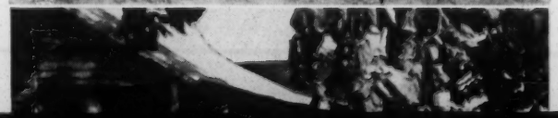
Economic strangulation is the only weapon strong enough to defeat them; if the people who believe in democracy provide the money to help them defeat this weapon, they will win. It is as simple as that.

An emergency program like that of Operation Freedom cannot solve the problem forever. For Negroes without jobs or land, there must eventually be other solutions—perhaps cooperatives, government redevelopment programs, new industry. But these things take time, and meantime people must live this year and next if they are to stay. Operation Freedom can provide the stop-gap.

It can also let the Negroes of Mississippi know they are not alone, let them know that as they lift their eyes toward freedom there are people all over America, white and Negro, who are grateful for their courage and who care enough to give of their own substance in support.

In Tennessee . . . .





OPERATION Freedom provided funds to build this house for David Mac Jones, oldest voter in Haywood County, Tenn., when he and wife were evicted in 1961 from land where he had lived since childhood. At lower right is M. B. Hines, another registered voter in Hay-

not yet.

Among its founders and leaders, all of whom have devoted much time to its work are:

The Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, who serves as chairman of OF. He is now pastor of Scott Memorial Methodist Church, Detroit, was formerly district superintendent in the Lexington Conference of the Methodist Church. He was born in Arkansas and is himself a former sharecropper.

Miriam Nicholas, co-chairman. She is active in integration and peace activities in Cincinnati.

The Rev. L. Richard Hudson, secretary. He is pastor of Forest Park Christian Church, Cincinnati, and director of New Church Development, Cincinnati.

The Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, treasurer. He is a nationally known leader in integration and peace movements and pastor of Community Church of Cincinnati.

Ernest Bromley, corresponding secretary. He has long been associated with the Peacemaker movement and edits its publication.

Coordinator

Until recently, OF functioned entirely on volunteer labor, and still does to a large extent. But because of the size of the task it faces in expanding into Mississippi, it has temporarily named a full-time coordinator.

He is **Jack McKart,** a student taking time off from his studies to do this job. He is working for expenses only and friends everywhere are urged to provide him with food and lodging when he comes your way.

Jack is from Hamilton, Ohio. He became interested in OF through the Peacemakers, one of

given in response to appeals like the present one goes to people in Tennessee and Mississippi. Administrative funds are raised occasionally through special appeals for that purpose.

Besides the officers, other members of the OF Board of Trustees are the Rev. Samuel Beaty, Anne Braden, Rabbi Stanley Brav, Pauline Brokaw, Lloyd Danzeisen, U. S. Fowler, Rabbi Albert Goldman, the Rev. S. S. Hodges, Virgie Hortenstine, David Kettler, Paul Laprad, Carlton Mabee, the Rev. M. G. Mangham, Eugene Martin, Wallace Nelson, the Rev. Wilbur Page, Marjorie Ruben, Mrs. Donald Spencer, Dorothy Stevens, Janet Stevens, the Rev. John Wilson, the Rev. Samuel Wright.

Different Need

Operation Freedom is not to be confused with the current emergency drives in a number of cities to collect food and clothing or money to buy these items for hungry people in Mississippi. These are much needed too, and *The Patriot* urges its readers to give them full support. But Operation Freedom serves a different need.

The food drives meet the immediate hunger problem. Operation Freedom hopes to provide larger sums for a variety of needs—crop loans, rent payments, mortgages, etc. — and thus make it possible for Negro voters to survive and stay in Tennessee and Mississippi long enough to find a permanent means of income.

a white school. Someone who had known her on the plantation saw her there, got her fired. She told OF: "I don't know how we will live, we have no money and no food."

This family needs a monthly subsidy on a long-term loan basis, until some permanent solution can be found for them.

● Another man is lucky enough to own some land. His farm also provides a living to two other families who live and work there. But like other farmers, he must borrow money each spring for seed and fertilizer and gasoline for his tractor—and for "run money" to keep his own family and his tenants going until the crop is harvested in the fall.

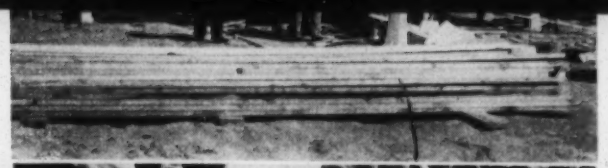
In the past, he has borrowed money from a local bank. But now he is working on voter registration, so his credit is cut off. He needs a crop loan from Operation Freedom.

Multiply these cases by the hundreds, and you get a picture of the problems in the Delta.

A field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee reported that the mayor of one Delta town threatened local Negroes connected with the voter registration drive by saying; "We're going to see how tight we can make it—it's going to be rough, rougher than you think." A voting Negro population in Mississippi will change this state and eventually the nation, and those who fear the change know it.

The battle for the ballot is the front line of the freedom struggle in Mississippi today. In an early

evicted in 1961 from land where he had lived since childhood. At lower right is M. B. Hines, another registered voter in Haywood County, whose tractor was saved from foreclosure by a loan from Operation Freedom. These cases are typical of the assistance OF has provided in Tennessee.



.... In Mississippi

TYPICAL of the heroic people in Mississippi who are risking death as well as economic strangulation to win the vote is Mrs. Joseph MacDonald, Ruleville, (right) who points to bullet holes fired into her home from a speeding car. Her husband formerly made his living by hauling laborers to Delta plantations; after he became active in registration drive, land-owners refused to do business with him. Below another active couple, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Sisson, examine holes from bullets fired into their home. Two young women were wounded by these bullets.

Read This Book: It Documents the Need

"The Segregationists," a new book by James Graham Cook, tells how the planters in Mississippi laid plans years ago for using the economic squeeze to stop Negroes from registering to vote. This book is required reading for those who seek fuller understanding of the crisis in Mississippi, as well as the rest of the South.

Cook is a native of Alabama who has worked for several news media in the South, including the *Memphis Commercial Appeal.* He is a thorough and honest reporter with an intimate knowledge of his subject, which is the people and organizations that keep the segregation machinery going. These people have more power and connections than is generally realized.

Publisher of **"The Segregationists"** is Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 35 W. 32nd St., New York 1, N.Y. The book has 363 pages and an index. Price is $5.95.

Comments on the Metabagdad Conference

in

Atlanta, Georgia

February 4-6, 1964

In response to the invitation of the Rev. James Morton to write concerning the conference

by

JOHN L. EBAUGH, JR.

2115 Eighth Avenue, South

Birmingham, Alabama 35233

To All Conferees:

The conference was well organized; the problems were presented in a lucid and accurate manner. Our conclusions were a shock to me. I am reminded of some words in the address which President Kennedy would have delivered in Dallas had he not been shot first. They concerned those "who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible, who would gain the ascendency with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every problem."

I felt foolish as I told of my experiences as a lay reader, but the objections (*) to Bishop Henry's proposal to use more often the services of lay people – some ordained – goaded my speech.

When a distraught woman asked me to be parole adviser for her husband so he could be released from federal prison, it never occurred to me to figure out a theology on the subject. I just signed for him, brought him home, spent endless hours with a bitterly resentful man until he was calm enough to be fit for a job, got him a job as a cost accountant where he would not be tempted again to embezzle, and delivered him totally free two years later as a reasonably stable and useful member of the social order.

When confronted with illiterate people displaced from rural slums by economic changes, my Christian associates did not know enough to think in theological terms. They started a Sunday School in the City Hall above the jail (probably unconstitutional now) where we could salvage their children. We worked closely with relief case workers and the police. Teenagers were trained in useful skills and a desire to serve. We could bring to bear the power of the Holy Ghost, without which relief is doomed to failure. Then something happened. Two ex-convicts, who had spent many drunken Sundays cursing in jail while their children were in Sunday School upstairs, came asking for help. They, too, were trained to work; jobs were found. They supported their families and walked soberly erect as respected members of society. Others followed. The elders are dead, but it is a marvelous thing to see their children as responsible parents and useful people.

Over 500 times I have exercised the right granted me by two Bishops of Alabama to preach sermons of my own composition. I'll never forget how it started. About a year after my confirmation, I was in a vacant store with some forty others for a Sunday service of Morning Prayer. The minister failed to come, so I, as warden, had to read the service. I did, including rubrics and absolution, and I delivered a sermon. The next day Bishop McDowell made it legal with a license. I have never been instructed in theology and don't know much about it. When I preach, I get on my knees and say, "God, I'll open my mouth; you tell me what to say." He usually does.

That congregation now has over 700 communicants, two priests, a parish day school of over 260 children and an active Sunday School of over 450 people. Four rectors and two curates have served since that Sunday in the store. Two priests were ordained from the congregation (including my son), three postulants from us are in seminary, and six priests ordained elsewhere had significant experiences with us first. Many Christians had a part in this result. They were not hurt by ignorance nor the fact that I am a sinner.

As lay reader, I have presented over fifty people for confirmation. They were instructed after a fashion. They learned to find their way in the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible. They were shown the passages in the Bible quoted closely or verbatim in 85% of the Prayer Book. Every confession and absolution was examined to get the sequence of sin, repentance, confession and forgiveness. We read the service of Holy Communion carefully, especially the memorial to Jesus and the dedication in the last paragraph on page 81. We were to confess belief in the creeds, so we studied them. Most of all, we were to agree to follow Jesus, so we looked at His Person, life, death, and resurrection to see where we might go. When questions of death and resurrection arose, we read the burial service, and we let the Book of Common Prayer or the Epistles answer other questions. Some of these fifty are pretty good Christians.

An Atlanta layman at the Conference said that I had been responsible for influencing him to confirmation about fifteen years ago. I did not remember it. I met him at a lay conference in Sewanee. He was there because some one else brought him; others helped him to a final decision. Quite a number of others have told me the same thing from time to time and there must be

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*Some might not know enough theology, or be sinners.

more that I don't know about. Lay people come to my office in considerable numbers for consultations when they are troubled. These things don't just happen. I am persuaded that the Holy Spirit of God takes a hand now and then. I have not figured out the theology.

The laymen of our Metabagdad (Birmingham) have an association called the Jefferson Count Churchmen's Association. (The Metabagdad which we considered had no such intercongregational co-operation.) It has its ups and downs. But our mission to the deaf lost its building to termites; the association rebuilt it. Our Belmont Heights had no church fifteen years ago. Several attempts were made by individual parishes to start one without success. The association formed a committee from four congregations which had communicants in the area. Seventy-five people came out on a bitter cold, sleeting January night, named the new congregation St. Luke's, elected some trustees and went to work. Four rectors came to the meeting; one "to protect his congregation", the other three to help organize the new one. It is now the largest parish in Alabama; and the other four parishes are larger than they were. As far as I know, no one thought to figure out a theology. Jesus took care of that over 1900 years ago with his command to go out and tell what things we have seen and heard.

Several other congregations have been formed here. Lay readers have gone out regularly for years; to the jail as well as to the pulpit. In 1891, I am quite sure that a lay reader, business man and mayor of our infant city, Mr. James A. van Hoose, was concerned much more with the illiterate Negro population and their welfare than with theology when he organized our first school and church for Negroes. The school became a pilot school and model for the public schools for nearly fifty years. It had a proud history of real service, supported in very large measure by the Diocesan Programme and the American Church Institute for Negroes.

No other member of the Atlanta conference desires more than I that we shall have a trained and educated clergy. The Church must have its Saints John and Paul. But it also sorely needs fishermen who may not know very much except how to be good fishers of men. It desperately needs men in its ordained ministry who understand that, at best, no one of us glimpses more than a tiny fragment of Truth; and what each comes upon is never identical to another's fragment. We are all ignorant on different subjects; all see through a glass darkly. It is long past time for educated clergymen and educated laymen to parallel their knowledge to achieve a common purpose instead of working at cross purposes as we are doing now in increasing degree.

What has this to do with Metabagdad? Very much, I think. In Atlanta, we looked at a sick metropolitan area. In a few short days we recommended the formation of numerous committees, called on the Governor and the "power structure" of the community, had a ready solution for nearly every problem. We solved tensions resulting from teenage vandalism; expansion of cities; zoning; the location and use of a highway, a hospital and a school; the formation of a stock yard; an influx of 10,000 people; a sick industry with labor trouble; unemployment; and numerous other political and economic problems. Every solution came complete with theology; none even recognized the basic trouble. I recommended that the Church abandon the Metabagdad project and stand by to pick up the derelicts of a dying community. (Its Chamber of Commerce projects growth; its death rattle is apparent.)

Metabagdad is not a community. It is a cluster of separate communities, each struggling for its own advantage with no thought of the good of the whole. It had a problem of unemployment but we ruled out the stock feeding facility, which would employ 200 unskilled people, because it might draw flies and stink. The Air Force officers and their families (2,000 men, 10,000 people, $8,000,000 payroll) would create a troublesome housing problem. We worried about the plight of many Negroes and Whites in high density areas in Tolland and Franklin, and then fretted because a throughway plan would cause some to move. We worried about lack of employment, but demanded that a sick industry employ persons not needed. (One of us said that it is better for a corporation to go bankrupt than the people, as if those were the alternatives.) We noted with disapproval that a Savings and Loan Association refused to finance homes in an area of racial tension. Many thought that the hospital and college should be located elsewhere, but we were sure that the "power structure" would keep them in Tolland for selfish reasons.

It did not occur to many of us that such institutions employ highly trained people and also many with little or no skill at all. The sub-committee concerning the school caught a vision of its possible usefulness where it is; but what about the hospital?

We did not discern a community so selfish and hostile to outsiders that no business man in his right mind would go there with a factory or other facility. If I had one there, I would not expand it and I would move it at the first opportunity. We made plans costing many millions of dollars and made no plan whatever to get the money with which to pay. When I raised these questions, our group merely reported that we had a long discussion of economics. Until we recognize some basic facts of economic life and how they affect the lives of people, our influence upon any society toward any goal will be sterile.

There is a great misconception about money. The dollar is a unit of measure with no more intrinsic worth than a second of time or a cubic foot of space. But the life or death of a whole community is measured by the ebb and flow of its dollars. The Rice County Paper Corporation cannot pay its employees with tons of inedible paper. It must make its payroll in dollars. The keeper of the vinyard did not pay his help with grapes; he paid them with money. To the business community, these facts are so elemental that it comes as a shock to find anyone who does not understand them.

And there is the matter of a profit! When a farmer consumes everything that he produces, there is no profit He cannot be self-sufficient; neither can he buy anything from any one else. His standard of living is on a subsistence level; he cannot improve it. If he would improve himself, he must produce a surplus (profit) with which to buy what others sell so he can produce more while working less. The same thing is true of the Rice County Paper Corporation or any other corporation. Indeed, the law applies to a whole community. Churches, schools, libraries, sewer systems and all of the other community services can be procured only if there is a surplus (profit) from its business enterprises with which to pay for them. Indeed, even government must fail without business profits to provide tax revenue. Let no one think that the Communist system escapes the law. To progress, government owned enterprises also must have profits (or subsidies taxed from the profits of others); else they, too, fail. A profit is that increment of production not consumed in the producing process. It is the totality of all human material progress. If we could somehow see it in terms of human welfare, no Christian could ever again scorn it.

We criticized the Savings and Loan Association for not lending where there is racial tension. Thirty-one thousand people have entrusted their life savings to that institution. Its 6,200 borrowers repay the principal of their loans at the rate of $500,000 per month. This must be kept at work by being loaned again. Management uses every wile to get responsible and stable people to borrow. There are many competitors who also have money to lend. But the managers and directors of such a corporation do not own the money they lend; they are trustees for the depositors, the true owners. Loans may be made only when there is a reasonable expectation of repayment. Where property values are unstable for whatever reason, racial, political, economic, or other, management would violate its trust if it made a loan. (We might try our theology in judgement upon the unfaithful manager who caused his depositors to lose their savings.)

This brings us to the larger question of financing the costly rehabilitation programs for Tolland and its satellite communities. Of Course, the Federal and State governments will take tax money levied on the profits of others to pay a substantial part of the road construction cost. They also will pay for "slum clearance", "urban renewal", hospitals, schools, and certain other facilities. But there will remain much to be paid locally. How? The most likely answer is a bond issue (borrowed money), but immediately there arises the question of community willingness and ability to repay. A community which practically seizes the paper company is a poor risk, indeed. So is one hostile to business and to strangers coming in. How can they repay without a community profit? What chance is there to repay without a healthy climate for business enterprise? Managers of banks, life insurance companies, savings institutions and every other source of capital must decline to buy the bonds of such a community.

We seemed to have an idea that business management has control of its destiny. Such is not true. Customers control. All that a vendor can do is to offer to serve; the customer will make the final decision. The breakfast meeting of Purina dog food salesmen in the room next to our Wednesday celebration of Holy Communion reminded me of a story well known to every salesman. The sales manager, in such a meeting, was trying to pep up his dog food salesmen. He explained how nutricious the product is, how healthy a dog would be after eating it for a month, how its package is attractive, and its price competitive. Said he, "Our sales are down

in spite of every advantage. Why?" A salesman's voice replied, "The dogs don't like it." The dogs decided the fate of that enterprise.

The customer is a brutal taskmaster. He demands and gets the most appealing product at the lowest price. A vendor may serve him well for many decades, but the customer will change his supplier at whim or for a minor advantage to himself in price or quality. A corporation with an obsolete plant cannot compete for customers with another possessing an automated plant making a better product for a cheaper price. It will have no customers and cease to employ anyone.

Some of us were worried about a "fair profit" for goods and services. Worry no more! The customer will determine the margin of profit. A "sellers market" is a market of scarcity where customers have little choice but, as long as business is free to compete, other suppliers will enter the field and customers again control. That's why our system is so much more efficient and productive than that of any other nation in the world. We are the only major nation to maintain a "buyers' market". All others, through government controls or cartel agreements, control their customers by maintaining a "sellers' market" of scarcity. Our problem is surplus production (profits). Let's keep it that way, even while we quarrel over the surplus and mourn the passing of businesses which can compete no longer.

We seemed to ignore economic and other reasons in all areas of tension to reach for a racial reason. Even the discussions concerning vandalism committed by a White teen-gang called the Storm Troopers on the golf links of a White men's country club were dominated by racial considerations. There appeared to be an attitude saying that integration of the races must be accomplished as a prerequisite to the resolution of all other tensions. We almost totally ignored the fundamentals in racial problems.

It was generally assumed that Negro areas of Metabagdad are areas of high density, low income people. To a considerable extent such is true, but in the Metabagdad in which I live there are areas of beautiful single family homes with beautiful lawns and shrubs, all occupied by their relatively affluent Negro owners. It is a new phenomenon during the last twenty-five years, arising coincidentally with the recovery of Southern Whites from the appalling economic disaster of the Civil War.

It was generally assumed that Negro schools and educational systems are inferior to those of the Whites and integration will cure that. But, in the Metabagdad in which I live, the Negro teachers get a higher average pay than the Whites because they have more degrees. The Negro school buildings are newer and more modern than the White school buildings on the average. And the quality of discipline in the Negro schools is generally superior to that of the Whites.

There are other areas where similar comparisons might be made in our Metabagdad where 44% of all Negro families own their homes, 75% own one or more automobiles and nearly 100% live in homes equipped with full bath facilities (not in the urban home where I was a boy), radios, television sets and other similar luxuries of yesteryear, now regarded as necessities.

Perhaps the basic reason for the pressure for integration was implied in a pathetic little speech made by a Negro member of our conference. I did not get his name, but I seem to remember that he was addressed with the title "Doctor". He said that he often felt that many Southern Whites wished that somehow all Negroes could be delivered to outer space and thus be disposed of. I thought of what a loss my daughter-in-law and my grandchildren would suffer if Mary Smith were dealt with thus. At the age of five my daughter-in-law lost her mother. Mary, a nearly illiterate Negro servant in a family of modest means, became the foster mother of the family of three. She reared them, wept and rejoiced with them, guided and disciplined them, until all are grown. My grandchildren call her "Granny Mary". And I thought about other similar Negroes and pondered my loss at their passing.

Then I remembered that people like Mary Smith are not integrationists and don't want any part of it. They are the "Uncle Toms". The pressure toward integration comes from educated and affluent Negroes, the chief beneficiaries of many millions of dollars and man hours spent during the last fifty years by the Whites of a bankrupt South to help Negroes to help themselves.

There came to mind some ugly aspects of the struggle. The Bishop of Atlanta is a kindly, gentle, stubborn, Christian man, crippled from childhood by polio. We elected him Suffragan Bishop of Alabama and hated to lose him when he was elected Diocesan Bishop of Atlanta. I have admired him as my friend since 1938. The bitter attack received from the Reverend Mr.

Morris of ESCRU astounded me. The Bishop did not bend to the demand of Mr. Morris. The Bishop must be destroyed.

Then there are the trustees of the Lovett School in Atlanta. I am in no position to judge the merit (or lack of it) of their decision not to admit the King child. Mr. Morris does not approve, so the pickets will march until either the school is destroyed or its trustees bend to his will.

There is an immigrant Russian Jew in Atlanta trying to run a restaurant. He knows that his customers will decide his fate; not ESCRU, CORE or any other group. He offered to serve only Whites. He, too, must bend or be destroyed. The "peaceful" demonstration at his restaurant involves pickets massed so densely as to be an effective barrier to the approach of any customer. The forced integration practiced in some cities is creating racial hatreds which never existed before. A racial boycott produces a racial counter-boycott.

All of this is being partially financed with money raised by the urgent solicitation of our Presiding Bishop and our Department of Christian Social Relations. We are alienating from the Church a substantial segment of its members. They are not converted to the new doctrines; only driven away.

There were other ugly results of "peaceful" demonstrations by both Whites and Negroes in my beautiful City of Birmingham: the dynamite, and senseless attacks by Negroes upon White individuals, and by Whites upon Negro individuals. These are new phenomena in our area.

And there is the destruction of Miles College as an effective unit in Negro education. Promoted by Whites largely at their expense, Miles became an accredited college training Negro teachers and leaders. After the 1954 school decision, colleges in other regions, finding a sudden urge for Negro teachers, employed every Negro Ph.D. on Miles' faculty at salaries which Miles could not pay. The White Ph.D.'s then left the faculty. Miles lost its accreditation.

There are many swirls and eddies with economic and social implications, but, basically, the integration movement is neither educational, religious nor economic; it is a desire by Negroes for status and acceptance by Whites. Mary Smith has her "White folks" who accept her and love her. (She first loved them.) She is happy, although low on the economic scale. The Negro integrationists are unhappy with their relatively high degree of education and affluence. They are not satisfied to hear an opera; they must sit with White folks while they listen. They are not satisfied with a $30,000.00 home unless it is next door to that of a White man. They may never want to enter a restaurant with Whites, but they demand the right to do so. I do not understand the problem very clearly. I doubt if any one else does, not even the most rabid integrationist or segregationist. I don't think that it is generally necessary to salvation for a Negro to approach the throne of Grace holding a White man by the hand. Neither do I understand why a man has the right, if he chooses, to turn his back upon God, and is denied the same right toward his fellow man. It is all very complex and confusing.

Only one thing is clear: The problem will never be solved by violence, either legal or illegal. It can be solved only by the power of the Holy Ghost operating through Christian people exercising their ministry of reconciliation. But we did not mention that in Atlanta. We decided to integrate, and may the devil take those who object.

The Metabagdads of the future are certain to be larger and more specialized in function, more dependent upon each other than they are today. A foraging economy supported perhaps 1,000,000 Indians. An agrarian economy required railroads, river boats and other machinery to support 50,000,000 people. When we reached 100,000,000 the formation of Metabagdads was well under way. When we reach 400,000,000 ours will be a complex society indeed. Each of us will be totally dependent upon many others; all will be at the mercy of our collective honesty and behaviour. Tensions will increase as population becomes denser. New problems will arise. There will be tension between Metabagdads over the use of available water, both above and underground. Detergents must be changed to preserve the rivers for use and re-use farther down stream. Inflation, constantly changing the dollar as a unit of value, will create its special human problems. Many other areas of tension will arise.

What will be the role of the Church? As an institution, will it decide who shall use the water and how they shall pass it on for others to use? Will it prescribe the kind of detergents with which to wash the clothes? Will it plan the housing; the kind, source, and distribution of the available food supply? Will it plan and prescribe in the name of God the political, economic, and social structure of the nation, or its educational system, or the value of the dollar

(prices)? In short, will it determine every detail of community life, insisting that the "power structure" of the nation shall do its bidding? If so, by what means shall it act? Will we establish a central power authority within the Church to prescribe its actions? Can a General Convention meeting ten days each three years accomplish as much as a Congress meeting ten months each year?

Or, will we recognize the Church, not as an institution, but as a body of Christians fully capable of collectively making Christian decisions as each applies the tiny fragment of Truth which he understands to the problems which confront him in his daily tasks? Will the Church decide as an institution? Or will the Church as a body of Christian people make the decisions? These are the questions.

I don't know how theology will answer them, but I have read about a church conference concerning a similar subject held in Ephesus some 1900 years ago. St. Paul spoke of testifying to Jews and Gentiles of repentance and faith. He ended by quoting Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." St. Paul was planning an assault upon the Metabagdads of his day. The Metabagdad which we considered needs to understand that statement clearly. The solutions to its problems lie in learning to give; not in scheming to receive. Isn't it strange that I hear this fact proclaimed more often in the secular world than in the institutional Church?

I seem to remember that God, through Jesus Christ, gave us, His people, a ministry of reconciliation, reconciling us to Himself and to one another; that we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. There are several great passages about noisy gongs, clanging cymbals and love. I do not remember any reference to a "power structure", except the power of the Holy Ghost. I have read how a letter written by St. Paul was carried by one Onesimus back to bondage to his master, Philemon. It contained no plea for release from slavery nor for a change of station in life; just a reminder that Christians, in whatever station, may work together usefully. And there is the plea of St. Paul to Titus for gentle, law abiding behaviour, even unto submission to slavery. Is it possible that we have turned to the "power structure" of political and economic life because we have lost faith in the power of the Holy Ghost to transform the lives of men; indeed, of whole communities of men, our Metabagdads? Can it be that the Church has become an institution which has lost its power to redeem and needs anew itself to be redeemed?

One of the most moving and disturbing addresses which we heard came from the lips of our luncheon speaker on Wednesday in which he told why "as I grow older, I find myself increasingly attracted to the Person of Jesus Christ and less and less attracted to that institution which calls itself His Church".

John L. Ebaugh, Jr.
3850 Eleventh Ave., So.
Birmingham, Alabama 35222

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. • TN 7-8400

March 12, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Yesterday the stenotypist's ipsissimae verbae of Atlanta appeared on my desk. After the dazzling effect from so much pooled briliance began to wear off, a still small voice reminded me that I had not yet properly thanked you for being a consultant. Thank you very much for your hard work AND your light touch!

The general consensus seems to be that we did get off dead center... how far, time will tell. About 60% of the PMR's are in plus a great many carefully written letters. Thank you for your good words in this connexion. Personally, among many other things, I learned a lot about how not to structure plenary sessions! Omaha will be better in this respect.

Do you know about the National Educational Television program on urbanism? It is a multi-media effort combining a series of eight TV programs along with a viewer's guide, leader's manual, utilization manual, book of readings, etc. The program is entitled "Metropolis - Creator or Destroyer" and is beginning either in March, April or May over most of the NET affiliates (see listing on inside of back cover of Viewer's Guide). In New York the series began last week as in Nashville (WDCN); in Chapel Hill it begins April 8 (WUNC) and in Atlanta on May 19 (WXGA). Further information on the component parts of the program is inside the front cover of the Viewer's Guide...it might be a useful means of getting discussion going in your own city/parish.

As you can see, my deep empathy with "urban sprawl" compels me to push more stuff at you EVEN with the conference over!

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Morton

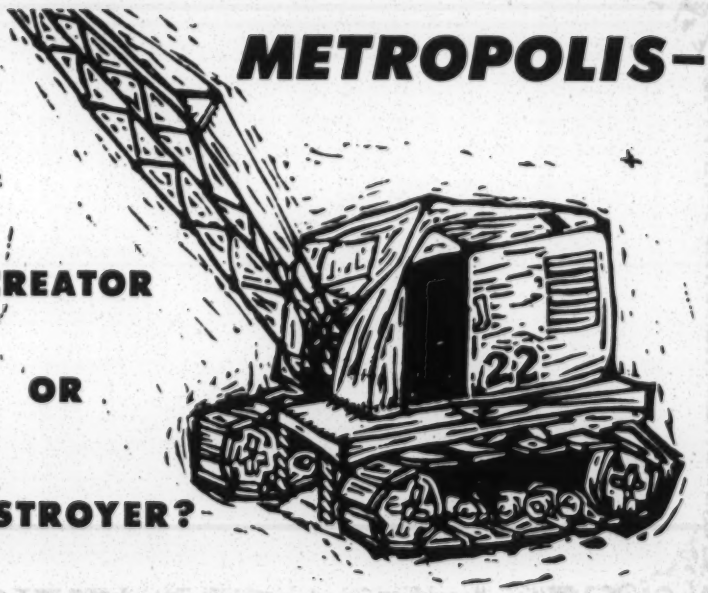
James Morton

Enc.

VALUES IN CONFLICT

File
Urban Problems

METROPOLIS–



CREATOR

OR

DESTROYER?

VIEWER'S GUIDE

METROPOLIS: Creator or Destroyer?

a NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION film series

VIEWERS' GUIDE

by Henry T. Lipman
Director, Center for Continuing Education
New York University - White Plains

This guide is one of several component parts of a new multi-media program for continuing education, developed by the University Council on Education for Public Responsibility.

The components are:

-- 8 half-hour television films, METROPOLIS: Creator or Destroyer -- Utilization Manual -- Viewer's Guide -- Promotional Brochure	available from: National Educational Television 10 Columbus Circle New York 19, N. Y.
-- Book of selected readings, METROPOLIS: Values in Conflict -- Instructor and Discussion Leader's Manual	available from: Wadsworth Publishing Co. Belmont, California

The Viewer's Guide is designed to assist in the systematic consideration of issues raised in the television films, through a brief synopsis and suggested questions for discussion and reflection. Further, it refers the viewer of each film to the corresponding sections of the book of readings. The readings do not duplicate the films, but treat and elaborate aspects of the same problem -- urbanization.

Educational institutions and many religious and civic organizations in the United States and Canada are cooperating with the University Council and with N.E.T. and its affiliated stations in presenting this program. Inquiries should be addressed to these local sponsoring organizations wherever possible. Otherwise they may be sent to:

Director of Program Utilization
National Educational Television
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

I. HOW TO LOOK AT A CITY

"Fame...fortune...love...adventure...
excitement...culture...fun... Whatever
you want, the big city's got it.
'Come and get it!' the city shouts.
And by the millions, we come and we get."

The opening telecast of the series introduces us through the human drama of three newcomers to some of the major attractions of the Big City -- fame, fortune, and adventure. Against a background of New York City's tenement houses, bustling sidewalks, high-rise apartments, specialty shops, skyscrapers, and theaters, the film asks whether in this kaleidoscopic setting there is still opportunity for such essential human needs as sympathy, friendship, and even love. These two often conflicting and competing needs -- the material possibilities and opportunities of the city and the need for meaningful personal contact -- form a basic part of the problem of metropolitan living today.

The two needs have been echoed by many thinkers concerned with urban society. Professor Eugene Raskin, in the film, is an optimist, who feels the city will now, as it always has, satisfy both kinds of needs. Other writers are less sanguine. Morton and Lucia White, in the Readings, note that it is only in recent years that intellectuals have even begun to believe that positive human qualities can be found in city living. Lewis Mumford, also in the Readings, is quite pessimistic about the ability of the city today to restore the "maternal, life-nurturing functions, the autonomous activities, the symbiotic associations that have long been neglected or suppressed."

There is general agreement, however, that if we are to make possible the "symbiotic associations," it will have to be done with an eye toward maintaining or reintroducing the three interrelated elements of city life outlined by Professor Raskin -- density, variety, and human scale. We shall need density of population great enough to provide variety of opportunities and choices in friendships, services, relationships -- but not so great as to crowd us in on ourselves; variety of experiences so that the smells, sights, and sounds of the city's carnival is a never ending delight; and human scale, so that we are firmly enough rooted in our own neighborhood that the sheer size of buildings, the rapidity of change, and the numbers of people do not engulf and frighten us from human contact.

All writers are also agreed that there are no easy solutions. Each generation will have a new opportunity to interpret "meaningful city living" through the institutions, buildings, and communities it creates or destroys.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 28 to 58; 106 to 113.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do the problems faced by people living in New York City seem to be of the same order as those of your own city? Do people in cities the size of Atlanta, Buffalo, Lincoln, or Seattle face the same dilemmas as those in New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles? What are the differences or similarities?

2. In order to help achieve "human scale" in the city, the telecast emphasizes the need for people to have neighborhood roots. To what extent can the neighborhood concept be encouraged in the large city? In what ways are you a part of your neighborhood? What neighborhood institutions in the city exist to encourage participation?

3. Would the strict enforcement of municipal occupancy regulations help in maintaining proper density of population? What would you do with the "surplus" people who would have to move out?

4. What can or should be done about preserving historically and architecturally significant buildings if they are owned by private investors concerned with making a profit?

5. Do you agree with city planners and officials who discourage the use of a single building for residential, commercial, and industrial purposes? Why? Do you feel the same about having a variety of single purpose buildings on the same block? How do you feel about "single-use" districts like Lincoln Center or Municipal Districts? Does "variety" have to exist in every building or even on every block? Is it enough that the city as a whole provides "variety?"

6. The film does not show anyone moving out of the city. What values do those who leave the city look for?

II. THE RUN FROM RACE

> "Despite all the efforts of those of goodwill, a larger percentage of our Negro population lives in segregated areas than ever before. Whites continue to resist, then to run. What of the future?

The bitterness and frustration experienced by persons who find themselves displaced and dislocated from their homes in the wake of urban renewal programs and plans in which they have had no opportunity to participate, poses one of the most serious human problems faced by our cities. For Negroes, especially, the problem is most difficult. Prevented from leaving central city, first, by reason of poverty, and second, by discriminatory housing practices in the suburbs, the Negro left behind finds his schools deteriorating, police protection lax, recreation facilities few, and municipal housing regulations inadequately enforced.

Two competing values are set against each other: the first, the desire of civic leaders to upgrade an area important to the economic, social, and cultural life of the community; the second, the need to provide for the impoverished displaced persons, usually Negroes, who are ill equipped to deal with problems of relocation.

It is in the context of these competing values that we can understand the Negro demonstration of protest which opens the second film of the series. While the specific situation in the film deals with a Philadelphia area undergoing urban renewal, the use of the mass demonstration to protest urban renewal programs has become endemic throughout the country. The situation has become altogether too familiar:

White middle class families first resist Negroes moving into their area, and then, failing to stem the newcomers, they leave, some in panic induced by unscrupulous realtors. Their reasons for leaving are many: fear of Negroes; improved economic status that permits them to move to the suburbs; a desire for a prestige suburban address; their desire to live near people of similar social, economic, and cultural interests; their fear of loss of property values; and the fear that Negroes bring with them crime and delinquency. That these fears are being expressed against Negroes is not new: they always have been expressed by majority groups everywhere when new minorities (immigrants) have come to an area. What is new, however, is that unlike other minorities, the Negro sees no way out of his dilemma.

For the person who remains in central city, there are special problems. The older and established leadership (Negro and white) is often gone. New leadership must be found, or the process of decay will immediately begin. That such leadership frequently emerges from the most unexpected places is a testament to the potential that exists in each individual. Through self-help programs, neighborhood blight often is arrested and

frequently standard and property upgraded. The basic ingredient for any upgrading program, however, remains the need for peoples to maintain their active interest and concern with the welfare of their community.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 205-234.

Questions for Discussion

1. Of the many reasons given why whites leave an area into which Negroes are moving, which do you feel are most important? What experience, if any, do you have with a community trying to maintain a mixed racial pattern? What was the result?

2. What suggestions do you have for making transition neighborhoods more attractive to middle class whites? Better schools? Stricter enforcement of sanitation and police regulations? What else?

3. Should there be any governmental redevelopment or renewal programs without specific concern for what is to happen to the persons who are to be displaced? Should the concern of present residents be the sole or even primary consideration in moving toward renewal or redevelopment of an area? In what ways can persons in an area be brought into Urban Renewal Planning? Can we ever expect these people to agree to have their homes planned out of existence? What alternatives exist?

4. Can the problem of relocating persons displaced by Urban Renewal programs ever be resolved without a concurrent attack on discriminatory housing practices in the suburbs?

5. How useful is the "used house" program described in the film as a solution to widespread slum areas? Is it one part of the answer? How can government help in this effort? (Special loans? Tax rebates?)

III. THE FUR-LINED FOXHOLE

"I buy a house and first thing you
know I gotta buy a whole damn town."

The joys and frustrations of living in a burgeoning new suburb is the subject of the third telecast of the series. The suburbs -- made possible by the automobile, expanded income, and the encouragement of Veterans Housing and FHA loans -- offer millions a style of living more appropriate to their values and expectations than does central city. Many find, however, that these suburban values have hidden costs.

People move to the suburbs for a wide variety of reasons: to escape the dirt and noise (and minority groups) of the city; to have a house they can call their own -- with a backyard where the children can play without the danger of central city's traffic; to enjoy the reputed quality of suburban schools; for a place to park the car; for an opportunity to enjoy grass and trees and open space; for a prestige address; to shop in ease; and more. All are values not readily attainable in central city.

Many of the new suburbanites discover, however, than lawns, trees, and greenery do not just happen; they are the end result of much grubby, physical work and considerable outlays for seed, fertilizer and tools. Crab grass has its own reason for existence. Parks and playgrounds in the new suburbs have to be built, and these, too, cost money. The schools that seemed to have endless space are suddenly overcrowded, and new buildings and more teachers are needed. Storm sewers must be redesigned and installed to take care of an expanded population. Everything seems to cost more than expected -- taxes, repairs, maintenance. For some the cruelest blow comes when they experience the change from the relaxation of watching the little tots play by themselves in the backyard to the frenzied hustle of chauffering the pre-teen and teenager to school, to friends, to scouts, to dance and music lessons.

In spite of these difficulties, most suburbanites find that their new style of living remains more attractive than what it was in central city. Shopping and parking are easier, friendships seem more secure, owning a house provides a status and stability. Endless opportunities exist to participate in civic affairs, and there is the satisfaction of seeing one's name as well as those of one's friends in the local newspaper. Finally, because the size of the suburban community is well within the human scale, it is easy to identify with and take pride in community achievements -- many of which one can rightfully feel came about partly as the results of his own effort.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 68 -- 88.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways do the problems of residents in new suburbs differ from those faced by persons who move into older and established suburban communities? Is there as much opportunity to participate and take a leadership role in the civic affairs of the older suburbs?

2. Does the suburbanite have more, about the same, or less privacy than the city resident? Does the ability to play the piano after midnight without worrying about what the neighbors will say compensate for the loss of privacy in having neighbors who feel free to drop in at any time of day? What is the impact of being so visible that your neighbors know the nature of your work, how active you are in community affairs, the way you maintain your property and grounds, the church to which you belong (and do or do not attend), the behavior of your children? Does the fact that neighbors know these things have any effect on the extent to which you conform to neighborhood patterns and standards? Is the loss of privacy (if there is a loss) compensated for by the pride in being recognized and identified as a person in your own right?

3. What happens to the cultural activities -- theater, concerts, art museums -- of residents in new suburbs? These activities are still only an automobile or train ride away, but do suburbanites take as much effort as city residents to attend them? Is this merely an expression of differences in values between city and suburban residents of the same socio-economic level? Do residents of older suburbs face the same cultural loss?

4. Are people in the suburbs more friendly than those in the city? Would help such as that proffered the sick mother in the film have been equally available in the city? Do suburbanites tend to trust each other more?

5. Is there really more opportunity to be a "pioneer" in the new suburb than in the city? Are the opportunities merely of a different order? What kinds of "pioneering" can be done in the city? Combating delinquency? Trying to find a way to upgrade an area? What else?

IV. PRIVATE DREAM, PUBLIC NIGHTMARE

> "We got the idea that land was something you sort of went in and used up and then went on...used up some more and went further. But we're at the cost now..."

The problem posed in the fourth telecast in the series arises out of the apparent inexorable growth of spread housing patterns; patterns which many planners believe will inevitably lead to a loss of those values for which the houses were built in the first instance. To compound the difficulty, we do not have, nor have we seemed able to develop, institutions to deal with the uncontrolled growth of spread housing.

The growth of spread housing and its concurrent ravishing of land stems from the private decision of millions of us to put into effect the dream of working in the city and living in the country, and traveling back and forth from job to home in the comfort of our own car. Only in recent years, is the impact of what we are doing becoming clear.

The open spaces have begun to close up. The process started first when the suburbs began to zone new residences into larger lots in order to cut rising costs of increased population and to maintain for themselves stable tax revenues. Then as we began to look for less expensive land on which to build our houses, we went farther from our jobs into the farm land beyond the suburbs where zoning ordinances were lax or non-existent, and away from the railroads and highways. At present much of the space between the natural avenues to central city is almost filled and land for new homes can be found only in a new ring in the rural areas beyond the farthest suburbs.

The phenomenon of spread housing is new. Neither city, nor suburb, nor farm, it presents a living experience never before encountered. Back yard spaciousness is retained, but open country is gone. The cohesiveness of the suburb is lost and not replaced by any sense of community. Hundreds of identical lots (often with identical houses) spread out so that no focal point exists for establishing stores, churches, recreational facilities, or even schools. Finally, because there is no sense of community, individual developers are free to ravish local resources without fear of community censure. The result is inevitable: the suburban slum -- the slurb.

The film suggests one partial solution to the problem of the growing number of slurbs: encourage large scale private developers to plan whole communities rather than leave the construction of homes to thousands of separate builders, none of whom have an over-all concern with what the community will be. By planning a whole community, sufficient variety and density

can be built into the development so that all can benefit. Presumably, the large developer, concerned with the long-range investment of his project will fight blight before it has a chance to set in.

But even the largest private developer cannot cope with the total dimensions of the slurb problem. He still remains dependent on adjacent large and small developers, nearby municipalities, and state and federal agencies, all of which influence or determine the kinds of roads which will service the community, provide solutions to problems of water purity, air pollution, and so on.

At present, there are few single agencies of government that can concern themselves with planning for an entire region, and we are left with the dilemma of spread housing patterns growing all around us without the means for curbing or controlling it.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 63-68; 95-106; 137-143; 146-149; 269-280.

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you feel about having your local government give up some of its authority on matters of zoning, land use, taxing, etc., to a regional form of government? Do you believe most people could develop the kinds of loyalty to and interest in a regional governmental unit which they now have for the municipality in which they live? Are there any regional government agencies in the area where you now live? (Policy, fire, water, traffic, or other interstate agencies?) How effective have they been?

2. If you were a local councilman, would you encourage small lot residential construction -- with the resultant probable disproportionate increase in school, police, fire, and other municipal costs? Would you expect to be reelected?

3. What impact, if any, do you feel spread housing will have on central city and the suburbs? Can central city expect to have as much support for its cultural institutions as it gets from the traditional suburb? What will spread housing do to prevent suburban traffic problems?

4. What values besides spaciousness of the immediate grounds are available to residents of spread housing?

5. Is the large developer less subject to the pressures of the market place than the small developer? Is it possible that reversals in the real estate market may make the impact of a large developer worse than that of the small developer? Does the fact that the large developer has a plan make a difference?

6. What other suggestions do you have for dealing with the problems of spread housing?

V. HOW THINGS GET DONE

> "We might as well face the fact that in urban renewal as in any other creative endeavor you can't please everyone... someone may be helped by the completion of the plan...someone may be ruined."

Two concurrent themes run through the telecast of the fifth session. The first deals with the unhappy choice which city officials and planners have to make when faced with alternative and conflicting proposals for urban redevelopment and land use. The second theme has to do with the ability of a single dedicated person to put forces into motion which can change the face of a community.

Each city has many needs, all of them urgent. There is the need for adequate housing to take care of low, middle, and upper income groups. There is the need for different kinds of commercial places to care for the varied consumer interests of the city -- from buying the morning newspaper to purchasing a sable coat or a share of stock. There is the need for industrial space to take care of the heterogeneous firms which need a city location. Considered separately, there is complete agreement that each kind of space is needed in greater quantity. The difficulty arises, however, when a choice must be made as to which use should be assigned to a single, specific area.

Over the years, land use in the city changes to meet changing needs. Within one generation fine residential areas turn into rooming house or industrial neighborhoods; industrial and commercial buildings give way to middle or high income apartment houses. When ample space was available, no problem of choice existed: the land went to the highest bidder. Now that space is limited, however, the social as well as financial cost must be considered in making final decisions. We have recognized that the way our cities develop is too important to leave to the money market alone.

The simple answer to problems of land use is -- plan! But plan for what! We cannot plan unless we have aims and objectives; goals which we seek for the city. Only as we approach consensus on how our total community design should look, can community planning be meaningful. The first task in planning is the setting of objectives.

Each special interest group has a plan, something which reflects its objectives, but leaves out of account the objectives of others. The industrial commission trying to attract industry, the chamber of commerce trying to maintain commercial space and hold down taxes, the housing committee concerned with more and better housing, labor unions looking out for the jobs of its members, the tax commission interested in maintaining or increasing taxable property, the fine arts commission trying to preserve historically and architecturally significant buildings, the artists

looking for cheap loft space, and so on. Finally, of course, there is the City Wide Planning Commission, whose responsibility is to concern itself with what is best for the total city. But this group, too, can act only in response to the varying pressures upon it.

No decision for the use of scarce space can favor everyone, or even most of the persons or interests involved. Obviously, there is no ready answer. Yet answers must be found, for to do nothing is in itself a form of answer. Nor can we always depend on "objective surveys," for the basic data is frequently in doubt, and the number of variables in most situations too great. All too often the final results of the research reflect the biases of those sponsoring the studies.

While the film uses a rather rundown industrial area of New York to illustrate the complexity of an urban redevelopment issue, the problem is applicable whenever we have to consider alternative uses for land. For the generation which tears down or builds up a whole area must live with its decision; there is no immediate second choice of what to do with a building already torn down and a new one in its place.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 113-117; 120-137; 143-146; 310-326.

Questions for Discussion

1. What solution do you suggest for the South Houston Street project? What values must you be prepared to forego in the light of your solution? To what extent does your solution reflect your objectives for the city?

2. In any redevelopment program, should we be guided solely by what is good for the present users of the property? Can there ever be consensus in any redevelopment program? What kinds? Should redevelopment solutions be subject to a plebiscite? Who should be permitted to vote?

3. Recognizing the complexities of any decision regarding the best uses of scarce land, who would you want to make the final decisions? The City Wide Planning Commission? How would you go about supporting its decisions?

4. In the light of constantly changing needs, can or should there be a single plan, rigidly adhered to, for the total community? What factors, if any, should determine changes in the plan? Would piecemeal planning be more successful?

5. To what extent are people in your community interested in planning for the total community? Are there citizen as well as official groups interested in planning for the total community? Can you identify individuals or groups whose concern with planning reflects their vested interests? Are both kinds of persons and groups desirable and/or necessary?

VI. WHAT WILL THEY TEAR DOWN NEXT

"All cities need a touch of past grandeur."

"There is apathy in our cities, and capital is being made of it."

In "The City in History," Lewis Mumford points out: "By means of its storage facilities (buildings, vaults, archives, monuments, tablets, books), the city has become capable of transmitting a complex culture from generation to generation... That remains the greatest of the city's gifts." This ability of cities to pass on, in part through its buildings, the culture of one era to another is being destroyed today by the widespread practice of leveling whole areas. It is in protest of this process, and with the apathy which makes the process possible, that the sixth telecast addresses itself.

The nature of cities is to change. But the rate of change in a modern city has no peace time parallel in the past. The wrecking ball and bulldozer too frequently become the only weapons we employ in the war on urban decay. While conducting the battles, however, we are destroying much that is good along with the bad.

Fortunately, there seems to be some indication that the younger architects have become concerned not only with the single buildings which they are helping to create, but with how these buildings fit into the general surroundings. Also, architects have taken the lead in protesting wanton destruction of historical and architecturally significant buildings. This development needs encouragement, but it can come about only by an interested public -- a public concerned with holding on to the worthwhile building, even finding new uses for it, and creating new buildings for those which no longer serve a useful function. Much that should be torn down, and much that should be retained can be determined only by taste and good judgement, but these are qualities that can be acquired. Much of this taste comes about by recognizing that part of the charm of the city is the juxtaposition of the new with the old, to the benefit of both. The old provides a stability which makes the new more welcome and enjoyable.

Can the public apathy which permits the destruction of the good with the bad be overcome? It is relatively easy to demonstrate on picket lines and write editorials on the day that the wrecking ball actually begins to destroy a significant building, but by then it is too late to picket. That building is already gone. Blight begins with little things, for as the film indicates, successive exemptions can destroy the morale of a city, for each exemption makes the next and larger exemption easier to obtain, and the entire neighborhood can be victimized.

Thus, the fight to overcome apathy must begin in the neighborhood. Successful action against permitting the first building to go into disrepair in violation of city ordinances; against the

housing agency when it does not act promptly on complaints; against the first exemption made in residential zoning -- each acts as a stimulus to greater citizen concern and participation. Finally, with experience and insight, citizens can make their protests effective when remodelers or builders start the process of community decay when they use bad design or inappropriate materials.

Slums, being man-made, can be man-prevented. Numerous examples can be cited of residential areas where progress toward deterioration was checked and the areas rehabilitated and upgraded. In each instance where such a reversal took place, the key was an aroused public, concerned and interested in the future of its neighborhood.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 3-7; 44-50; 91-94; 113-117; 128-137.

Questions for Discussion

1. What can individuals do if the owner of a house will not cooperate in making needed repairs? Should a government agency be given authority to compel repairs for aesthetic as well as safety reasons?

2. To what extent have you ever become involved in protesting an exemption in residential zoning? Do your municipal officials welcome questions on exemptions which are being considered? What recommendations would you have for public notice of proposed exemptions?

3. Do you believe that a fine arts commission, with authority to determine appropriate building design, would be an asset to your community? What limitations, if any, would you want to put on its authority? What kinds of persons should be the members of the commission? What would be the function of the interested layman?

4. To whom should the architect be responsible -- his profession, his clients, the community? To what extent are the architects of your community, acting as individuals or through their professional associations, concerned with the over-all design of the city? Is the physical design of our cities too important to be left in the control of any single group, even such professional groups as architects or city planners?

VII. HOW TO LIVE IN A CITY

> "Streets and sidewalks are perhaps the most important kind of open space we have in a city....and the least respected by our city governments."

How and whether our modern cities can create opportunities for the charm and aesthetic delights offered by urban open space is the problem posed in the seventh telecast of the series. These delights, so frequently found in European cities when we suddenly come upon former market places, forums, and plazas, offer one of the best ways in which we can experience variety and human scale in city life. Such open space utilizes the primary resources of the city, its people and buildings, to provide a constant excitement and sense of anticipation. As humans, we find that watching the flow of people, their faces, their actions, their behavior, offers one of the most attractive pastimes. Second only to this is to be in the midst of an ever unfolding change in city scenery.

Urban open spaces should not be confused with large parks, like New York City's Central Park, whose primary function the telecast indicates is not to bring people more deeply into the city, but to allow them to escape city life. Rather, city open space will normally not have any lawns or greenery (which are usually distinguished by their "keep off" signs), but will have places to rest, places which welcome the visitor to sit down and watch the passing scene. Excellent examples of open spaces which encourage people to see people, all in the foreground of a never ending change of scene are places like Times Square, the 59th Street Plaza, and Rockefeller Center. (As the film says, if grass and lawn are the values which people cherish, they ought to live in the suburbs).

Open space in the city can be most effective if:
(a) it relates to the buildings around it, so that persons in the buildings can enjoy what goes on below (as well as in the buildings facing it), while people on the ground can enjoy the various buildings surrounding them; (b) it is enclosed by the buildings around it in a definable shape, so that the eye stays within the space itself; (c) it has a center of interest such as a fountain or statue which provides a focal point where people can gather and a point of interest to which the eye can return; and (d) it must have a character "able to provide for love" and capable of developing its own personality which it can stamp on the community that surrounds it."

There are a variety of ways in which city open space can be developed even within our typical city gridiron pattern. First, by commercial and industrial users like the Seagram Company who recognize the need for variety and human scale outside their buildings as well as within. By semi-public institutions, like colleges, which build into their development plans areas like the Columbia University quadrangle. Finally, open space created by the

cooperative efforts of individual home owners who remove obstacles like backyard fences which prevent viewing variety and permanently encloses each house in itself.

Most of all, however, open space in the city will depend upon builders being made aware of the need to design their buildings so that the view looking out of windows is of as much interest as the layout of the inside rooms; and of a public conscious of the need to preserve its streets, its sidewalks, and its stoops as among the richest sources it has for maintaining and creating human scale and variety in the city.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 106-117; 152-165.

Questions for Discussion

1. Would the group agree with a major thesis of the telecast that large open areas, like Central Park, are merely the residue of our pre-automobile ara? Do you feel that these large parks provide an essential need for city people? Does the large park still provide an escape for those without automobiles?

2. Is a primary attraction of city open space (as defined in the film) seeing many other people? Is there a need for places in the city where people can get away from other people? Is it possible that twice the number of people would go to crowded Washington Square if it were only half filled? Does this indicate the need for more Washington Squares rather than more people in single small open spaces?

3. The telecast indicates that only we can supply the love of city open spaces -- but can the planners help? How?

4. How can builders and architects be encouraged to make open space a part of their designs? Should municipal codes set standards for open space in new construction?

VIII. THREE CURES FOR A SICK CITY

"Improvement can be just as infectious as blight."

A variety of methods have been tried to deal with problems of urban renewal and modernization. As we have seen in previous sessions, there are no perfect solutions which will satisfy everyone. The needs of current users must be balanced against the total needs of the community and the special needs of particular groups. In the final telecast of the series, three different approaches to the problem of urban renewal and modernization which were tried in Washington, D.C., are considered. Each solution raises a number of questions, but each is marked as the product of a neighborhood that knew what were its objectives.

The first approach was in the Georgetown area, where individual initiative, with a minimum of government assistance, turned what was fast becoming a slum district into one of the most fashionable sections of the Capitol. First one person, then another, began to modernize, remodel, or renew some of the old and historic homes in the area. A municipal ordinance was passed giving a Fine Arts Commission some power to see that restorations and renovations of both homes and shops preserved the style and the feel of the atmosphere. Within a period of 20 years, Georgetown, while it still has a great variety of houses and incomes, has changed from fast becoming a slum area to an upper income district of great attraction. As the film indicates, houses which in some parts of Washington would sell for $20,000, now sell for $60,000 in Georgetown.

The improvement in Georgetown is cited as proof that government aided slum clearance is not needed. But the Georgetown experience raises a serious question for persons concerned with total community planning. In an area which in the 1940's had a population of some 12,000 Negroes, fewer than 400 now remain. Obviously, the Georgetown district was upgraded not for the residents who lived there, but for new residents. Presumably, many who left now constitute the population of other slums in Washington.

Government assistance played a major role in the second approach to the problem of urban development in Washington. In this instance, an area of about 25,000 people was entirely razed. The reasons for leveling the buildings seem clear: as late as 1955, one-fourth of the houses still used backyard privies; most of the other houses were in disrepair; the district was the center for the city's failures, its cripples, and its outcasts.

On the cleared grounds, private developers erected middle income high-rise apartments. Rents started at $110 per month for ground floor efficiency apartments of one room. There is no low income housing. For those who live in these apartments there is ample room, and the panorama of Washington is constantly in front of them. In many ways it provides ideal living accommodations, but 90 percent of the former residents can no longer afford to live there.

The third approach for dealing with urban development in Washington combines both governmental and private resources, and most important, involves all those who will be affected by the change. The area contains a wide variety of racial and nationality groups, apartments, private homes, rooming houses, commercial establishments, and industries. Discussion among all residents resulted in a plan which calls for improvements by private home owners, areas set aside for high-rise middle-income apartments, sections to be cleared for parks and play space, and scattered units of public housing. If the entire program were completed, about a quarter of the residents and about half of the businesses would have to leave the area.

At the moment, the plan is still opposed by a variety of special interest groups: light industries which do not want to be forced out of the area; and private developers who want to make the area a new Georgetown. There is agreement that the plan, or any plan which follows, will be a compromise which will satisfy many, but not all those involved in the planning.

Suggested readings in METROPOLIS -- Values in Conflict -- pages 120-137.

Questions for Discussion

1. Which of the three approaches to urban renewal did you favor most? Which plan did you like least? Can there be any single best plan for urban renewal?

2. Is it inevitable that some people will be hurt by any plan for urban renewal? What obligations, if any, are owed to those who are hurt? Who should share these obligations -- the new users? the various branches of government?

3. Is it realistic to expect to involve all people in an area to work on a plan for urban renewal which will inevitably hurt some of them?

NET AFFILIATED STATIONS

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		Channel
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• Mobile	WEIQ	42
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ARIZONA		
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Oxford	WMUB-TV	14
Toledo	WGTE-TV	30
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Oklahoma City	KETA-TV	13
Tulsa	KOED-TV	11
OREGON		
Corvallis	KOAC-TV	7
Portland	KOAP-TV	10
PENNSYLVANIA		
Philadelphia	WHYY-TV	12
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Pittsburgh	WQEX	16
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Norfolk	WHRO-TV	15
WASHINGTON		
Lakewood Center	KPEC-TV	56
Pullman	KWSC-TV	10
Seattle	KCTS-TV	9
Tacoma	KTPS	62
Yakima	KYVE-TV	47
WISCONSIN		
Madison	WHA-TV	21
Milwaukee	WMVS-TV	10
Milwaukee	WMVT-TV	36

• *Expected to be on the air by July, 1964*

renewal

IV/4 APRIL-MAY, 1964

The Summer Before Us

EDITORIAL COMMENT

A Time for Reason

Everybody predicts a long, hot summer and few fail to escape the meaning of the prediction. Even with the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, racial tensions may create ugly scenes of violence and tragedy.

Even for those close to the civil rights battle, the present time is confusing. Here are a few of the questions that point to the complexity of the moment. How can a militant Negro leader retain his leadership without bending in part to the irresponsible demands of a still-more-militant following? How will passage of the Civil Rights Bill meet the desperate situation of millions of Americans who are so poor that they can scarcely take advantage of the rights the Bill offers? Will bitterness over continued unemployment and poverty coalesce with racial frustration to create a movement more desperate and militant than any we have yet known? How is the Civil Rights Bill to be implemented in states like Mississippi and Alabama without Federal intervention? To what extent will the movement of an estimated thousand college students from the North into Mississippi this summer inflame the violence of local rednecks? How will next fall's political picture be altered if this summer is truly a time of battle?

Under the weight of such questions, fear and hesitation emerge in those who are friendly to the cause of civil rights. In our nervousness, we seize upon seemingly irresponsible Negro acts as a pretext for avoiding the basic issues. We react by accepting a number of half-truths and using them as an excuse for silence. Let us examine some of the half-truths:

- Opponents of integration, like Alabama's George Wallace, gain ground in the North by painting the Civil Rights Legislation as an extension of the police power of the "central" government. This is a very clever tactic because we may fear big government and police power. But is this the nature of the Bill? In order to allow readers to reach their own conclusion, we have printed a Civil Rights Bill digest on page four.

- Another pretext for evading the clear issue of racial justice is to seize upon extreme instances of Negro militancy as an argument for "moving more slowly" on civil rights. This is a specious argument for one simple reason. It has been the failure of moderate Negro and white leadership to gain the full measure of racial justice that has spawned the extremists. And there can be no underestimating the danger to the nation should this pattern continue. It takes only a few desperate persons to wreak havoc. Frustrated militants number in the thousands and their potential followers number in the hundreds of thousands. Every responsible advance in civil rights minimizes the chance of extremism and violent retaliation. The vast majority of the Negro community is willing to forgive white America for its sins of the past and accept full citizenship with a sense of responsibility and dedication. If this majority is thwarted in its legitimate demand, then we have only ourselves to blame. We will have helped spawn the extremists.

- A final argument used by rights opponents is that the white community's rights will be violated in the event the Bill is passed. But this is to suggest that the Negro should not have the same rights as whites. Such a position must be seen for what it is: a reversion to the segregationist posture. For precisely what Governor Wallace argues is the notion that whites have a right to live, work, and play in isolation from the Negro. To accept this is to deny not only the law and the Constitution but the total understanding of America as the home of the free.

Let us make some final observations:

First, it may be a violent summer. But we must decide to act on the principle that white resistance to legitimate demands—even in the face of violence—merely inflames the situation.

Secondly, our first reaction to potential violence may be one of fear. Fear breeds violent reaction and violent reaction breeds a whiplash of mob violence. This has been demonstrated already in several racial incidents. It is time for the white community to consider the implications of nonviolence both as a tactic and an ideal in the rights struggle.

Thirdly, no persons are more aware of the handicaps facing the Negro community than the Negro community. Whites observe from the outside the results of deprivation in education, employment, and housing. The Negro lives with it. The responsible white community must begin to understand that the movement for justice must gain on all fronts—in employment offices, in inner city crash programs of education, and in the elimination of substandard housing through creative policies of urban renewal.

Finally, we hope that the current struggle will be seen as a nonpartisan effort. The disposition of the problems of race and poverty is no less a matter of national security than is the conduct of the cold war. To use poverty and race as partisan issues is to heap coals on a fire that threatens the moral fabric of American life. We can see the complexity of the issues before us. But let us not be deterred. Let us raise our voices in a chorus of reason so that the summer which seems like a potential shambles may become a great step forward. And let us not allow violence and bitterness to blind us in finding our goal.

RENEWAL MAGAZINE

STEPHEN C. ROSE.....EDITOR
LOIS KAVANAGH.....ASSISTANT EDITOR
ROBERT NEWMAN.....ROVING EDITOR
WAYNE COWAN.....EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE
LOIS OLSON.....CIRCULATION

RENEWAL is published monthly September through June by the Exploratory Program in Journalism of the Chicago City Missionary Society, an organization sponsoring more than twenty programs devoted to the renewal of the Church in the metropolis, Don Benedict, General Director. RENEWAL office: 19 So. La Salle St., Room 1302, Chicago, Illinois 60603. RENEWAL is supported by voluntary contributions. Suggested contributions: Individual mailings—$2.00. Bulk rates—10¢ per copy.

This Month's Cover

No better symbolism could be found to represent the role of the Church in race relations than this photograph of the stained glass window of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church after the 1963 bombing which took the lives of four innocent children. It reminds us that the ultimate tragedy of racial intolerance is that it deforms the body of Christ and divides His Church. We hope the article about Will Campbell in this issue will aid in pointing out the relation of the Church to the crisis in civil rights.

Publishing Note

We wish to thank readers who are responding so generously to our annual appeal for funds to operate RENEWAL. We hope every reader who receives the publication will contribute at least the two dollars it costs to print and mail individual issues through the year.

We are bursting with material we'd like to publish and ideas to communicate, not to mention photographs we wish to print. But it is a sad reality that our finances will not permit us to pursue these goals to the fullest. In fact, we have had to make the hard decision to combine our April and May issues in order to offset some of the costs of our double-length, double-circulation February issue. We hope readers will understand. If adequate contributions are received in future months, we intend to remedy this omission before the year is completed.

Where The Money Goes

Overheard on a train: "The only thing you hear when you go to church is money, money, money. Is that all the church has to say?" Indeed, the renewal of the church will depend on a drastic re-evaluation of the church's financial posture. The growing complaint of many laymen is that too much money goes for needless frills—such as fancy buildings—and that not enough funds are put into imaginative programming.

During 1961, the latest year for which information is available, thirty-nine Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations received contributions totalling just over two and a half billion dollars. But only 18 per cent of this was designated for "benevolences"—a term that includes home and foreign missions as well as overseas relief work. The rest of the money went for local expenses of individual congregations.

These local expenses, mostly ministers' salaries, maintenance costs and investments in church buildings, averaged about $54 per member. The average contribution for benevolences was just over $12. A conservative estimate is that the cost of raising and administering benevolence money is 25 per cent of the total. Thus giving for direct service beyond the local congregation averages less than $10 per year per member, barely one-sixth of one's average annual contribution to the church.

The basic question is why we need to spend more than fifty dollars a year to maintain the institution so that ten dollars might be freed for service. There can be no doubt that imaginative programs are carried out as part of the local congregation's non-benevolence expenses. But, for the most part, benevolence contributions are understood to be the "service" share of the church's money. And most congregations have the interesting practice of making benevolences an afterthought. In other words, they regard their local, institutional expenses as the top priority, giving what is left over for benevolences.

Usually when churches talk of financial sacrifice and Christian giving it is in reference to the construction of church buildings, not to serving the world's poor and needy.

Recently a large denomination conducted a study to determine whether it could sponsor a nationwide capital funds campaign. The interesting conclusion was that many laymen had little idea of what the money was for or what it might accomplish. The recommendation was to go on with the campaign but reduce the initial financial goal by more than two-thirds.

This raises the question of the extent that church money should be sunk into capital expenses, such as the construction of hospitals, schools, and homes for the aged. Or should laymen seek to work to improve secular institutions?

Far more important than this, however, is the question of whether churches are justified in expending huge sums of money on buildings to house local congregations. One minister wryly observes that the basic need of a local congregation—a place to gather for worship and fellowship—can be met by providing a table with a roof over it. Expenses for large educational facilities are questionable because they are used only one or two days a week.

We hope to delve further into the complex but important question of church finances and we shall welcome reports from readers with their suggestions concerning the financial renewal of the church.

—STEPHEN C. ROSE

What will the summer bring? We hope it will bring justice with understanding, change without violence. This issue of RENEWAL is designed as an up-to-date interpretation of some of the most pressing problems of our time. We hope you will wish to distribute copies to friends and study groups. Extra copies may be ordered in lots of ten or more at ten cents per copy, postpaid. Please order at least ten copies to facilitate early delivery, enclosing payment with your order.

The Civil Rights Bill: A Digest

The following digest of the Civil Rights Bill is excerpted from an informative pamphlet titled "Some Questions and Answers on the Civil Rights Bill"—available free from Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Room 314, 704 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. What follows is not an argument for or against the Bill but a concise description of its contents.

Title One: Voting Rights

To further protect voting rights in Federal elections, it would prohibit: (1) the application of different tests, standards, etc. to white and colored voters and (2) the denial of registration for immaterial errors in applications. It would require all literacy tests to be given in writing or transcribed. To expedite handling of cases filed under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, it would authorize the Attorney General or a defendant to ask for trial by a three-judge court, with direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. In any such proceeding it established a presumption of literacy for those who have completed the sixth grade.

Title Two: Public Accommodations

It would prohibit discrimination in most hotels, motels, and other places of lodging; restaurants, cafeterias and other eating places; motion picture houses, theaters, sports arenas, stadia and other places of exhibition and entertainment; gas stations; and such places as specialty shops and barber shops in hotels subject to the section and stores with eating facilities covered by the bill. An aggrieved individual or the U.S. Attorney General would be able to enforce these rights through injunctions or other civil actions. There is a specific exemption for small rooming houses with no more than five rooms to rent and used by the proprietors as their own residences.

Title Three: Public Facilities

The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate or intervene in suits aimed at desegregating public facilities other than schools—such as parks, libraries, hospitals and playgrounds—where the injured party is unable to pursue the remedy. He would also be authorized to intervene in private actions brought by persons seeking relief from a denial of equal protection of the law because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Title Four: Public Education

It authorizes the Attorney General to initiate or intervene in school desegregation cases. It provides for technical assistance, grants and training institutes to help communities prepare for school desegregation. But it exempts from its definition of desegregation, the transportation of students to end racial imbalance.

Title Five: Civil Rights Commission

It would extend the life of the Commission another four years and give it additional duties of investigating vote fraud cases and serving as a national clearing house on civil rights.

Title Six: Federally-Assisted Programs

It would prohibit discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal assistance under grant, contract or loan. It directs Federal agencies to establish programs of compliance and would authorize denial of funds to those programs that discriminate. But any denial is subject to judicial review. A hearing is guaranteed before funds are cut off, and a report to Congress is also required before funds can be denied. Presidential approval is required before any general cut-off in funds is approved.

Title Seven: Employment

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce would be prohibited from discriminating. Coverage would include employers and unions with 25 or more employees or members. But coverage would apply at first to those with 100 or more employees or members and drop by stages to 25, after 4 years. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be established to investigate and voluntarily settle complaints. Upon failure to settle, the Commission would be authorized to file suit to enforce nondiscrimination. Prohibited discrimination includes sex, as well as race, creed, color or national origin. The House excluded from coverage those denied employment because they are atheists or communists.

Title Eight: Statistics

It directs the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a voting census by race in geographic areas recommended by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. This is meant to help enforce Section 2 of the 14th Amendment which provides that where the right to vote in Federal or state elections is denied, the basis of the state's representation in the House of Representatives will be correspondingly reduced.

Title Nine: Removal Proceedings

The orders of Federal courts sending certain civil rights cases back to state courts are not now reviewable. This would make them reviewable by appeal.

Title Ten: Community Relations

It would establish in the Department of Commerce, a Community Relations Service with personnel limited to six persons to assist communities involved in disputes over desegregation. This title was added at the request of Southern members of the House.

Title Eleven: Miscellaneous

It contains a number of customary provisions. One, authorizes appropriations to carry out the purposes of the bill. Another—a "severability clause"—says that if any provision of the act is held invalid, the rest of the act shall not be affected. A fairly standard "preemption" clause, added during floor debate, specifies that nothing in the Act shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress "to occupy the field in which any . . . title operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject. . . ."

RELIGION AND RACE

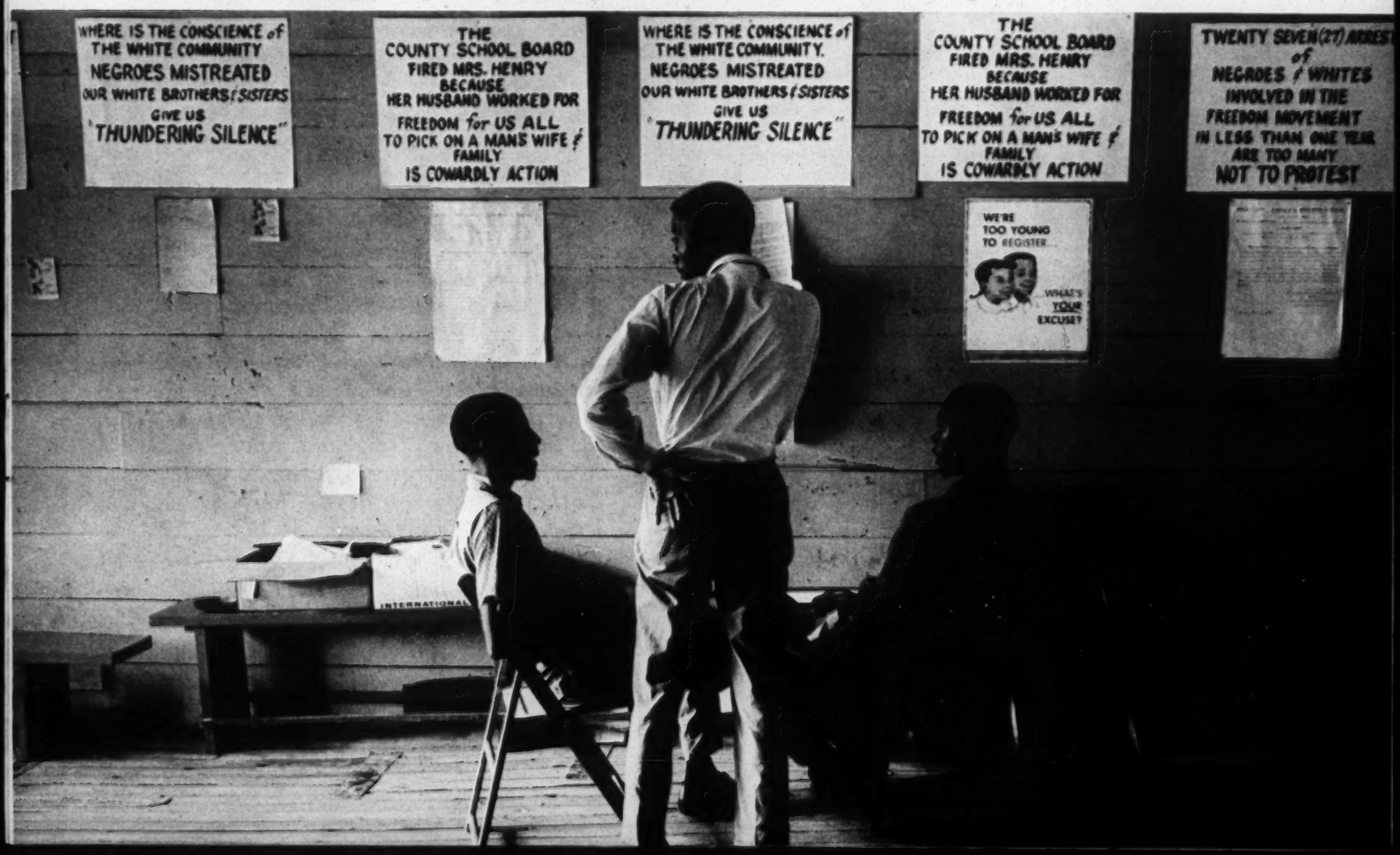
a photographic essay

In the summer of 1963, Dr. Robert Spike, Director of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, met Governor George Wallace of Alabama in a Baltimore TV debate. This represented one of the numerous efforts of the Commission to meet directly the opponents of integration. The Commission is now helping to train college students who will spend the summer aiding voter registration campaigns in Mississippi.

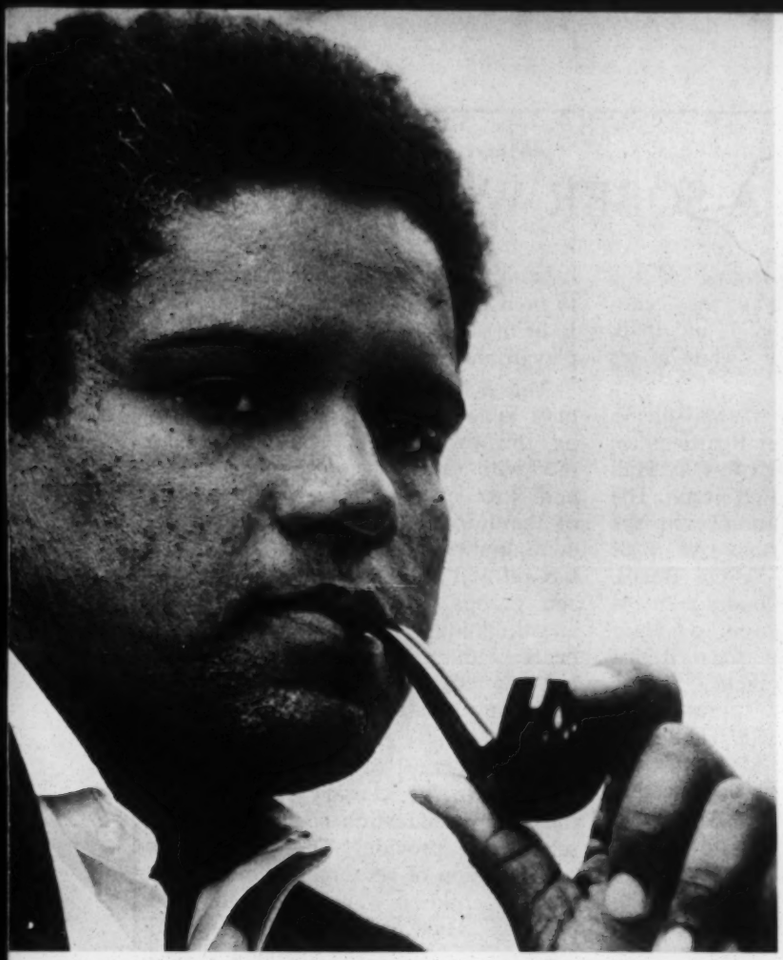
Photographs by Kenneth Thompson

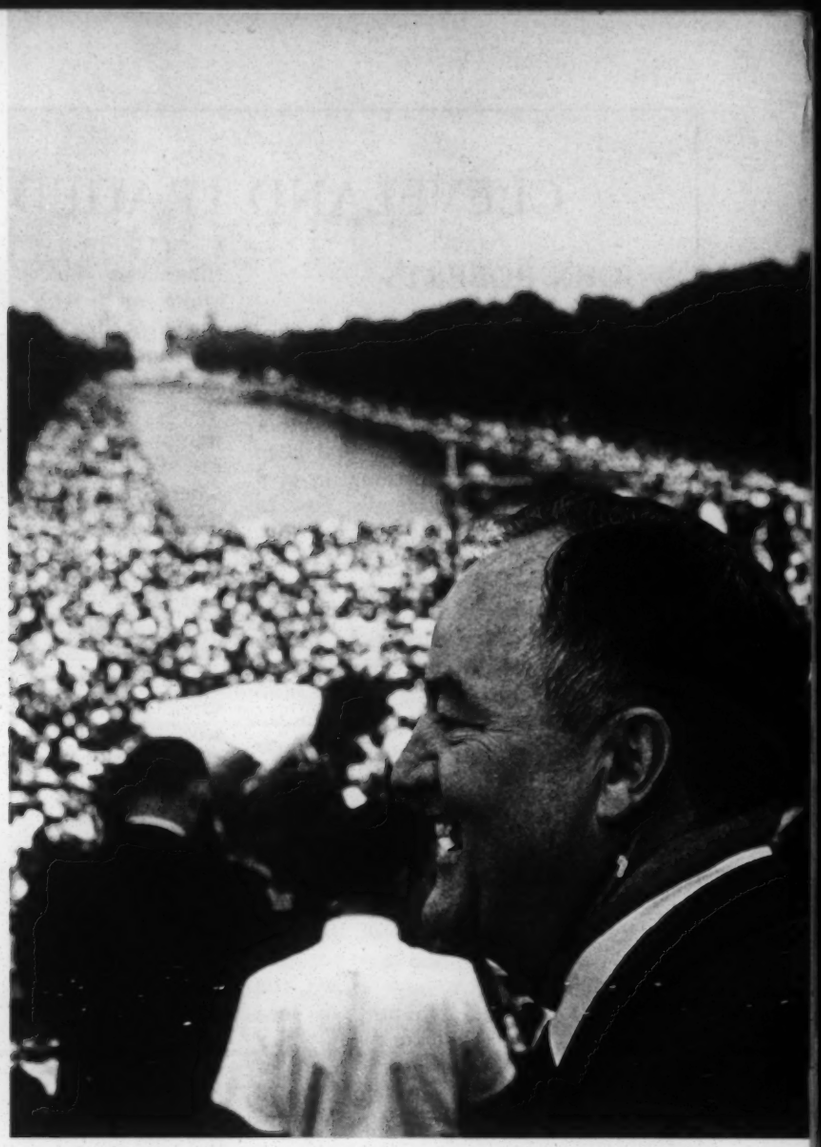
Pathos and tragedy marked the aftermath of the bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church which took four lives. Pathos and tragedy seem latent in the faces of Klan members (below). The presence of a cross on the Klan uniform suggests heretical use of Christian symbols.

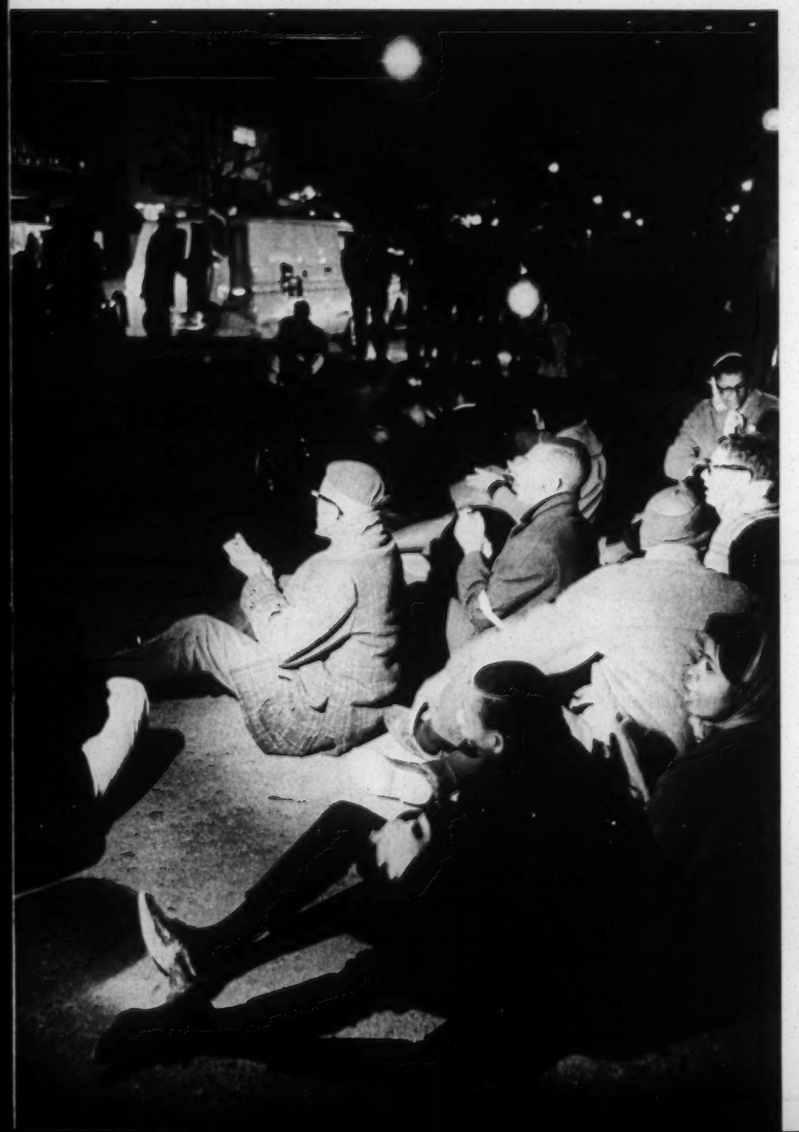
In August, 1963, the Commission on Religion and Race sent a delegation (above) to Clarksdale, Miss., to attempt to mediate between white and Negro leaders. At the same time, SNICK and CORE workers in Clarksdale (below) were engaged in a seemingly impossible attempt to better the lot of Delta Negroes.

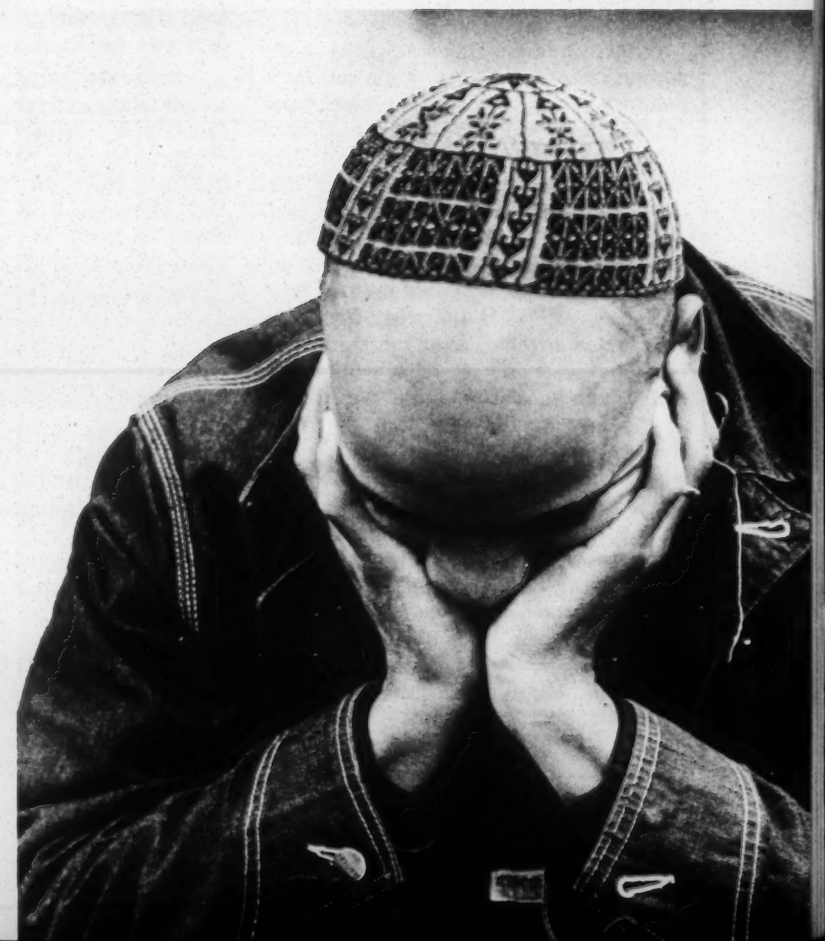


The varied faces of involvement in the struggle are shown on these pages. A small boy (left, top) seems bewildered by his early induction into the renascent Klan. Some hope is present in a small Atlanta, Georgia, girl's smile and a sign: "Love everybody." Determination and impatience seem etched on the face of James Forman, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (opposite page, upper left). The leader of the Civil Rights Bill Campaign in the Senate, Hubert Humphrey, (opposite, upper right) is shown at last summer's historic March on Washington, an event in which many church groups participated. The face of militant direct action is evident (opposite, lower left) in a 1963 sit-down in Chapel Hill, N.C. Responsible militancy and dogged determination have marked the life of James Bevel (opposite, lower right) who is a field secretary for Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SCLC is currently sponsoring a film on voter registration which is being produced by RENEWAL's roving editor, Robert Newman. The faces of involvement are many. The goal is the same: full citizenship for the Negro . . . now.









CLEVELAND TRAGEDY: A SOBER WARNING

By JOHN ROBERTS

On Thursday morning, April 7, a group of Protestant ministers and rabbis met for breakfast at Church of the Covenant on Cleveland's East Side. The group had been meeting every other Tuesday morning to discuss and keep abreast of the news concerning the civil rights struggle over the schools. Toward the end of the meeting the Rev. Bruce Klunder rose to announce that there would be a demonstration at noon aimed at halting construction at one of the disputed school sites.

At one o'clock Bruce Klunder and a few others on the picket line ran onto the construction site. Some women ran in front of a bulldozer and, shouting to the driver that there was someone behind him, threw themselves in the path of the huge machine. The driver did not hear what they had shouted, and slammed the bulldozer in reverse, crushing to death the young minister who was behind it.

The demonstration had been peaceful and nonviolent, but a huge crowd had gathered to watch. Trouble had been anticipated, and there were many police at the scene. Even before the death of Bruce Klunder the observing crowd grew unruly as they watched police brutally handle nonviolent demonstrators who were committing acts of civil disobedience.

After the tragic accident, most of the demonstrators went into a church for a memorial service, and as the word spread that Bruce Klunder had been killed, the gathering mob began hurling stones and rioting. The resulting bedlam continued well into the night. Several attempts were made by Negro pastors to quell the crowd, but it got out of hand and no one could control it.

The mayor, as in the past, though he anticipated trouble, took the stand that he would wait and see what would happen at the school site that day before taking any action. He had done the same thing in February on Murray Hill where a white mob rioted all day and into the night anticipating a picket line around the Murray Hill School that never showed up. Both times violence erupted, the only difference being that not one arrest was made on Murray Hill, though property damage was extensive and several newsmen and Negroes were badly beaten. Negroes compare the way the police conducted themselves during the rioting of the white mob with the way they conducted themselves on April 7, and chalk up another illustration of "white man's justice".

The next day there was a solemn march around the School Board office, and this ended in a march to City Hall where a sit-in demonstration began. The police at the scene outnumbered the demonstrators two to one. At three o'clock the mayor, the School Board, and Civil Rights leaders finally met. At about ten o'clock in the evening a truce was announced, whereby Civil Rights groups agreed not to picket at the school sites, and school construction would stop for two weeks. The very next morning the president of the School Board (who left the meeting early) repudiated the truce. An injunction came out of the courts prohibiting any more than ten pickets at the school site, but did permit building to continue at the sites. The Civil Rights movement felt this was a betrayal of the truce, and this reinforced in their minds the belief that the leadership in the city could not be trusted.

An economic boycott is now underway directed against two downtown department stores in an attempt to get the business community to exert leadership. Also being boycotted is the Cleveland Press, whose reporting has left much to be desired.

The young minister's death brought to Cleveland many concerned about the Civil Rights cause. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who gave the address at a Memorial Service for Bruce Klunder, and Dr. Marshall Scott came for the funeral, as well as James Farmer and Dick Gregory of CORE.

The United Freedom Movement, made up of cooperating civil rights groups, is opposed to Cleveland's school construction program because the new schools are being built on inadequate sites to resegregate students who have been integrated into white schools (again only after months of picketing and demonstrations.) The construction does not take into account urban renewal plans, and therefore the City Planning Commission did not endorse the school program. One of the schools is being built on a street that is destined to be a six lane highway, while another is being built with no provision for a playground because of lack of space.

The School Board has refused not only to meet with Civil Rights groups on this problem, but has refused to talk with the Conference on Religion and Race made up of the top leaders of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant communities. It is because the Board has refused to open itself to hear citizen groups, and because it is going ahead building inferior schools in the heart of the ghetto rather than on the growing edge of the community that demonstrations have taken place.

The UFM is challenging the neighborhood concept of the schools. They feel that in this century children need the kind of education no neighborhood school can provide. The need is for consolidation of resources to make sure that all children have access to good libraries, science laboratories, special teachers and teaching methods. Their hope is that the educational park system will be developed. By building a campus of elementary schools, junior high and high schools in a central area, or in several areas on the outskirts of the city, children from all parts of the city would have available to them better facilities and teaching than any one neighborhood school could provide. This would assure integrated, quality education.

A strong group of Protestant and Jewish clergymen have played an active role in this struggle, not only participating in the demonstrating, but also by trying to interpret these events to the wider community. The morning after the death of Bruce Klunder, this group formed an Emergency Committee for Civil Rights, and their executive committee set out to meet with the newspapers and the civic leaders in an effort to release some sound leadership into the crisis. The group, a week later, seeing the impasse, agreed to fast every Tuesday from sunrise to sundown as an act of repentance. It also agreed to stop whatever they are doing on that day at 1:00 PM to pray for peace and justice in our city. The money saved from not eating that day will go into a fund to put out a fact sheet on the crisis. The fast will continue until a breakthrough is made in this community.

JOHN ROBERTS will become Director of The Outpost, a ministry of laymen in Cleveland, Ohio, beginning June 1.

Maggie ✓
Paul ✓
Ed
Mattie - please file

A Southern Churchman's Question Embarrasses the Church

WHITHER THE GOSPEL?

By STEPHEN C. ROSE

Ever since Birmingham bombings and Mississippi slayings began to convince America that the Negro might be serious in his demand for equal rights, clergymen have been saying that the response of Christians to the crisis would dictate whether or not the Church was truly relevant in our age.

As events in Birmingham and elsewhere were heralding "the racial revolution of 1963", church groups began to organize in a sort of last ditch effort to prove that they could overcome the lily-white, Anglo-Saxon image of American Protestantism. Numerous religion-and-race groups emerged after the historic Conference on Religion and Race was held in Chicago in January, 1963. Protestant denominations began to organize semi-official groups to meet the problem. And the National Council of Churches cut through the tangle of red tape that afflicts the ecclesiastical bureaucracy to create its Special Commission on Religion and Race, an agency that has done much to mobilize church action on the race issue.

Despite the fact that these moves were made a decade after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on schools and a full century after the Civil War, the beginnings of Protestant participation in the race struggle seemed laudable.

It can even be said that the churches have "proved" themselves relevant in the struggle. Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois has said that the outcome of the Civil Rights Bill will depend on the capacity of churches to generate favorable opinion. The President has received the upper echelons of Protestant leadership. And few are the pro-civil rights politicians that fail to praise the Christian community for its concern.

If this is so, then a chorus of praise might be expected from those who contend the renewal of the church depends on a response to the race crisis. But one who listens to the chorus hears a harsh counterpoint. On one side there are those, including most top Protestant leaders, who insist that within the past year the churches have "come of age." When Dr. Eugene Carson Blake faced arrest in a Baltimore amusement park last summer, *Presbyterian Life* magazine wrote of the incident as if the millenium had arrived. Indeed, the mere fact of participation in the struggle was probably enough to convince many Protestant publicists that relevance had finally been attained.

But the other side of the chorus, much smaller in size, is raising insistent questions, questions that must be answered if Protestants are to come to grips with the whole meaning of America's racial upheaval. Does the Church really understand its mission in race relations in a Christian context, or is it jumping on a secular bandwagon in the hope of saving face? Are Christians understanding the race problem in Biblical terms, or are they resting their case for equality on arguments that are no different from the arguments of a good citizen who does not share the Christian faith? Does the Church have a right to criticize society without putting its own house in order?

The man who has pressed questions such as these farther than many of his associates would wish is the Rev. Will D. Campbell, Director of a new organization called the Committee of Southern Churchmen. His story should illuminate the question of the role of the Church in the race struggle.

Campbell is a white man. He was born to life on a 67-acre cotton farm in a Mississippi town bearing the incongruous name Liberty. During Depression days, in mid-childhood, Campbell received an early lesson in race relations. He and his playmates taunted a colored passer-by with the hated epithet, "nigger." His grandfather told them: "All the niggers are dead, there are only colored people now." But when Campbell grew up to become a minister who led Negro children to school in Little Rock, he alienated the people back home. Now he can feel no righteous sense of rebellion at having shunned the South's traditional racial attitudes because he knows there are members of his family and others throughout the South who are in a tragic position. They see the writing on the wall. They eat their guts out over the problem. But they cannot change.

What is guilt for the white "liberal" in the South? Isn't it departing from the accepted norm? Does not the white Southerner praying for racial justice also secretly petition: "Father, forgive me for not being a segregationist?" Without this insight, the liberal who journeys from the segregated cities of the North to liberate the South just does not understand. Yet if Campbell had to choose between accepting or rejecting the naive invasions from the North he would say, in most cases, though not without a trace of irony, "Let them come on."

When he graduated from Yale Divinity School, Campbell took a parish in Louisiana, then became a chaplain at the University of Mississippi. He intended to remain at Ole Miss the rest of his life. He was actually there just slightly more than two years. The story of his short tenure on the Ole Miss campus in instructive.

It became known that a speaker Campbell had invited to appear at a religious emphasis week was a contributor to the NAACP. The University raised a fuss and the engagement was cancelled. Campbell responded by refusing to find a substitute. The religious emphasis week became a week of silent prayer for students who were very much aware of why silence was made necessary.

Later, in the summer of 1956, Campbell tried to talk a young Negro Baptist preacher into taking a correspondence course at the University. He invited the light skinned Negro to the campus and the two played a game of ping pong in one of the University buildings. A hostile student called the University's Assistant Registrar who demanded of Campbell, "Was he a nigger?" Campbell replied, "Well, if you can't tell the difference, what difference does it make?"

After that the going became rough. Campbell was investigated by the White Citizens Council and the State Sovereignty Commission. He and his wife received intimidating letters and calls. Someone spiked punch at a reception for incoming students with human waste.

The situation became intolerable and Campbell left to join the National Council of Churches Department of Racial and Cultural Relations as head of its Southern Office in Nashville, Tenn., where he has lived ever since.

It was during his time with the National Council that Campbell's theological understanding of the race problem began to mature, partly in reaction to the official views of the National Council. The National Council viewed Campbell more or less as "our man in the South." His function was to keep tabs on the racial situation and "to aid the churches in crystallizing a position of action in the solution of community problems in the South."

Campbell grew to see his role in two ways. He could, by virtue of birth and background, go where Northerners feared to tread and help behind the scenes in the resolution of racial conflicts. This he has done with a finesse that has led the Field Foundation to call him an "indispensible man" in the South. His second, and for him more important role, was to be a preacher to the Southern churches. The job was not to bully the churches into action (a futile process in most cases), but to convince them that racial justice has to do with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Nowhere in the nation are people more "religious" than in the South. What they need is honest preaching, not from the treatises of Social Work but from the Bible they have known from childhood.

Campbell summed it up in one of the best books to date on religion and race, his *Race and The Renewal of The Church*: "When a church organization needs personnel in the field of human relations it is inclined to look for effective, skilled social reformers or human engineers, but rarely preachers and prophets. . . . All our human engineering is vain if we miss the unambiguous point that, in the (Christian) message, race is irrelevant. The only relevant point has to do with redemption, not race, class, or caste. . . . It might have been better if the Supreme Court had not ruled favorably on the subject of race. Then we would have been forced to speak, if we spoke at all, from the vantage point of the Christian gospel. We would have been required to say, Thus saith the Lord! Not, Thus saith the law! . . . If all church institutions, colleges and universities, hospitals, secondary and primary schools, camps, assembly grounds, homes for the aged and orphanages were open to all, there would not be very much remaining for society to do."

The point of what Campbell is saying is so simple that it is a mystery to determine why his "preaching" has proved an enigma to National Council officials and others. He seems to be saying that it might be well for a Christian involved in race relations to preach to the segregationist (and to integrationists) from the standpoint of the Christian Gospel. Now there may be those who argue that the Christian Gospel is confusing and subject to different interpretations. But Campbell's point is that if one is to work within the Church, then one should be subject to the Church's understanding, regardless of how difficult that might be. For to come to a Christian position on race relations from any other perspective is not to renew the churches but to blatently deny that the Church has anything at all to say.

Besides, Campbell contends with great wisdom that the segregationist, both Northern and Southern, is well equipped to argue the issues on secular grounds. But how can he argue, asks Campbell, when faced with the fact that God in Christ reconciled all men to Himself and that, by defini-

A word to the South from the South

tion, there is in Christ neither slave nor free, Jew nor Greek.

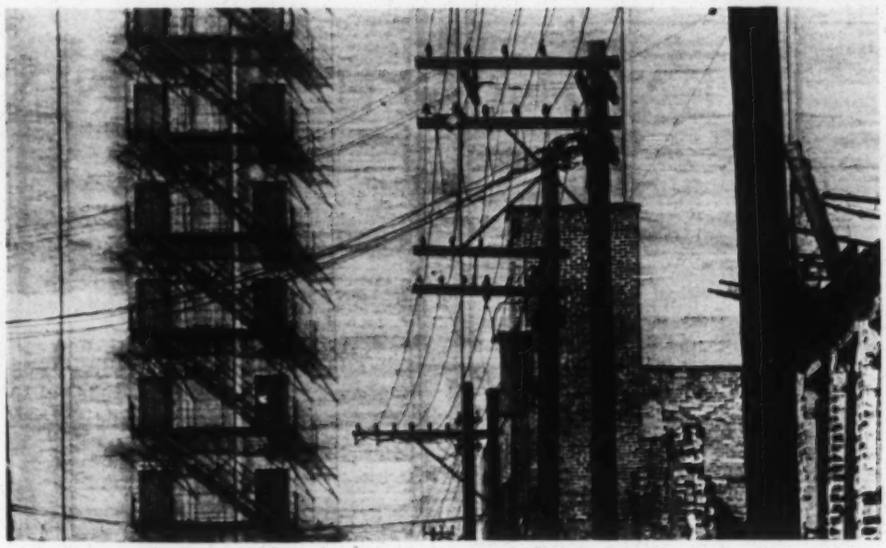
An added question: The Christian understands that all men are involved in the network of sin that enmeshes our world. The Negro is no better than the white. But, in forfeiting their distinctive understanding, Christians are forced to identify lock, stock and barrel with the aims and ideology of the civil rights groups, aims often every bit as selfish (whether justified or not) as the aims of the segregationist.

The severing of Campbell's relationship with the National Council was a direct result of his interpretation of his job in terms of preaching rather than social engineering. At the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, Campbell prepared a speech in which he indicated that Negroes—human nature being equal—were as likely to do violence to whites as *vice versa*. He went on to say that the churches should purify their own theology if they are interested in renewing themselves. Campbell's reference to the evil potentialities of Negroes caused panic among National Council officials who prevailed upon him to eliminate the reference from his address. It was not politic, they felt, to say that Negroes were equally bad in relation to whites, though it was perfectly all right to say they were equally good.

This, among other things, triggered Campbell's resignation from the National Council in the summer of 1963.

When he resigned, Campbell was determined to set up an organization that would mirror his conviction that the race problem should be met with the Christian Gospel rather than a humanistic approach. Before long he had organized a group of Southern ministers and laymen to form The Committee of Southern Churchmen. The Committee, with Campbell as the full time staff member, seeks to do three things. Members are committed to preach the Gospel in the South, offering assistance to Christians who are seeking to break the bonds of a heretical, segregationist religion. The Committee will seek to help deposed clergymen remain in the South as "preachers at large." And Committee members will travel to racial trouble spots to bring aid to church groups caught in the despair of hate and indecision. The aim of the Committee is the renewal of the churches of the South. With members in twelve Southern states it seeks to work within the churches to raise basically one question: What does it mean when we say, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself."

Robert Newman



Campbell believes Northern Christians should devote more time to urban problems

Campbell feels at home in his new job. He can preach to his heart's content without questioning memoranda from New York. And, despite his disclaimers, he will continue to function as a wise and seasoned observer of the social realities in his part of the nation, offering counsel to the wide number of persons who seek it.

What Campbell is saying is relevant to the North, for it is becoming plain that the same attitudes exist there. Ministers may preach on the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and the newspaper headlines, but it is clear that significant renewal will involve self-understanding in the light of the Gospel. And for one who regards the Campbell approach with curiosity and perhaps a feeling that it might be an honest one for the Church to pursue, a good starting task would be to read the following from the inaugural declaration of the Committee of Southern Churchmen:

> In dying for all men, Christ destroyed every barrier which denies fellowship, brotherhood, and community between and among all men. Beginning in the Church, therefore, worldly standards must cease to count in relationships among men, or Christ's death and resurrection are mocked. But we in the South have made distinctions of our own creation between men. . . . Thereby, we have contradicted in our faith and life the unity of all men created by God's act in Christ: we have proclaimed the order of the world instead of the Kingdom of Christ; we have crucified Christ anew; we have led the Church to become like the nations, instead of being a light to the nations. But "when anyone is united in Christ, there is a new world. . . . From first to last this has been the work of God." He has reconciled all men to himself and he has entrusted to us the service of reconciliation. We proclaim in faith and with our lives that Christ's reconciliation of all men is neither social stratagem or political expedient, but the gift of God that has and does and will liberate men from bondage and death—forever more, but also while still in life.

The churches cannot save themselves through good works in race relations; the suggestion is rather that a true church, by definition, makes no room for race. If the church is the last institution to desegregate, Campbell's critics may be forced to wonder if there was not some point in the preaching of this somewhat enigmatic man from Mississippi.

In The Northern Suburbs

BREAKING THE HOUSING BARRIER

By CAROL KLEIMAN

The house on Blackhawk lane in Park Forest, a development community 25 miles south of Chicago's Loop, is a small, two bedroom home, modest by anyone's standards.

Yet, it is very special: Its owners, Jacqueline and Terry Robbins, are one of the first Negro families to move into this community of almost 30,000 whites.

They and their two young sons have lived there for almost one-year-and-one-half. There has been no violence. There have been no threats. The Robbins are part of the community.

This, unfortunately, is not true for Negroes in other suburban communities. Violence and hatred are grim realities to be faced.

In many American suburbs, however, private groups of plain citizens have gotten together to try to make their strong feelings for equal housing opportunities known. Community statements, with hundreds of signatures, have been gathered and published by such suburbs as Evanston, Glenview, Winnetka, Wilmette, and Hinsdale, not to mention numerous other suburbs throughout the country.

Religious statements have been made in the papers, too. Appeals and support for freedom of residence have been given from the pulpit of almost every church and synagogue in the suburbs.

Human Relations Committees are being formed. Discussions and workshops are being held. In each suburb surrounding Chicago, individuals are trying to locate homes for sale whose owners will sell to Negroes. Each day, more and more people become involved in the effort. Even in the suburbs, integration must be faced.

Skokie now has five Negro families living throughout its large village. Most people are not aware of it, which points up the great progress that has been made by that town. Four years ago, when the first Negro family moved in, the story was not a pleasant one. There were threats, violence, intimidation until common sense took over.

A Negro's buying a suburban home is one thing. Real estate agents do all they can to thwart this. Rumors of a Negro even looking at a house usually cause panic among the neighbors, a panic the real estate agents play on.

What then is so different about Park Forest, where eight Negro families now live peacefully, where real estate values have been maintained, where white persons continue to buy and rent in what they know is an integrated—even only slightly—community? Why haven't the vacancy rates increased? Where is the panic?

"Some unpleasant things have happened, but nothing terrible. And the reason nothing terrible happened is that there is an active group of responsible citizens in Park Forest who made sure nothing did."

That is Terry Robbins' explanation for his relatively quiet move into Park Forest. Terry is a good-looking young man in his late 20s. He is a chemist with Nalco, was, in fact, the first Negro chemist the company hired.

Telborn Smyth

Terry was born in Alabama and came to Chicago as a child. He lived on the South Side, went to school there. He's a graduate of Wilson Jr. College and Roosevelt University. Jackie, his attractive wife, also in her late 20s, was born in Chicago, majored in sociology at Wilson.

The Robbins' educational background and professional status fit into the general Park Forest picture. The community was developed in 1948 and has consistently attracted the young man on his way up. Because of this, there is a large turnover of homeowners and rentals—people are going on to bigger and better things. But the turnover is no larger than that of, say, Levittown or any other developmental community. Houses range from $11,000 to $30,000, with most houses at $20,000. There are also rentals and cooperatives.

Terry heard about Park Forest from a co-worker at Nalco. "We were living in Englewood, a blighted area," he explained. "The owner of our apartment building let it run downhill. He stopped planting grass. We always had furnace trouble. And yet we were paying high rents."

"That was only one part of it," said Jackie. "The boys were really suffering from the schools. Kevin is now 8 and Keith, 9. We had brought them up to love school, to love learning, to love to read.

"After a few years in school, they were beginning to lose this. Keith had seven substitute teachers in one marking period, none fully-certified. This can be devastating to a child. We spoke better grammar at home than the boys were learning in school.

"I was active in the PTA, but we got nowhere. Kevin was transferred to the first mobile unit, the Willis Wagons. We had a sit-in. We picketed. We protested. We could do nothing.

"To make matters worse, the boys were on double shifts. And, by the time we moved, both my sons were in mobile units."

Both Jackie and Terry were strongly aware of the importance of education to their sons. She constantly checked on the children's progress. She learned some disturbing things: The students were not allowed to take books home; yet, her boys wanted to read more. Teachers were forced to spend most of their time maintaining discipline in the overcrowded classes. Her boys were bored.

With a frequent turnover of teachers, crowded classes, the hated Willis Wagons for classrooms, the boys got the message implicit in such treatment: Nobody cared very much about them or what they did. And they began to act accordingly.

"I managed to get special privileges for them by being persistent," Jackie said. "But I felt so horrible about it. What about the boys whose mothers were not there fighting for them? And what had I really won anyway? The schools were terrible."

This decided them. They had to move.

Where can a Negro couple move to in the Chicago area? And how? The tight, white ring of suburbs that surrounds Chicago is almost as inflexible as the minds that have created it. Developers, builders, real estate agencies are cruel and precise when it comes to blocking Negroes' efforts to move out of the ghetto.

Developers, builders and real estate agencies will often permit a Negro to look at a house that is for sale. They do this because they know absolutely they will not sell to him, nor will the people they represent. So they don't mind being condescendingly polite.

The hypocrisy of these men is covered up by a favorite apology of theirs: "Oh, *we're* not prejudiced. We're just representing the wishes of the owners."

In Glenview, recently, this thin cover was easily pierced, but no one is very happy to find out what they knew all along: some real estate agents further racial hatred.

A house was listed with a Glenview real estate agency. The owner moved to California. He wrote the agency he wanted his house shown on a nondiscriminatory basis. The letter was never answered. He wrote again. He sent a friend in to check on the agency's honoring of their contract. The friend brought a Negro with her, a man who wanted to look at the house. They were turned down flat. Absolutely not, they were told—despite the owner's request.

Rather than show the home to a Negro, when the owner had said he would sell to anyone who wanted to buy, the agency said it would return the key to the owner. They offered to buy the house. The offer was turned down.

This is an ugly story, but only one of many, and it is repeated daily in the suburbs, where Negroes are barred from many homes for sale.

The alternative is to practice deception, such as was done in Skokie. There, a white man bought the house the Negro couple was permitted to look at. Within a few minutes of completing the closing purchase of the house, the white buyer immediately sold it to the Negro couple.

But a Negro's troubles only begin there. Most banks deny them mortgages when they learn the purchase is a home in a previously unintegrated community. Fire, theft, personal property insurance are also extremely difficult to obtain.

Often, once the couple has managed to get over those hurdles, sufficient police protection is not given. They are harassed, threatened, put under tremendous pressure and danger.

The irony of the horror the real estate agents, builders and developers have wrought is that real estate is very slow in the Chicago area. There are high vacancy rates, slow turnover of houses. Most persons selling homes sustain a loss. If homes were offered on an open basis, the market would be brisk, active and profitable.

One of the few lucrative real estate markets in this area is Hyde Park, which is a community where freedom of residence has been put into action. It is a manifest example of the truism that integration is good business.

The Robbins knew everything was stacked against them, but they decided to take the big step.

"We didn't have enough money to buy; we planned to rent," Terry said. Their first choice was Hyde Park, but rentals were too high.

"I came out to Park Forest and put in an application for a rental unit," Terry said with a wry smile. "There were many advertisements for rentals, and a high vacancy rate. Everyone else—the white applicants, that is—was accepted then and there. But I was told the Board would have to approve my application."

Terry really hadn't expected too much trouble. He knew a Negro professor had lived for a while in the community and had been respected. The professor had sold his house to

a white couple four years previously when he had been offered an attractive teaching post at an important New York university.

There had been no violence when the professor had bought his home in Park Forest. What Terry Robbins didn't know was that the professor had a great deal of difficulty in buying his home in the first place; and that the only reason there was not violence at that time was due to the efforts of dedicated, responsible Park Forest neighbors.

Terry's hopes for a home in Park Forest had also been based on the reputation of the builders for being "liberals," active in welfare work and community-minded men.

That was his hope, but the reality did not bear him out.

"I was shocked and disappointed when two weeks later, the check I had left as a deposit came back in a plain white envelope, no letter, nothing. Later, I did get a phone call saying the Board did not entertain our application at that time. But nothing in writing."

Investigation showed that the first Negro couple had gone through the same thing. They had tried to buy a home and were kept waiting eight months, during which time they were asked to come back weekend after weekend. But the developers never sold them a house. They had finally purchased a home from an individual in Park Forest who was selling his home privately.

The story on the developers of Park Forest is difficult to track down. They have claimed they rent, sell and re-sell on a non-discriminatory basis. Yet, despite the many applications through the years, they have never rented, sold or re-sold a house to a Negro.

There is no proof the developers have ever said no to a Negro, despite the returning of checks, despite the long delays. There *is* proof, however, they have never said yes to a Negro: Any Negro family in Park Forest has gotten there by buying from private individuals, through GI or FHA defaults or from buying, privately, into cooperatives.

CAROL KLEIMAN lives in Glenview, Ill., and writes a weekly column for the Chicago Sun-Times.

When the Robbins got their check back from the developers, they were downcast. But a friend of theirs, sympathetic with their plight, contacted Harry Teshina, an engineer who lives in Park Forest.

They couldn't have met a better man. Teshina has lived in Park Forest for 15 years. An Oriental, he came to Chicago from the West Coast and had his own troubles getting into the development. Teshina, for the past six years, has been working as a representative of Housing Opportunities Made Equal (HOME) in Park Forest.

This is a somewhat informal group which seeks persons willing to sell to Negroes. HOME shows the Negroes around the community, introduces them to some of their neighbors and makes sure their move-in is safe and sane.

This is what must be done to counteract the blocking techniques of realtors, developers and builders. Very few Negroes can move into an all-white suburb themselves. A great deal of help, advice and friendly hands and hearts are needed.

Teshina and his group had helped greatly with the first Negro's move-in. Teshina called Terry, encouraged him to buy instead of rent and asked to meet him.

"It is not enough for any of us to sit by and say what is happening is wrong," says Teshina. "We must assume responsibility for it."

Teshina and a handful of responsible friends ("We don't even have a name.") started to work to help the Robbins. They are all representatives of HOME and live in Park Forest, but, as Teshina puts it, "we're more of a real estate office than a social agency."

It was in the fall of 1962 that Jackie and Terry decided to buy. The federal government had let it be clearly known there was to be no discrimination in its VA and FHA foreclosure sales. This shows the necessity of laws to help the Negro. What happened in Glenview could not have happened with an open occupancy law. The Robbins took heart.

Through Teshina, the Robbins looked at a house similar to the one they were interested in buying. This can only be done in a development, of course, and forestalls unreasonable panic.

The house the Robbins wanted was selling for $12,000. They would be the third owners. It was only natural Terry wanted to see the exact house himself. He called a local realtor and made an appointment. He told them he was a Negro. They told him to come out. He did, but no one was there except an assistant secretary. Everyone else had disappeared. Still, because of the federal law, the agency could not say no. Terry was given the key and went to look at the house alone.

"I looked at it so fast, I got the wrong measurements for our rugs," he smiled, "but I guess it was better than not looking at it at all."

He decided to take over the mortgage and bought the home from the VA. From this point on, Teshina and his friends and the Human Relations Commission, an official arm of the community, took over the actual planning of their moving in.

The Robbins were invited to homes of people in the community, to meet them, to make friends. "The feeling we developed from these meetings gave us the strength to get over the difficult times," said Terry. "We felt they were natural. We didn't feel they were being 'nice.' We believed they meant it."

The chairman of the Human Relations Commission contacted the family in Chicago. Park Forest's Commission was set up 10 years ago, after the Cicero riots. It has been doing an excellent job getting community support behind smooth move-ins.

The Robbins were advised not to be around the house too much until the day they moved in. Jackie did not see her new home until the day she moved in.

The couple was advised to have an unlisted phone, to use a mover (he would do the job quickly and give a sense of stability to the process), to put curtains up immediately and not to worry.

The Police Chief spoke to Robbins in advance, too, and also assured him his rights as a homeowner would be protected. Police cars would patrol the neighborhood.

With the Robbins' move, similar to the first Negro move-in, the political and ruling bodies of the community—the Village Board, the police, the Village prosecutor—had one attitude, one concern: Law and order. Once a

person was a resident, he had all the rights the others did, they believed. They did not encourage Negroes to move in, they said, but their cooperation in maintaining the peace is what made peace possible.

Members of the Commission, of the Village Board and from the police department visited homes in a three block radius of the Robbins' home. Each homeowner was told the new buyers' rights would be protected. A fact sheet on Robbins and his family was distributed throughout the neighborhood.

Two persons objected strenuously. They said they would have a meeting. The Human Relations Commission asked to have one of its members present to help answer questions. The meeting was held—but no one came.

One of the objectors was the neighbor next door, who has moved. (A white family moved in.) He put up a fence. His side, he painted white; the Robbins' side, black. He did it during the night. The next night, without the Robbins' knowledge, some of their neighbors got together and painted the Robbins' side of the fence white, too.

In December, 1962, the Robbins moved into their new home, followed the advice given them to the letter. "We put the curtains up so fast, we had to take them down later and do it right," said Jackie.

A group of her new neighbors helped her clean up the house and unpack. At night, their husbands helped rearrange furniture and put up shelves. The people who wanted to be good neighbors were; no one heard from the others.

"It wasn't the best way in the world to move into a home," says Terry, "but it was without incident. We are grateful for that." It was the Christmas season, and neighbors sent over cakes and cookies and made personal visits to welcome the new family.

The Robbins took the big step and now seven other Negro families have moved into Park Forest. None is in the same area; none of their children are in the same schools. Some are buyers, some are renting. And a Negro family, the newest, has bought into a cooperative. All without incident. But not without hard work.

The Robbins know their situation is not ideal. They often feel the hostility of some of their neighbors. They know there is a long, long way to go before they are accepted as being just like anyone else. But meanwhile, they are living full lives.

The boys are in an excellent school, have many friends, go to overnight parties, keep busy all day. Not everyone likes them, but those who call them names Keith and Kevin dismiss as being "stupid."

Jackie belongs to her area's babysitting group, sits about once a week. She's active in the League of Women Voters and in her church. She is taking religious and cultural studies from the Ecumenical Council of the Calvary-United Protestant Church. Terry is on the board of the Chicago Church Federation Layman's Division, which covers all of Cook County.

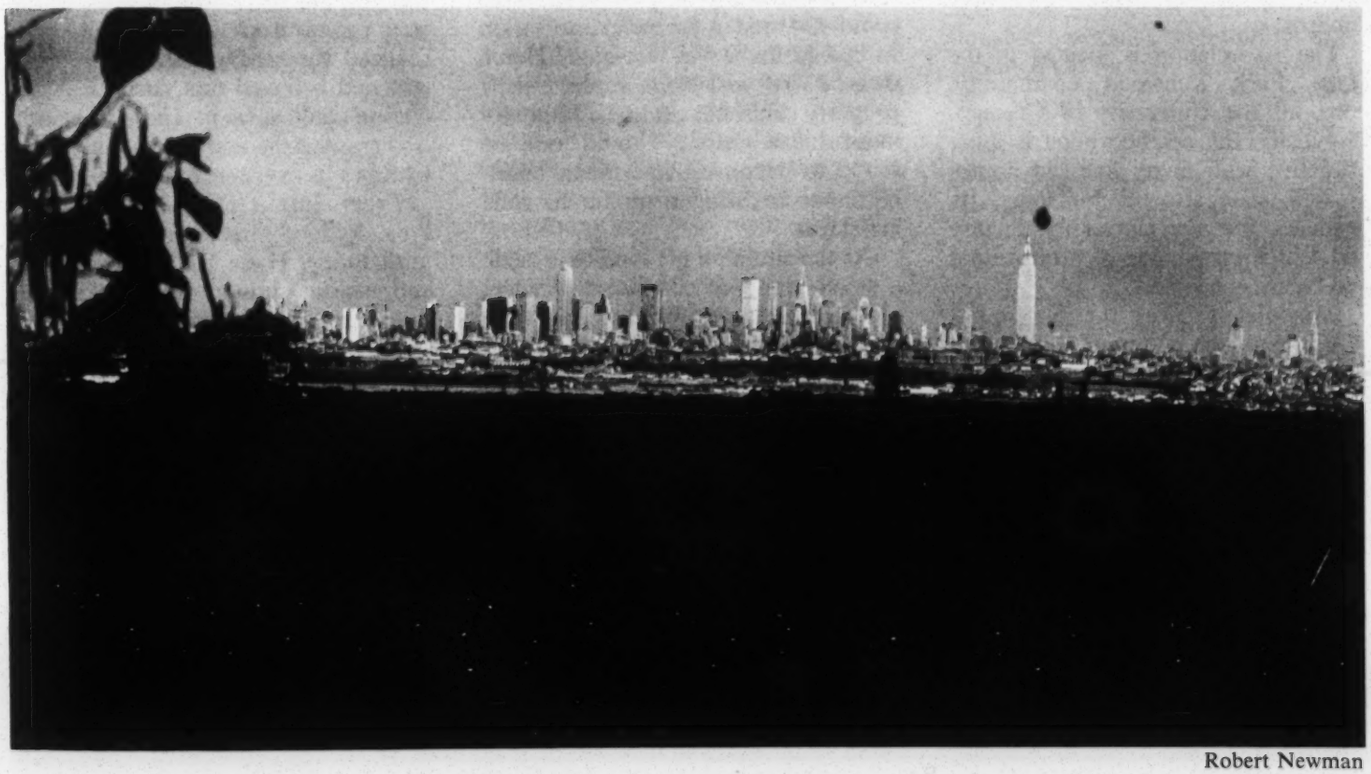
Both husband and wife are members of the South Suburban Human Relations Council. Terry belongs to a car pool with other workers from Nalco who live in Park Forest. "It was interesting to me, though," adds Terry, "that the man who told us to be sure to look here was quite upset when we did. He has since left both Park Forest and Nalco."

The family goes to community-sponsored musicals, Jackie has joined the PTA.

"We're much more relaxed now about living here," said Jackie. "It was so hard at first. But everyone has gone out of their way to let us know we have every right to be here."

"Of course we do," said Terry. "Almost all the excitement has died down. After all, we're old residents now."

And so they are.



Robert Newman

SELF HELP IN HYDE PARK

By ELEANOR PETERSEN

Dr. and Mrs. James Smith, well to do Negroes, wished to move to a suburb. A house was found, the owner pleased to sell, the suburban community quite satisfied that a Negro family was to be living there. Everything was worked out. But the Smiths never moved in. Why? They could not get a mortgage.

This wall of financial prejudice is one of the key reasons for segregated housing in Chicago. How can Negroes escape from the ghetto if they find it practically impossible to obtain financing for buying homes in suburbs or all-white neighborhoods?

Today if the hypothetical Smiths wished to buy their suburban home, they now could find a mortgage. Where? At Hyde Park Federal Savings and Loan Association, a savings institution organized because an interracial Chicago neighborhood could not, itself, get needed mortgage and home improvement financing. The story of this Association and its operation sheds light on the whole question of open occupancy in the city and suburbs.

The Association is located in the Hyde Park - Kenwood community, home of the University of Chicago. Physically, the neighborhood is quite attractive with many fine old homes as well as apartment buildings. Its residents include University faculty and a high proportion of professional and business people.

Immediately after the Second World War, the community began to decline. Blight increased. As Negroes moved in from the western edges, white families fled to the suburbs. The Hyde Park - Kenwood Community Conference was formed to "maintain a stable, interracial community of high standards." Citizen participation in block groups and intensive staff work against building violations halted the panic.

The University of Chicago through its political action arm, the South East Chicago Commission, helped secure the first major urban renewal program in the country for this community. Under this plan, 20% of the worst buildings were to be demolished with new housing and commercial centers planned to replace them. The remaining 80% of the area was to be rehabilitated. This would mean apartment buildings deconverted, boarding houses restored to single family dwellings, building code violations corrected. It meant a drastic reversal from the destruction of the community to its rebuilding and rebirth. What Hyde Park needed were families and investors willing to purchase these buildings and rehabilitate them. Only if the 80% of the community could be upgraded would urban renewal succeed.

But there was a major obstacle, the same obstacle which kept the Smiths from owning a home in the suburbs. Despite the tremendous amount of federal and city funds being spent in the area, there was not enough private capital coming in to this interracial area for the job of rehabilitation. Families who wanted to buy old homes and improve them could not find a financial institution willing to make the mortgage. Home owners who wished to improve their property could not get home improvement loans. Money could not be found to deconvert apartment buildings, nor to bring them up to code standards.

As the situation grew more critical, a small group of community leaders met to face the problem and explore possible solutions. This group included Paul Berger, an insurance executive who was the leader in the effort. Others were by occupation: two professors of the University School of Business Administration, a housewife, an attorney, and a manufacturer. It became apparent that a savings and loan association organized in Hyde Park could supply much of the financing and, if successful, would encourage other savings institutions to make loans in the interracial area. An organizing committee was formed, made up of representatives of various groups within the community, both Negro and white. This committee began the long, tedious process of organizing a new savings institution.

The Committee first made application to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for a charter. Their application refused, the group spent six months looking for a small, older association willing to move to Hyde Park. This failing, the group returned to the FHLBB and again petitioned for a charter. This time on the basis of the great need for rehabilitation funds in the urban renewal area, the group was given permission to proceed to organize. The requirements were unusually high: $1,250,000.00 in pledges must be raised from at least 750 persons within six months.

An empty popcorn store in the Hyde Park Shopping Center was the group's office. The intensive push to raise the pledges began. Thousands of letters went out to neighbors, wives of the committee members as well as friends spent long hours soliciting support. Finally on March 1st, 1961, the goal was met: over $1,500,000.00 was raised from a community that realized the seriousness of the problem and believed that such an Association could solve it. The Association was granted the first federal charter in Chicago in over ten years.

From July 1, 1961, when Hyde Park Federal first opened its doors until today, Hyde Park continues its enthusiastic support of the Association. The Association has made over $1,500,000.00 in mortgages and improvement loans in Hyde Park, and as the group hoped, this success has caused other savings institutions to invest in an interracial neighborhood. Julian Levi, executive director of the South East Chicago Commission, recently reported to the Commission's annual meeting that the two principal factors assuring success of the urban renewal program and the rebirth of Hyde Park were the University of Chicago and Hyde Park Federal.

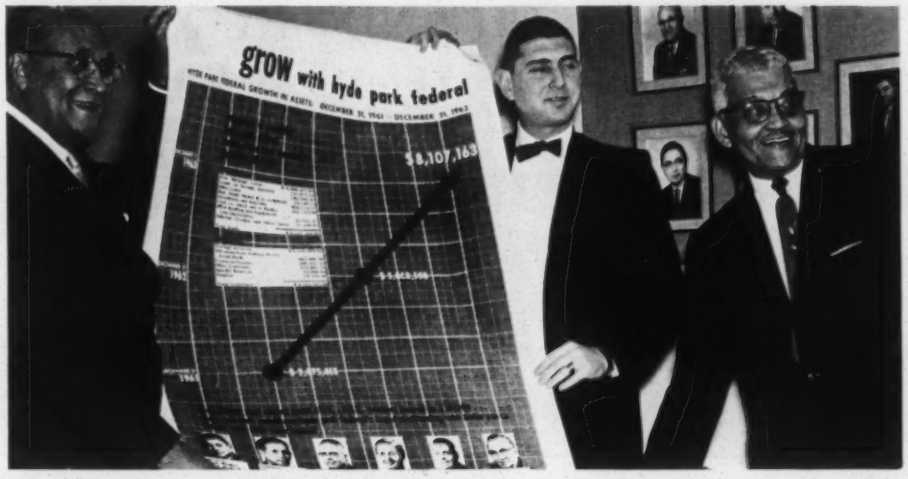
It is the role of Hyde Park Federal in rebuilding not only a decaying

urban community but an INTERRACIAL community that makes this experience relevant to the greater problem of maintaining healthy neighborhoods throughout the city. Most experts on the problems of our urban centers are convinced that if the city is to be a healthy, functioning part of our society, it must hold its white, middle-income families. And it must allow its growing Negro population to disperse throughout the city's neighborhoods.

If this is to happen Negro families must have the financing to buy homes in all-white or interracial neighborhoods, and equally important, white families wishing to live in interracial areas should be able to secure mortgages. The rigid pattern of mortgages for Negroes only in all Negro areas, and for whites only in all white areas must be changed. It is this unwillingness of financial institutions to mortgage white families who wish to remain or move into blocks where Negroes live that helps create and hasten the rapid change from an all-white block to an all-Negro block.

An additional difficulty for Negroes buying their own homes is finding insurance to protect their property. Most Negro families insuring their homes pay higher premiums for poorer coverage than white families. Hyde Park Federal has pioneered in this field also. Savings and loan associations offer insurance on the homes they mortgage. When Hyde Park Federal was organized, the Board of Directors, through its insurance agent, approached one of the largest insurance companies in the city to handle its policies. The condition was that the company take all policies on white and Negro homes and treat them identically. After much persuasion, including a tour of the area, the company agreed. It marks a real "first" in the field of insuring homes for Negroes.

Today Hyde Park Federal is making mortgages to Negro families not only in its own community but in neighborhoods throughout Chicago and the suburbs. In cooperation with the Catholic Interracial Council and the American Friends Service Committee it has mortgaged the homes of the first Negro families moving into the all-white suburbs of Niles and Brookfield. And the Association's experience has convinced its Board of



Board members at Hyde Park Federal

Directors that loans to qualified Negro families are as safe as loans to qualified whites.

The growth of the Association has been outstanding. Its assets are now over $8,000,000.00. Savers number more than 4,000. This represents a gain of over 600% in two and one-half years of operation. In this short time, Hyde Park Federal has assumed a role of importance in the city's financial community for its success in combining sound, conservative fiscal policy with non-discriminatory lending practice. The Association has used this outstanding record to put pressure on other financial institutions to modify their rigid lending policies.

While Hyde Park Federal began as a neighborhood savings institution it has attracted national attention for its non-discriminatory lending policies. Particularly, since the National Conference On Religion and Race was held in Chicago last year, religious institutions have been interested in the Association. The Conference stated

> Church and synagogue have a moral obligation to use more than monetary consideration in the expenditure and investment of their funds . . . The funds of religious institutions should be invested with a conscious goal of furthering equality of opportunity, particularly through investments in integrated housing projects and developments and through the use of such funds to facilitate mortgage loans to Negro buyers.

Such national religious bodies as the Unitarian - Universalist Association, the American Friends Service Committee, and the American Baptist Convention have opened accounts. Locally, numerous churches and temples have chosen Hyde Park Federal to invest their funds in. Labor unions, educational institutions, charitable organizations, are putting their funds in an institution which is carrying out the principles these groups are working for.

Paul H. Berger, Chairman of the Board, sums it up: "Hyde Park Federal is an interracial savings association because our community is interracial. What we have accomplished in the field of making mortgages available to Negro families is also only a natural outgrowth of our experience of white and Negro families living together in Hyde Park. Because of our experience we believe that equal housing opportunity is basic to solving equality for Negroes. First and most important, white and Negro families must have the opportunity to live in the same communities. This is the important first step. Those people and their organizations which believe in this equality should realize the power of their own money to help bring it about, or to prevent it from happening. They should insist that their savings institutions adopt non-discriminatory lending principles. When people understand that their money can work for their belief in equality, not against it, our society will make rapid progress toward real freedom of residence."

ELEANOR PETERSEN is Office Manager, Advertising Agent, and Treasurer of The Hyde Park Federal Savings and Loan Association in Chicago.

THE CHURCH AND THE 20TH CENTURY FAMILY

[A rector's newsletter to his parish]

I am feeling nostalgic for the good old days this morning. Not that I ever knew those days, but I have read about them in my history books. The Church used to speak with authority. When the Church spoke, the institutions of business, education, politics, law, medicine, charity and welfare, craftsmanship, and war listened. Several of these institutions were the direct responsibility of the Church; the others were guided and directly influenced by precepts taught by the Church.

Today the Church is like a mother whose family is nearly grown up. This is not to say that because these institutions have come of age they are always mature and wise in their decisions; often they are not, and fragile civilization trembles sometimes with the nearness of disaster. To speak of the major institutions of life as having grown up means simply that the authority of Mother Church in these areas is no longer significant. They are out on their own now. Whatever attention they may pay to the Church is like the attention we pay our parents after we have left home: respect, of course, but we make our own decisions now, and we find that we're doing quite well. Naturally, mother grieves to see her children grow up, leave home, and begin to meet the problems of life on their own, but the wise mother knows that to try to keep her young ones home and dependent upon her is against human nature.

I have been told that the one institution still at home with Mother Church is the family. For some families this is undoubtedly true, but for many suburban middle-class families, I doubt it. For instance, the Church assumes in its service for the Solemnization of Matrimony that the man and woman exchanging vows are entering into a relationship that takes precedence over all other relationships except a person's relationship to God. 'I take thee . . . to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part. . . .' This is what the Church teaches. Most of us repeated these words solemnly when we were married, and we believed that they were good and true. Our work was seen as secondary to this contract. 'We work to support our families' is the way we customarily put it. And, when necessary, we would change jobs in order to support our families.

When I look at what is actually happening in some families, I see something else: in fact, I see the opposite. In an increasing number of cases, the Church would be truer to the facts of the situation if instead of witnessing and blessing the vows exchanged between husband and wife, it witnessed and blessed the contract established between the man and his work. In these families work is the basic relationship, and it takes precedence over marriage and family. The wife is expected to support her husband in his work. If she fails to play a harmonious second fiddle to her husband's career, she ceases to be useful, and their marriage deteriorates into a more or less tolerable 'getting along' or, perhaps, divorce.

To avoid this, three abilities seem to be helpful: (1) She should be a good manager of the home so that home problems and the children don't interfere with her husband's plans; (2) she should be an attractive ornament to her husband when with him in public and social life; (3) she should be a willing partner when her husband seeks relief and consolation from the frustrations of his work. In return for these services, the wife can expect a measure of social status, a high standard of living, and adequate resources to pay the doctor for listening to her 'problems'. If she comes to her clergyman, he will be pleased that someone thought he could be helpful, but beyond listening sympathetically, he can't help her without helping her husband free himself from working sixty-five hours a week, and her husband can't be helped because he has to work these hours if he wants the job, and the job demands can't be changed because this is what it takes for a business to be successful. So this is where I came in. I'm fighting nostalgia for the good old days when it seemed that the Church could no something. The last child to stay home, the family, has begun to move out, and there is not much left.

Sincerely,
The Rector

P.S. The moral of this meditation is not that we should feel guilty toward the Church and seek ways to reassure each other that things haven't changed much. Some of us who have found that commitment to Jesus has brought a measure of freedom and significance into our lives will want to pursue what it means to be a Christian in the 20th Century, and we will be hoping to find ways for the Church, perhaps in new forms, to be real and relevant help in our search. Many more people, however, will want simply to know how to be a family in the 20th Century. So be it. The tragedy to be avoided is for us to defend the Church's vested interests and to seek to recoup its 'losses'. If the Church (which includes you and me) can put aside its nostalgia for worldly authority and give up itself for the sake of humanity, it will recover the only legitimate authority it ever possessed. Pray that the Holy Spirit will keep us faithful.

(This article appeared originally in Sword and Shield, the newsletter of the Parishfield Community, Brighton, Michigan.)

Back Issues Available

A limited number of back issues are available. There are still some copies of the special February issue on welfare and the public conscience, available in lots of ten or more at 15¢ per copy. The following issues are available in lots of ten or more at 10¢ per copy: May, 1963 (a photographic essay on the city); June, 1963 (an examination of race from a moral and social perspective); October, 1963 (different views on the ministry as a profession); November, 1963 (including William Sloane Coffin's article on sexual ethics); December, 1963 (full length essay on renewal of the church). Please order back issues in lots of ten or more.

THE Woodrow Wilson

Internship Program

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation
32 Nassau Street—Princeton, New Jersey

The Woodrow Wilson Internship Program

October 1964

THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

The first Wilson Interns joined the faculties of twelve Southern colleges in September, 1963. They were former Woodrow Wilson Fellows who had been in graduate school for at least two years, and had decided to take a year off from their studies in order to gain some teaching experience. In addition to the normal obligations of young instructors, the Interns had a special task. With their classroom teaching load reduced by one third, Interns paid special attention to bright students who might be encouraged through private tutorials or informal discussion groups to consider graduate study and careers in college teaching.

Origins of the Program

For several years, the chairmen of the Foundation's regional selection committees had been reporting an untapped reservoir of talent for college teaching. These were the students who appeared at interviews apparently able to attend graduate school, but lacking breadth and depth in their liberal arts training. More study would be necessary in order for them to take full advantage of the resources that graduate schools provide. Selection committees were reluctant to gamble on these students and reluctant to let them slip by. The complaint was frequently heard among southern committees, and referred often to students from predominantly Negro colleges and universities. These institutions were known to have an exceptionally difficult task confronting them because of the inadequate preparation their students had received at the secondary level. Their students were more used to planning for careers in medicine and law, and especially elementary and high school teaching, than for graduate study in the liberal arts, which was in any case often not a practical career ambition.

In 1960 the Foundation had begun to experiment with several new programs designed to retrieve these able but less well prepared students. In cooperation

with the Southern Education Foundation, selected Fellows were offered an extra summer of study prior to their first year in graduate school. By 1964 the Foundation served as the selection agent for an enlarged program of summer scholarships. Through it, the Southern Education Foundation provided 72 scholarships at seven southern summer schools for seniors and juniors from predominantly Negro institutions. While these awards were not tied as the others had been to Wilson Fellowships, there was evidence that most seniors taking the scholarships would be going on to graduate school eventually.

In a third program, the Foundation invited 28 candidates for Woodrow Wilson Fellowships to take an extra year at selected institutions. During 1964-65 Fellows would take mostly undergraduate courses and one or two courses at the graduate level, in the hope that in the following year they would qualify for regular Wilson Fellowships. The first year of the Qualifying Year Awards proved the value of this extra work in facilitating the progress of some Wilson Fellows through graduate school.

When Hans Rosenhaupt paid a visit to a group of Woodrow Wilson Fellows at Cornell in 1962, the Foundation had just taken a further experimental step by sponsoring Wilson Honors Seminars at several predominantly Negro institutions. The interdisciplinary seminars were an attempt to broaden the liberal arts background of the colleges' best students. How to make such students more attractive to the nation's graduate schools was much on Mr. Rosenhaupt's mind.

The Fellows' Response

At the meeting, the Cornell Fellows sounded a familiar complaint. Graduate schools seemed remote from the outside world, and one's scholarship there had the most intangible relationship to preparation for the other side of academe, college teaching. After two years many Fellows were uncertain about their careers, stale in their research, and suffering a loss of idealism. Hans Rosenhaupt suggested a year off to do some college teaching—perhaps in a predominantly Negro college.

Fellows' response was immediate and warm at Cornell, and wherever else Mr. Rosenhaupt offered the Foundation's help in securing teaching jobs. The change

of scene would revitalize Fellows' studies. The experience of teaching full time would help Fellows reaffirm their interest in teaching careers. And for those who wished to do it, teaching in a Negro college would provide an opportunity for positive action in an area where many had felt keen responsibility, but had not found a means of expressing their beliefs.

Of course, not all Fellows were interested in leaving graduate school for a year. Some Fellows felt that the Foundation was contradicting its own Dissertation Fellowship program, which offered encouragement to Fellows who could complete their doctoral work within four years. The Internship Program offered assistance to Fellows who were willing to defer their doctorate. The Foundation admitted the contradiction and then asked, "Why not?" Many Fellows would prefer to continue their graduate work, and for them a Dissertation Fellowship would be helpful. Others feeling an immediate need to teach would find an internship valuable. Eventually many Fellows would become teaching interns **after** completing their doctorates.

The First Year

By the spring of 1963 the outlines of the Woodrow Wilson Internship Program were essentially drawn. Using the Foundation as a clearing house, officers of the Foundation recommended prospective Wilson Interns to colleges which had been invited to send requests for persons in specific fields. An essential ingredient of the three-way relationship was that the college was to release a third or quarter of the Interns' teaching time for independent work with selected students. In return, the Foundation agreed to pay an equivalent portion of the Interns' salaries. The program offered to colleges not only new faculty of a high calibre, but an unexpected resource for the preparation of bright students for graduate school.

Dean Charles Hounshell of Emory University, one of the Foundation's regional chairmen, took over the task of introducing the new program to Fellows and to colleges. The first year was kept small and experimental. Thirty colleges, half of them predominantly Negro institutions, were invited to participate. Fellows were required to have Master's degrees or their equivalent, and to have completed at least two full years of gradu-

ate study. Discretionary funds were used to support the Foundation's share of the Interns' salaries. By the mid-summer of 1963, sixteen Wilson Interns were employed at twelve colleges for the academic year 1963-64. They arrived on their campuses in September 1963. No attempt was made to brief the Interns. With few preconceptions about the role Interns should play, the Foundation hoped that his first year would provide its own formulae for the future.

The First Atlanta Conference

The sixteen Interns, several representatives and friends of the Foundation, met in Atlanta in October 1963 for the first of three major assessments of the Internship Program. Astonishing developments were revealed. Interns had developed interdisciplinary honors seminars in cooperation with the faculty of many departments. Two Interns had been made directors of Honors. Others had fitted well into already established Honors Programs. Still others had spent the majority of their time working privately with a few students, sometimes within small non-credit discussion groups joined by other faculty members.

Not all of the Interns' work had gone smoothly, of course. There were the inevitable problems of the beginning teacher. Some Interns were being charged with responsibilities that are normally the prerogative of older, more experienced faculty members. Some colleges felt that Interns should teach lower level courses, and were less interested in their special work with bright students than in using Interns to relieve the heavy teaching burden—often fifteen hours or more—of well-established faculty members. Other difficulties centered around the inadequate preparation college students had received at the high school level. This, together with the tendency of many such students to load their schedules with professional education courses leading to the teaching certificate, made it often difficult, and sometimes impossible, for Interns to stimulate bright students to consider graduate study in the liberal arts.

It was reported at the Atlanta conference that many students had not been able to purchase books that Interns had assigned outside class. Nor could all students afford the expense of Graduate Record Examinations or of applying to several graduate schools at once. The

Foundation decided to give each Intern a $100 allowance, in order to help alleviate these problems. The Foundation also decided to assist Interns in small individual projects for which college funds were not normally available. In this way over the year, the Foundation supported book fairs, foreign film festivals, and cultural trips for honor students.

The Conference revealed that Interns could play a genuine role in the colleges' counselling and nominating process. The Foundation wrote two hundred graduate school Deans to inquire what their financial resources were for assistance to students from predominantly Negro colleges. Among other things, the Deans were asked whether they would give weight to letters of recommendation from Wilson Interns. Their replies were encouraging and these were compiled and sent to all Interns. During the year Interns also helped identify future candidates for Wilson Fellowships, and nominated some of the 72 scholars for the Southern Education Foundation's summer study program.

Expansion for 1964-65

As a result of the Interns' reports on the program in October, the Foundation planned a major expansion for 1964-65. Mr. John L. Watkins became the program's director in November 1963 and spent the next two months traveling to colleges likely to participate another year. Dr. Sidney S. Spivack served as special consultant on State Universities. In December 1963, the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of $405,000 to the Internship Program. It was to be spent over a period of three years and allowed the Foundation to plan for eighty Wilson Interns a year at forty or more colleges, most of them the predominantly Negro institutions.

The financial arrangements between the colleges and the Foundation would remain simple. After Interns had been recommended by the Foundation, all negotiations were to be conducted entirely between the Interns and their colleges. Once an Intern had been employed, the colleges reported his or her salary to the Foundation, which in turn sent the Intern each month a check equivalent to one third of his monthly salary. For 1964, this proportion would be changed to one-fourth; and colleges were required to pay Interns a minimum of $4,500. With the exception of one Intern, whose salary did not

meet that figure, all the first year's Interns reported that their finances were in good condition at the end of the year. Many, in fact, reported that they were able to save. As colleges began to employ Interns for 1964-65, salaries ranged from $4,500 to $8,000, and the average became $5,500 for the year.

The Second Atlanta Conference

At a second conference of Interns held in Atlanta in February 1964, several new insights were gained. It became clear that every participating college would have to be treated individually; each Intern would be left alone to develop a special usefulness to the institution he served. Interns would not, in other words, become technicians instructed to perform specific tasks. Secondly, in spite of some concern for continuity, the Foundation would not urge Interns to institutionalize their efforts to encourage bright students, unless the colleges themselves were able to contemplate the extra expense and time necessary for the development of honors programs. More than anything else, Interns were to be viewed as teachers concerned primarily with developing the close and individual relationship to promising students that could produce graduate students in the future.

It also became evident that Interns could be useful to the regular faculty of the college in their efforts to motivate superior students. Interns could use their released time for projects that many faculty members would have liked to develop had they had the time to do so. The success of Interns' work would thus depend in large measure upon the good counsel, recommendations, and advice of regular faculty members, as well as upon their deeper knowledge of the campus.

What form Interns' efforts took would depend upon the stage the college had reached in its development of an honors environment for bright students. Colleges that had honors programs would use Interns to teach already established honors courses. Colleges that were ready to begin developing honors seminars could use Interns for trial efforts in that direction. And finally, there would be several colleges that would find Interns most useful for individual work with bright students for whom no formal honors offerings were available.

Negotiations for 1964-65

Throughout the spring of 1964, Mr. Watkins brought 170 Wilson Fellows in contact with colleges that had requested teachers to fill specific needs. By mid-summer, 50 Wilson Interns had been hired by twenty-nine predominantly Negro and four white institutions for the academic year 1964-65. Fifteen Interns expected to receive doctorates by the end of the year; 20 Interns were married, several with wives or husbands who expected to teach at the same institution.

This was a smaller program than had been anticipated. Several unexpected problems had arisen. Over one hundred prospective Interns withdrew from the program in April and May because of the slow progress of their negotiations with colleges to which they had been recommended. Many such colleges were not able to accelerate their schedule of making appointments before the prospective Interns, a third of whom held the doctorate, accepted offers from other institutions. The participation of white institutions was less than anticipated due to the preference of most Fellows for employment in a predominantly Negro college. Finally, the Negro state institutions in Florida, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi were unable to participate in the program due to state policies forbidding the employment of white faculty members.

The Third Conference of Wilson Interns

A third conference of the 1963-64 program took place in New Orleans in June 1964 and provided the Foundation with an opportunity to assess the year. Success in the motivation of bright students would be impossible to measure, except in the rare instances where contact with seniors produced new graduate students the following fall. Moreover, it remained difficult to motivate for graduate study Negro students who had rarely seen or heard of Negro college teachers outside Negro institutions. Yet the stimulation that Interns could give was clearly valuable for individual students who would otherwise have failed to consider graduate school and college teaching as possibilities. Still more needed to be done to make these alternatives real to the student.

Pleasing evidence of the value of an Internship for Wilson Fellows was revealed when half of the first year's Fellows decided to spend a second year at their colleges. Even those who returned to graduate school were enthusiastic about their first teaching and counselling experience. All did feel that greater preparation for their Internship would have helped them be more immediately effective in the first months of the program. Consequently, an effort was made to bring Wilson Interns for 1964-65 in contact with Mr. Watkins, or with one of the previous year's Interns, during the summer.

The brief reports of Interns at the New Orleans conference have shown that colleges value the released time aspect of the Internship Program. They have in fact given Interns major roles in the development of their honors programs. In several cases, Interns were the catalysts for initial honors efforts, and all but one college desired more Interns for 1964-65.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the program remains its flexibility. The colleges participating in the program continue to vary greatly in the strength and development of their liberal arts and honors programs.

EXCERPTS FROM INTERNS' LETTERS 1963

". . . Wonder of wonders, I've got 12 history students who'll be going to some sort of graduate school next year and hadn't planned to previously! . . . sure we're no gods, no great scholars, no great teachers even (yet) but not every small southern college can get the publicity and charity resulting from a TIME article! For me, it's the most rewarding year; and my love for teaching, confidence in my ability, and satisfaction with a school less well-endowed than those I've attended, have all been reinforced."

Robert Lafleur

"It is logical to assume that first year teachers cannot possibly accomplish those things which older and more experienced faculty members have been unable to accomplish for years . . . (yet) the youth and inexperience of the Interns actually work **for** them rather than against them. To borrow a phrase from Henry James, we Interns come to our new posts with a 'fresh eye.' This 'fresh eye' serves us favorably in any number of ways."

Susan A. Gohlman

"Alpha Kappa Sigma, as it is officially known, includes seventeen freshmen and three faculty members. I happen to be the only faculty member who regularly attends and guides the meetings. We have met five times, on the campus or in a faculty home, and have discussed the following:

William Shakespeare's **Julius Caesar**
John Steinbeck's **Grapes of Wrath**
Arthur Miller's **Death of a Salesman**
Ralph Ellison's **Invisible Man**
William Golding's **Lord of the Flies**

"We hope soon to meet to discuss two or three Greek tragedies, and a collection of the essays of James Baldwin. .

"I am enclosing a list of the films on the program which we, with support from the Foundation, have planned for this year. For the films already shown, the audience has been from 200 to 300 people. We have been able to draw upon the support and the participation of some people from the University of Alabama, both faculty members and students, and will, in May, be integrating the local Negro movie theater with our final presentation, 'Black Orpheus' and 'The Red Balloon'."

William Chace

> "I did not assume that Negro colleges are staffed by persons who are uniformly incompetent, I did not expect to produce any instant fellowship candidates of any kind, I'm well aware that I'm a novice teacher, and hope that I haven't taken a cavalier attitude toward anyone."

George E. Langer

"Yet it seems likely that the Foundation recognizes the disparity in academic levels of the several participating colleges and also the hazards involved in giving too free rein to men who lack familiarity with local problems.

"In chemistry there should be some sort of original inquiry associated with the honors work and I have been thinking of building a distinct honors group from the top three or four seniors and encouraging them to tackle a modest research proposition around existing laboratory equipment or to go after some theoretical problem if they are so inclined. Also, it might be useful to start a seminar around this core group, including myself, for the discussion of current topics of interest in chemistry. If I had the time I would pursue the possibility of small groups visiting laboratories where really interesting work is underway so that the young men might get a better idea about their level in relation to the level of others."

Joseph N. Gayles, Jr.

"If indeed we Interns had Messiah complexes when we undertook our jobs, we probably were 'quixotic.' I don't think I personally ever had any illusions as to who was doing whom a favor when Bennett allowed me to teach its students; but if I did, they were quickly dispelled by my struggles to impart a decent quantity of knowledge to all those girls sitting before me. Oh, how I have cursed my fumblings, inadequacies, and downright errors! And how often I long for another chance to teach the same courses and do the job better!

". . . the administration seems to think that my value lies in . . . providing a fresh viewpoint on some of the old issues and perhaps even a few really new ideas based on my completely different background."

Judith Rich O'Fallon

"How much, if any, one should consider cultural deprivation when evaluating students is a question that should make any conscientious teacher an insomniac.

"Another side of the 'success story' is that too many teachers . . . do not feel the need for extra effort on their parts as well as the students . . .

"Perhaps, an intern's own example is the best way to convince others to help out."

William J. Whitacre

"What the students need is a good dose of what the Greeks called hybris—something that will lift them out of their state of sluggish submission and give them the feeling that **they**, and not the gods or the whites, are in control . . ."

* * *

"The spontaneity and joy that (the students) display in discovering something new is quite a refreshing change from the restrained, sophisticated atmosphere of the Northern classroom where the students seem to soft-pedal their delight at hearing something new for fear of appearing naive to their fellow students."

Susan A. Gohlman

"There is no way to conveniently summarize the most profound experience of my life. One relative old-timer from Columbia suggested that six months as an Intern provides accumulated experiences equivalent to six years of 'normal' teaching duties. I can only say in sum that the challenges have been stimulating, the frustrations galling, and the rewards very great indeed."

Douglas R. Price

ROSTER OF WILSON INTERNS
1964-1965

Mr. Scott B. Bennett—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Oberlin College 1960; Expects Ph.D. (English) Indiana University 1966.

Department of English and Foreign Languages
St. Paul's College
Lawrenceville, Virginia

Miss Betty Jane Brandon—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. University of South Carolina 1962; M.A. (History) University of North Carolina 1964.

Department of History
Elon College
Elon College, North Carolina

Mr. Jeffrey Knight Brinck—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Dartmouth College 1962; M.A. (Chemistry) Stanford University 1964.

Department of Chemistry
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

Mr. David Brudnoy—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Yale University 1962; M.A. (Asian Studies) Harvard University 1963.

Department of History
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Mr. Lawrence Caroline—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. University of Rochester 1961; M.A. (Philosophy) University of Michigan 1963.

Department of English
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Mr. Luther P. Carpenter—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Amherst College 1962; M.A. (History) Harvard University 1964.

Department of History
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

Mr. William Alfred Charland, Jr.—Fellow '59; Intern '64; B.A. Yankton College 1959; B.D. (Theology) Yale Divinity School 1962.

Department of Religion and Philosophy
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Eileen M. Connolly—Fellow '59; Intern '64; B.A. College of New Rochelle 1958; M.A. (Spanish) Fordham University 1961.

Department of Foreign Languages
Delaware State College
Dover, Delaware

Mrs. Penelope S. Cordish—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Goucher College 1962; M.A. (English) University of California, Berkeley 1964.

Department of English
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. William J. Donnelly—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. University of Notre Dame 1960; M.S. (History) University of Wisconsin 1964.

Department of Social Science
St. Paul's College
Lawrenceville, Virginia

Mr. George T. Eaton—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Duke University 1960; M.A. (Political Science) Yale University 1961.

Department of Political Science
Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College
Prairie View, Texas

Mr. Robert J. T. Emond—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.S. State University of New York, College of Forestry 1951; B.A. University of Chattanooga 1962; Expects Ph.D. (Economics) University of Virginia 1966.

Department of Economics
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Miss Marilyn Sue Fardig—Fellow '58; Intern '64; B.A. Oberlin College 1958; M.A. (Religion) Columbia University 1959.

Division of Social Science
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Edward J. Fontenette—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Southern University 1962; M.A. (International Relations) University of Denver 1964.

Department of Political Science
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dr. Joseph Nathan Gayles, Jr.—Fellow '58; Intern '63, '64; B.A. Dillard University 1958; Ph.D. (Chemistry) Brown University 1963.

Department of Chemistry
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Patrick Joseph Gilpin—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. Parsons College 1961; M.A. (History) Northwestern University 1963.

Department of History and Political Science
Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Susan Ashley Gohlman—Fellow '61; Intern '63, '64; B.A. Western Michigan University 1961; M.A. (Comparative Literature) University of Michigan 1962.

Department of English
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Mr. William Gohlman—Intern '63, '64; B.A. University of Washington 1955; M.A. (History and Near Eastern Studies) University of Michigan 1962.

Department of History
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Mr. Lawrence Goldman—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Cornell University 1960; M.F.A. (English) State University of Iowa 1963.

Department of English
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Mary M. Grow—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. Wheaton College 1961; M.A. (History) Fletcher School, Tufts University 1963.

Department of History
Bishop College
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Kathryn Montgomery Harris—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. Newcomb College 1960; M.A. (English) University of California, Berkeley 1962.

Department of English
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Rosellen Brown Hoffman—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Barnard College 1960; M.A. (English) Brandeis University 1962.

Department of English
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Mr. Jerry B. Johnson—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. University of the South 1962; Expects Ph.D. (Philosophy) Stanford University 1966.

Department of Philosophy
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. Peter J. Kellogg—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.S. Davidson College 1960; M.A. (History) Northwestern University 1962.

Department of History and Government
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

Mr. Vincent Thomas Kohler—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Lehigh University 1962; M.A. (History) Georgetown University 1964.

Division of Social Science
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Robert H. Lafleur—Fellow '58; Intern '63, '64; B.A. Dartmouth College 1958; M.A. (History) Harvard University 1959.

Department of History
Mary Baldwin College
Staunton, Virginia

Mr. Mark H. Lambert—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Bard College 1962; M.A. (English) Yale University 1963.

Department of English
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. George E. Langer—Fellow '59; Intern '63, '64; B.A./B.S. University of Notre Dame 1959; M.S. (Physics) Cornell University 1963.

Department of Physics
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dr. Dorothy Lee Lantz—Fellow '58; Intern '64; B.A. University of Oklahoma 1958; Ph.D. (Psychology) Harvard University 1963.

Department of Psychology
Virginia State College
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Robert H. Lewis—Fellow '59; Intern '64; B.A. University of Michigan 1959; Ph.D. (History) University of Wisconsin 1964.

Division of Social Sciences
Agricultural and Technical College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Benjamin M. Lifson—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. University of Minnesota 1962; M.A. (English) Yale University 1964.

Department of English
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Miss Christe Warren McCoy—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Randolph-Macon Woman's College 1962; M.A. (English) Stanford University 1964.

Department of English
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Richard Coleman Newton—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Southern Methodist University 1962; M.A. (English) University of California, Berkeley 1964.

Department of English
Bishop College
Dallas, Texas

Mrs. Judith Rich O'Fallon—Fellow '60; Intern '63, '64; B.A. Marquette University 1960; M.A. (Mathematics) University of North Carolina 1963.

Department of Mathematics
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Jack O'Neill—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Long Beach State College 1962; M.A. (Political Science) State University of Iowa 1963.

Department of History and Political Science
Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Thomas J. Patterson—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College 1961; M.A. (Zoology) University of Oklahoma 1964.

Department of Biology
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Bruce Nelson Robinson—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Dillard University 1962; M.A. (Economics) University of Oklahoma 1964.

Department of Economics
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Mr. George L. Scheper — Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Duke University 1960; M.A. (English) Princeton University 1963.

Department of English
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. James Marvin Shea, Jr.—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. University of Virginia 1960; Expects Ph.D. (Philosophy) Cornell University 1964.

Department of Philosophy
Centenary College
Shreveport, Louisiana

Mrs. Carole Rolnick Shlipak—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Newcomb College 1960; Graduate Study (South Asian Studies) University of Pennsylvania 1960-62.

Department of History
Bishop College
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Paul Thomas Sikora—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Xavier University 1960; Expects Ph.D. (Physics) University of Colorado 1964.

Department of Physics
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. George Ross Smith—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Wittenberg University 1962; Expects B.D. (Theology) Yale University 1966.

Division of Humanities
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Mrs. Judith Doolin Spikes—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. University of Arkansas 1961; M.A. (Spanish) Columbia University 1963.

Department of Foreign Languages
Virginia State College
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Patrick Joseph Sullivan—Fellow '60; Intern '64; B.A. Georgetown University 1960; M.A. (English) University of California, Berkeley 1962.

Department of English
Delaware State College
Dover, Delaware

Mr. David Earl Sutherland—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. University of Kansas 1961; M.A. (Sociology) Cornell University 1964.

Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Frederick P. Van De Pitte, Jr.—Fellow '60; Intern '64; Ph. B. University of Detroit 1960; Expects Ph.D. (Philosophy) University of Southern California 1964.

Department of English
Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Miss Ruby C. Waiters—Fellow '61; Intern '63, '64; B.A. Benedict College 1961; M.A. (English) University of North Carolina 1963.

Department of English
Benedict College
Columbia, South Carolina

Miss Mary Frances Watts—Fellow '62; Intern '64; B.A. Spelman College 1962; M.A. (English) Bryn Mawr 1963.

Department of English
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Miss Juanita Sullivan Williams—Fellow '61; Intern '64; B.A. Union College (Kentucky) 1961; M.A. (English) Vanderbilt University 1962.

Department of English
Trinity University
San Antonio, Texas

Mr. Bryant N. Wyatt—Fellow '59; Intern '64; B.A. Virginia State College 1959; M.A. (American Literature) Boston University 1960.

Department of English
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1963 - 64

President and Chairman
of Executive Committee ..... MILTON K. CUMMINGS

Vice President ..... A. V. PILLING

Treasurer ..... J. L. KIRK

JOHN BARCLAY — JOHN HATCH
RUFFIN BLAYLOCK — HARRY WRAGE

Executive Director ..... L. C. MCMILLAN

1964 - 65

President and Chairman
of Executive Committee ..... A. V. PILLING

Vice President ..... RUFFIN BLAYLOCK

Treasurer ..... W. T. BROOKS

THOMAS BURKETT — J. O. SCHRIMSHER
MILTON K. CUMMINGS — HARRY WRAGE

Executive Director ..... L. C. MCMILLAN

OBSERVANCE OF FIRST ANNIVERSARY

and

INSTALLATION OF NEW OFFICERS

of the

Association of Huntsville Area Contractors

UTILITIES BUILDING AUDITORIUM
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1964, 8 P. M.

PROGRAM

Prelude ..... WOODWIND ENSEMBLE
Alabama A & M College

A Report ..... MR. L. C. MCMILLAN
Executive Director, AHAC

Invocation ..... DR. HENRY BRADFORD, JR.
Chaplain, Alabama A & M College

Musical Selections ..... A CAPPELLA CHOIR
Oakwood College

The Occasion and Introductions ..... DR. MILTON K. CUMMINGS
President, AHAC

Installation Address ..... THE HONORABLE HOBART TAYLOR, JR.
Associate Special Counsel to the President

Response and Closing Remarks ..... MR. A. V. PILLING
President Elect, AHAC

Reception in Lobby

(Persons wishing to meet Mr. and Mrs. Taylor and Association Officers will please go out the exit door to their right front as they face the stage.)

THANKS

AHAC is happy to acknowledge the assistance of many individuals, agencies and organizations in its first year of operation: the Association's officers and representatives, the personnel on the staffs of the member firms, Army and NASA officials, the Federal Equal Opportunity Coordinating Committee, the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC), a large number of community organizations, ministers, city and county school officials, the local colleges and vocational schools, the State Employment Office.

MEMBER FIRMS
of the
ASSOCIATION OF HUNTSVILLE, AREA CONTRACTORS

(November 9, 1964)

Aerojet-General Corporation
Astro Space Laboratories, Incorporated
AVCO Corporation
Boeing Company
Brown Engineering Company, Incorporated
Douglas Aircraft Company, Incorporated
Federal Services, Incorporated
General Dynamics Corporation
General Electric Company
General Precision, Incorporated
Hayes International Corporation
International Business Machines
J. T. Schrimsher Company, Incorporated
Lockheed Company
Maintenance Incorporated
Martin Company
North American Aviation Incorporated
Northrop Company
Parker Aircraft Company
RCA Service Company
Raytheon Company
Redstone Machine & Tool Corporation
Reynolds Electric Company
Southern Cafeteria Company, Incorporated
Space Craft, Incorporated
SPACO, Incorporated
Tec-Production Company
Teleprompter Corporation
Vitro Services
Watland, Incorporated
Westinghouse Electric Company
Wyle Laboratories

AEROJET-GENERAL CORPORATION ● ASTRO-SPACE LABORATORIES, INCORPORATED ● AVCO CORPORATION ● BOEING COMPANY ● BROWN ENGINEERING COMPANY, INCORPORATED ● DOUGLAS AIRCRAFT COMPANY, INCORPORATED ● FEDERAL SERVICES, INCORPORATED ● GENERAL DYNAMICS CORPORATION ● GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY ● GENERAL PRECISION, INCORPORATED ● HAYES INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION ● INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES ● J. T. SCHRIMSHER COMPANY, INCORPORATED ● LOCKHEED COMPANY ● MAINTENANCE, INCORPORATED ● MARTIN COMPANY ● NORTH AMERICAN AVIATION, INCORPORATED ● NORTHROP COMPANY ● PARKER AIRCRAFT COMPANY ● RCA SERVICE COMPANY ● RAYTHEON COMPANY ● REDSTONE MACHINE & TOOL CORPORATION ● REYNOLDS ELECTRICAL COMPANY ● SOUTHERN CAFETERIA COMPANY, INCORPORATED ● SPACE CRAFT, INCORPORATED ● SPACO, INCORPORATED ● TEC-PRODUCTION COMPANY ● TELEPROMPTER CORPORATION ● VITRO SERVICES ● WATLAND, INCORPORATED ● WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC COMPANY ● WYLE LABORATORIES. ●

AHAC ASSOCIATION OF HUNTSVILLE AREA CONTRACTORS / P.O. BOX 1188 / HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

FOREWORD

Americans are America's greatest resources. From the nation's first settlers, Americans have made untold contributions to the social, technological, scientific and economic advances of not only their own country, but also the world.

To assure this nation that it continues to receive maximum benefit from its human resources, all Americans must be given the opportunity to contribute their talents and abilities.

The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors believes that all people within the Huntsville area should be accorded the opportunity to contribute to the progress of their community, as well as their country.

It was with this belief that industrialists and businessmen within Huntsville's missile and space complex organized the Association one year ago. With a membership of 32 firms, the Association is committed to a program designed to implement the concept of equal opportunity for every individual to develop his full potential through personal merit and performance, without regard to race, color or religion.

During the past 12 months our Association has engaged in programs which we believe are measurably changing the Huntsville community for the better. We submit in this volume a report of these activities.

We know we have only begun and have no illusions about the task before us. We have accepted the challenge, however, of the responsibilities our community status demands of us.

Respectfully submitted,

Milton K. Cummings
President and Chairman of the
Executive Committee

A. V. Pilling
Vice President, Member Executive Committee

J. L. Kirk
Treasurer, Member Executive Committee

John Barclay
Member Executive Committee

Ruffin Blaylock
Member Executive Committee

Harry Wrage
Member Executive Committee

L. C. McMillan
Executive Director

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1964

Dear Mr. Cummings:

On the occasion of this first of many anniversaries of the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, I would appreciate it if you would convey to all of the members my heartiest congratulations.

Your organization is fulfilling an important role. It is, we hope and believe, the forerunner of other such contractors' associations in local communities throughout the country. This kind of effort on the part of contractors is one of the best instruments by which they can achieve the objectives of the equal employment opportunity program.

In this first year you have not only become solidly established as an organization, but have also produced very creditable results through your programs.

I am confident that the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors will now go on from the fine start it now has to make a truly outstanding contribution toward our common objective of fully utilizing the talents and abilities of all our citizens.

Sincerely,

Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Associate Counsel
to the President

Mr. Milton K. Cummings
President
Association of Huntsville
Area Contractors
2205 "E" University Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 110 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1964 No. 16

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am particularly pleased that NASA has accepted in substance my suggestion that some indication be made for the benefit of NASA employees as to those public accommodations which are or are not available to all regardless of color. I hope that other civilian departments and agencies will take note of this development, which had its beginning in the Defense Department's longstanding practice of posting off limits establishments for the information of both civilian and military personnel. I commend highly NASA's initiative in creating the Huntsville Contractors' Equal Employment Opportunity Association, a kind of local businessmen's committee which I have long urged as an important element in developing community understanding and acceptance of equal treatment under the Constitution.

AHAC has been recognized in the nation's Capitol.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors (AHAC) is one year old. Formally organized September 5, 1963, the Association is comprised of 32 private industries within Huntsville's gigantic missile and space complex, and is committed to the advancement of equal opportunities for all individuals.

Primarily concerned with the assurance of equal employment opportunities, AHAC is also involved in such community activities as education, housing, public facilities and community relations. Equality of opportunity in these areas, the Association holds, is as much a part of equal employment opportunity as the availability of jobs.

The formation of AHAC was first proposed July 5, 1963, at a meeting of Huntsville industrialists and businessmen desiring to assure Negroes and other minorities an equal chance for employment within the community's space and missile industry. As far as can be determined, the Association represents private industry's first joint effort to provide leadership in the achievement of equal opportunities at the community level.

The Association recognizes that it is but one part of a broad program to effect equality in employment, education, housing and public facilities in Huntsville. Each member firm is pledged to place its influence and resources behind AHAC's endeavor to give leadership and cooperation to Federal, state and local governmental agencies, as well as public and private community agencies, seeking constructive goals in these areas.

AHAC'S FIRST YEAR

The Association has achieved significant progress in its first year of operation. While this progress cannot always be measured by statistics, the Association believes that it has been somewhat successful in reversing trends, motivating people, reorienting attitudes and rendering assistance to members of the minority race.

It has been necessary for the Association to lay certain ground work during its first year, particularly to gain the confidence of both whites and Negroes in the organization's programs and goals, and to create the proper community climate.

The Association cannot take full credit, though its members would like to feel that AHAC played a small part in bringing about the positive attitude with which Huntsville has accepted racial desegregation.

A job survey among member firms and the establishment of on-the-job training, summer hire, and co-op programs are opening new inroads in employment for minorities.

Upgrading of educational opportunities for minorities, though, appears to be a vital key to continued employment opportunities. In education, the Association, as well as individual member firms, have established definite programs, grants and classes to assist the community's colleges and public schools.

To alleviate problems in housing, Association representatives have met with FHA officials, held conferences with local builders, supported neighborhood improvement programs and actually located housing for newcomers.

In other areas, Association members worked with the city's official Biracial Committee and appeared before civic, social, religious and school groups to tell the AHAC story.

The Association's accomplishments and programs in the areas of employment, education, housing, public facilities and community relations are presented in the following pages.

The Association will be the first to admit that its job has only begun. But we are optimistic over our start and look forward to playing a continuing role in the improvement of the Huntsville community for all citizens.

EMPLOYMENT

A survey, made prior to the formation of AHAC, revealed that less than one percent of the more than 25,000 civilian employees of Huntsville's missile and space complex were Negroes. Yet non-white residents comprise 18 percent of the Huntsville area's total population.

To improve this situation without lowering employment standards, the Association has participated in the following activities during its first year of operation:

- Circulation of job information announcements
- Working relationship with major churches and organizations
- Job orientation sessions for prospective employees
- Orientation sessions for school placement officers
- College Placement Officers' Conference
- "Expanding Small College and Federal Inter-Relationships" Conference
- Resume file and referral service for qualified job applicants (see table, page 7)
- Urban League Skill Bank affiliation
- Job development project
- Co-op program for high school students
- Summer hire program (teachers and students)
- Counseling and guidance services
- Public panels regarding equal employment opportunities
- Job and resource survey among member firms
- Promotion of on-the-job training programs

EDUCATION

Members of the minority race holding jobs in Huntsville's missile and space complex include few products of the community's schools and colleges. This indicates to AHAC a need for upgrading the education and training opportunities available to Negroes.

Believing that equality of opportunity in education is the key to equal employment opportunity, the Association is directing a large segment of its total program toward upgrading educational institutions as well as individuals.

AHAC JOB PLACEMENT ACTIONS FROM MARCH TO OCTOBER 1964

RESUME BREAKDOWN

JOB CATEGORY	ACTIVE RESUMES FOR JOBS		REFERRALS FOR JOBS		KNOWN PLACEMENT ON JOBS	
	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent
Clerical	33	40	25	22	18	12
Draftsmen	12	27	10	14	6	5
Administrative Assistants	2	5	1	3	–	–
Technical	18	15	14	11	7	7
Data Processing	15	9	12	9	–	4
Production/Labor	10	40	6	40	6	7
TOTAL	90	136	78	99	37	35

REFERRAL ACTIONS

Civil Service	
Postal Clerk	10
Special Delivery	5
Clerk-Typist	56
Total	71

MDTA* Classes	
Auto Mechanics	12
Drafting	38
Computer and Data Processing	16
Clerk-Typist	54
Total	120

* *Manpower Development Training Act*

The Association has joined other community agencies, including local schools and colleges, in an effort to locate one of five Educational Improvement Centers of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in Huntsville. If approved, the Center will conduct a five-year pilot program to upgrade educational and cultural opportunities.

The Association's role in education also includes participation in the following areas:

- Scholarships (individual firms)
- Recruitment for MDTA enrollment
- NSF scholarships for teachers
- Equipment for instructional purposes
- Back-to-school promotion
- Classes in fundamentals: English, mathematics, vocabulary, speech, electronics, algebra, spelling (see table, page 8)
- Career series (orientation to careers for youth)
- Classes in data processing, digital computer education and programming, soldering and wiring
- Encouragement to establishment of private commercial college admitting students irrespective of race
- Evaluation sessions with minority commercial teachers
- Curricula critique for State Vocational and Industrial Program

CLASSES SPONSORED BY AHAC

CLASSES	STUDENTS (NO.)	INSTRUCTORS	REMARKS
Basic Mathematics and Algebra	7	Mr. J. D. Wilson Rev. L. L. Reddick	For adults who have been out of school and need refresher courses to improve job opportunities.
Algebra I	19	Mr. J. D. Wilson Rev. L. L. Reddick	Supplements regular school courses.
Algebra II (Section 1)	25	Mr. William Sanner	Supplements regular school courses.
Algebra II (Section 2)	15	Mr. John Acklin	Remedial class.
Advanced Mathematics	18	Mr. William Sanner	Accelerated class.
Shop Mathematics	6	Mr. James F. Gouge	For up-grading plumbers, carpenters, draftsmen and sheet-metal workers
Speech in Daily Living	12	Mrs. Joyce P. Peoples *	Held as sufficient interest is shown. Two held to date
Basic Testing Knowledge	10	Mr. Leon Frazier	To assist adults in their Home Study Plans to prepare for G. E. D. tests, for admittance to MDTA courses, and for Federal Service Entrance Examinations.
Vocabulary Building	15	Mr. Leon Frazier Mrs. Ann Wilson *	To help adults in their home studies for self-improvement and job examinations.
Trigonometry	5	Mr. R. D. Taborn Mr. C. E. Martin Mr. J. F. Gouge Mr. J. D. Wilson	For drafting trainees and persons interested in sheet-metal works.
Fundamentals of Electricity	16	Mr. J. D. Wilson Mr. Thomas Agnew * Mr. Claude Martin	To assist Explorer Scouts and junior high school students in preparation for careers and projects.
Basic English Vocabulary Spelling	4	Mr. Bill Jasper Mrs. Ann Wilson Mrs. Barbara Hundley (others)	To be held twice monthly.

* *Instructors not in Industry.*

HOUSING

It is generally recognized that Negroes have many problems securing adequate housing. Low income is the chief national cause of this limitation. In Huntsville, though, minority residents of substantial means had a problem as late as the Spring of 1964. Housing in predominantly Negro neighborhoods was either inadequate or unavailable, and it was virtually impossible for minorities to move into other areas of the city. Negroes were denied the opportunity to rent many of the vacant apartments or purchase many of the houses offered for sale. Minority engineers, technicians and professional personnel brought in by Army, NASA, industries and the two local colleges were the chief victims of this situation.

Since Huntsville's educational institutions are not yet producing trained persons capable of filling top jobs in the missile and space industry, most of the technical and professional minorities are imported. This means that job offers must be attractive enough to overcome, among other things, the housing factor.

Representatives of Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, including AHAC President and FHA officials from Birmingham, meet with Negro citizens to discuss minority housing problems.

The Association was fully aware of the above considerations in developing its housing program. This program has been aimed toward (1) upgrading the community climate for the acceptance of some of the necessary changes, and (2) encouraging contractors to develop open-occupancy housing projects. The Association's ultimate goal is the achievement of full equality in housing opportunities for minorities.

In its first year the Association engaged in the following projects to bring relief to the local minority housing situation:

- Housing survey needs (member firms)
- Conferences with FHA District, Regional and Washington officials
- Conferences with local Negro citizens
- Conferences with builders
- Location of housing for job recipients
- Human relations conferences to marshall public opinion in support of open-occupancy
- Support of minority community efforts for neighborhood improvement
- Aid and council for problem areas
- Conferences with land owners for possible housing sites
- Friend-in-court to minorities having housing problem resulting from discriminatory practices
- Negotiation and persuasion to expand housing opportunities

A high school student works in AHAC member firm through co-op program the Association sponsors.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Association's role in public facilities has been to work toward creating a climate conducive to the changes that accompany the achievement of racial equality.

The chairman of this committee, General John Barclay (Ret.), is also a member of the city's biracial Human Relations Committee, which attempts to work behind the scenes in promoting racial harmony, eliminating discriminatory practices, and smoothing the way for changing patterns in public accomodations and facilities.

Other AHAC activities in this area have included:

- Appearances before Biracial Committee
- Commitment to support of Civil Rights Act
- Support of public school boards' decisions
- Promotion of observance of law and order
- Counciliation conferences
- Promotion of Diversified Occu-
- pations, MDTA, and Huntsville State Vocational Technical School classes
- Promotion of State Employment Services
- Survey of public facilities available to minorities

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Association has carried on an extensive community relations program during the past 12 months. This program has included familiarizing both whites and Negroes with AHAC's purposes; working alongside organizations with compatible goals; orientating Negroes about new opportunities available to them; motivating minority citizens to rise above their present status; stressing the value of adequate education and training; and community improvement.

Assuming a great share of responsibility for the community relations program has been the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC), a group of Negro technical and professional personnel who contribute their time to working for the betterment of minorities through action programs at the "grass roots" level. The committee assists Negroes in qualifying for available job opportunities; encourages professional advancement; serves as a clearing house for mutual problems, and furnishes an outlet for social, civic and cultural activities.

AHAC President Milton K. Cummings (second from left) presents scholarship check to Alabama A&M College President R. D. Morrison and Business Manager L. R. Patton, as AHAC Executive Director L. C. McMillan looks on.

The committee concentrates its efforts in the areas of:

- Motivation
- Counseling and guidance
- Community coordination
- Job orientation and employment
- Cultural enrichment
- Housing
- Recreation
- Community orientation
- Continuing education
- Poverty

Other community relations activities in which the Association has engaged are:

- Appearances before civic, social, religious and school groups
- Job development project
- Anti-poverty war
- Commitment to Community Relations Services
- Cooperation with compatible organizations
- Publication of training programs, job openings, and planned activities through news sheet and radio programs
- Cooperation with and coordination of joint programs of implementation with government agencies (including NASA, Army)

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, STAFF

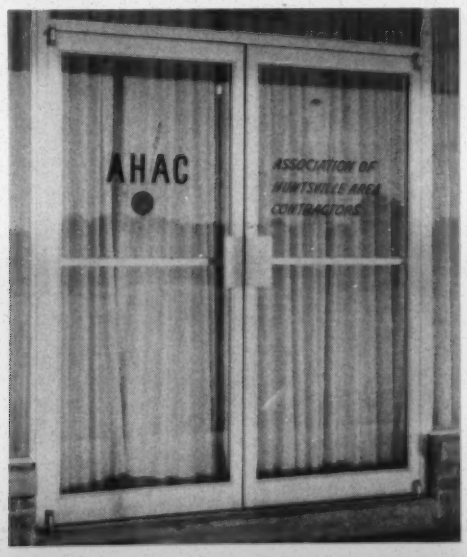
The Association's Executive Director and Secretary operate a fulltime office.

Besides involvement in the many phases of the Association's program, the Executive Director has represented AHAC at local, regional and national conferences and counselled individuals seeking guidance in education, housing, community improvements and other problems.

Open to all persons who desire its services, the office has seen the demands on it mushroom within recent months. Negroes, seeking a central agency for guidance in their problems, are beginning to visit the AHAC office in overwhelming numbers.

The load on the Executive Director and his Secretary became so great during the year that it was necessary for member firms to place personnel "on loan" to the Association.

The Association is proud of the role this office is playing in the community, and will continue to make its services available to those individuals and groups whose aims are compatible to those of AHAC.



Headquarters of Association of Huntsville Area Contractors at 2205 E. University Drive.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

NOV 3 1964

Mr. Milton K. Cummings, President
Brown Engineering Co., Inc.
P. O. Box 917
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Cummings:

Mr. Hodgson has informed me of the forthcoming change in officers of the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors and that you will be succeeded by Mr. Pilling of Hayes International Corporation. I take this opportunity to thank you for a job well done.

All of the reports I have received indicate that AHAC has served effectively in Huntsville as an instrument for community improvement in race relations. I am well aware that you were instrumental in organizing and financing the organization. Undoubtedly, your efforts have made Huntsville a better place in which to live and have contributed substantially to good working relationships between Huntsville area contractors and NASA. I am most appreciative of your efforts to further NASA and the Administration's programs in this area.

Sincerely yours,

James E. Webb

James E. Webb
Administrator

HEADQUARTERS
U. S. ARMY MISSILE COMMAND
REDSTONE ARSENAL, ALABAMA 35809

IN REPLY
REFER TO AMSMI-G

Mr. Milton K. Cummings, President
Association of Huntsville Area Contractors
2205 E. University Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Milton:

Please convey to the members of the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors and accept for yourself my sincere congratulations and those of all the Army agencies here at Redstone Arsenal for a year of real achievement.

Your energetic leadership and the affirmative attitude of the membership during this first, formative year, have combined to make your Association something that has no parallel.

Those of us who know you personally and who have worked closely with the Association in the past year recognize that you and the membership have one overriding goal which we can all share: making this community an even better place to live.

You have my assurance of continued cooperation and every good wish for success in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. ZIERDT
Major General, USA
Commanding

U.S. SAVINGS BONDS ARE SHARES IN AMERICA

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION
GEORGE C. MARSHALL SPACE FLIGHT CENTER
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

IN REPLY REFER TO:
DIR

OCT 23 1964

Mr. Milton K. Cummings
President, Brown Engineering Company
300 Sparkman Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Milton:

As you round out your year as President of the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, I would like to thank and congratulate you for a job well done. Your personal enthusiasm and leadership with the Association have contributed immeasurably to its growth and success in its initial year of operation. We at the Marshall Center, as well as all of our NASA Headquarters, are appreciative of your efforts and the efforts of the member firms of AHAC in helping to make equal employment opportunities for all citizens of our community a reality. We are quite proud that we have an organization in our community that may become a model for the organization of similar associations of Government contractors in other parts of the country.

I would like to give you my personal assurance that we at Marshall will continue to work with the Association in achieving our common goals.

Sincerely,

Wernher von Braun
Director

Heads of government and military agencies have recognized the value of AHAC to the Huntsville community.

Highlights of AHAC's activities from its formation are portrayed by these excerpts from the Association's official minutes. In addition to regular meetings, the Association's seven-man Executive Committee has devoted considerable time to planning and proposing programs, establishing policies and procedures, and directing financial activities for the organization.

JULY 5, 1963 – Twenty-nine representatives of firms in the Huntsville complex holding government contracts attended a meeting and reacted favorably to a proposal to organize in the interest of acting "in unity with well defined programs of action to improve the percentage of minority employment in the Huntsville complex." The group unanimously adopted eleven points of agreement and action; named Mr. Milton K. Cummings as temporary spokesman and chairman; formed an Organization Committee of R. A. Harrison (IBM), John Hatch (SPACO, Inc.), and A. V. Pilling (Hayes International Corp.); and agreed to adopt an organizational charter and elect permanent officers "at an early date."

AUGUST 5, 1963 – A second meeting included the discussion and organization of the proposed charter; the appointment of a Nominating Committee to propose a slate of officers; discussion of possibly securing a Negro as Executive Director; and the expression of words of encouragement from Col. T. W. Cooke (Commander of AMSC), Mr. Harry Rhett through Chairman M. K. Cummings, M. F. Shortridge (Special Assistant to Labor Relations, Army Missile Command), Col. Allgeier (Coordinator for AMSC), Mr. Marion I. Kent (Assistant to the Deputy of Administration, NASA-MSFC), Mr. Hawks (of Washington office), Rev. Edsel Keith, Mr. Nelms, and Mr. J. E. Harris (Negro civic club).

AUGUST 19, 1963 – The Organization Committee adopted a $35,000 annual budget and an assessment plan for members.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1963 – The Association charter was unanimously adopted; 15 firms were committed to membership; Association of Huntsville Area Contractors was adopted as official name of organization; Mr. Milton K. Cummings was elected President; Mr. A. V. Pilling, Vice President; Mr. Joe Kirk, Treasurer; and Messrs. John Hatch, R. A. Harrison, Harry Wrage, and General John A. Barclay to the Executive Committee.

Acceptance speech by President Cummings pointed up members' challenge to ensure that the Association does a job reflecting credit on the Army Missile Command, Marshall Space Flight Center and Huntsville, as well as the participating firms; he declared that he felt the climate was ripe for their affirmative actions in the interest of improving the plight of minorities in the community.

OCTOBER 3, 1963 – Mr. L. C. McMillan, Registrar and Director of Admissions at Praire View (Texas) A&M College, was hired as Executive Director of the Association. President Cummings reported on his participation in an open meeting sponsored by a local Negro civic organization and his invitation to the group to submit to AHAC their proposals for affirmative actions in the areas of equal employment opportunity, housing, education, etc.; other reports were on professional assistance given to Alabama A&M College to assist in their

accreditation efforts, and the tour and challenge given Oakwood College's Board of Trustees.

NOVEMBER 14, 1963 – AHAC adopted by-laws and articles of incorporation; met and heard from its newly appointed Executive Director (effective November 1, 1963); discussed proposals for a final two week membership drive; adopted proposed consultant's list of 50 outstanding Negro community leaders and citizens; heard proposal from Mr. John Bone (Lockheed) for making computer training available to local Negro college staff members and students.

DECEMBER 12, 1963 – Mr. W. B. Starr, Industrial Employment Policy Specialist, Equal Employment Opportunity Office, Southern Region, Army Materiel Command, Forest Park, Georgia, and Mr. E. Vincent Suitt, Chief of the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity (Air Force), Atlanta Contract Management Division, met with the Association. President Cummings announced that Oakwood and Alabama A&M Colleges had been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, which indicated that their programs were upgraded and that AHAC's past efforts in their behalf were beneficial.

JANUARY 16, 1964 – Mr. John Hatch reported that a new office facility for Association headquarters had been leased at 2205 East University Drive. Mr. Cummings reported that FHA officials from Birmingham had visited Huntsville in an effort to assist in resolving the housing problem for minorities.

FEBRUARY 13, 1964 – Mr. Blaylock reviewed activities of the Education Committee, including promotion of classes in computer education, drafting and secretarial science. Mr. Wrage, chairman of the Housing Committee, told of working with AHAC's Negro Consultants Committee in identifying four desirable sites for FHA-financed middle income housing to prospective builders; looking into needs and possibilities for low cost housing; and cooperating with a newly formed company organized to provide an open-occupancy trailer park. President Cummings reported that deans from Negro colleges were invited for the first time to participate in Huntsville's "Engineering Dean's Day" during Engineering Week.

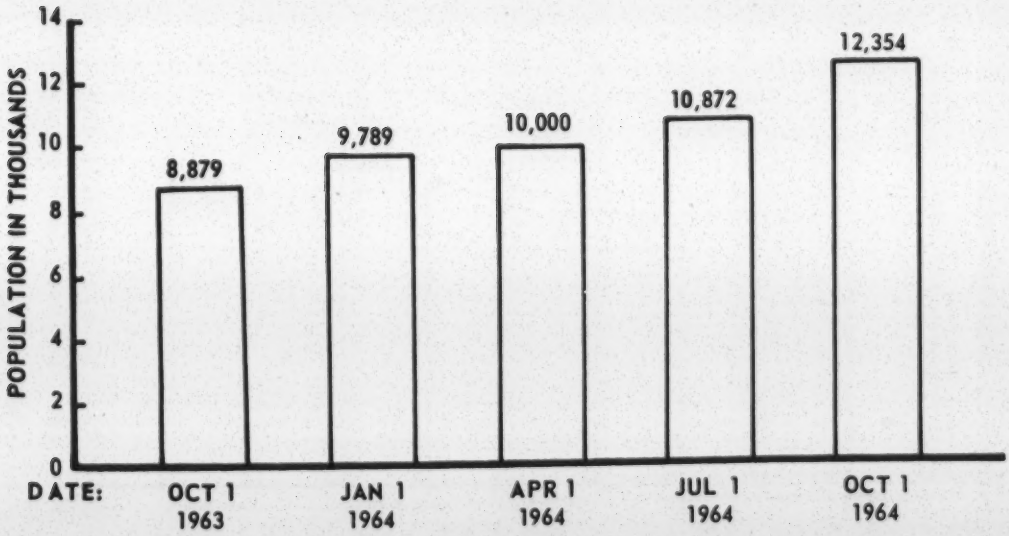
MARCH 23, 1964 – The Association heard a report from the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC), one of the Association's support units in the area of community relations. The Committee reported that it had identified 160 technical professional and service employees of the minority race in space and missile programs in Huntsville. The Committee reported that it had found that few of these persons were actually in positions which could be classified as "technical," and that few of those who were in such positions were products of local schools or colleges. Mr. Blaylock reported that the Education Committee had met with Dr. D. C. Agnew, Project Director of Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, to seek assistance in establishing an Education Improvement Center in Huntsville.

MAY 7, 1964 – Committee reports were indicative of progress in several areas. Mr. John Hatch, Employment Committee, reported that the committee circulated a list of students and teachers recommended for summer employment; sponsored meeting of minority commercial teachers with officials of the State Employment Department and new commercial schools, and conducted special tutoring classes for drafting students. The Education Committee reported that it met with state education officials regarding proposed programs in critical areas of need; prepared and presented to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools a preliminary request for establishment of an Education Improvement Center in Huntsville; met with officials of new commercial college relative to local training needs. Mr. Harry Wrage of the Housing Committee said his group assisted a contractor and the Army in finding housing for new employees and established contact with a local minority housing committee in the Pulaski-Cavalry Hill area. The Local Facilities Committee reported that the Human Relations Committee was undertaking new projects to open opportunities for minority participation in such recreational outlets as bowling. Mr. John Bone reported that plans were being made for a summer training program for teachers in computer education.

JUNE 4, 1964 – Mr. G. O. Unrau and Mr. Charles Brandon, who are working on the Pulaski-Cavalry Hill Rehabilitation Study Project, told AHAC members of plans to rehabilitate and improve this neighborhood. This effort blends with the Association's housing program.

JULY 9, 1964 – Mr. Herman Sweatt, Associate Director of the Atlanta office of the Urban League, discussed the operation of the League's Skill Bank and its potential aid to AHAC firms. Permission has been granted by the Urban League office to establish an affiliation with AHAC. General Barclay called attention to the appointment of President Cum-

GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT POPULATION REPRESENTED IN MEMBER FIRMS OF AHAC FROM OCTOBER 1, 1963 – OCTOBER 1, 1964

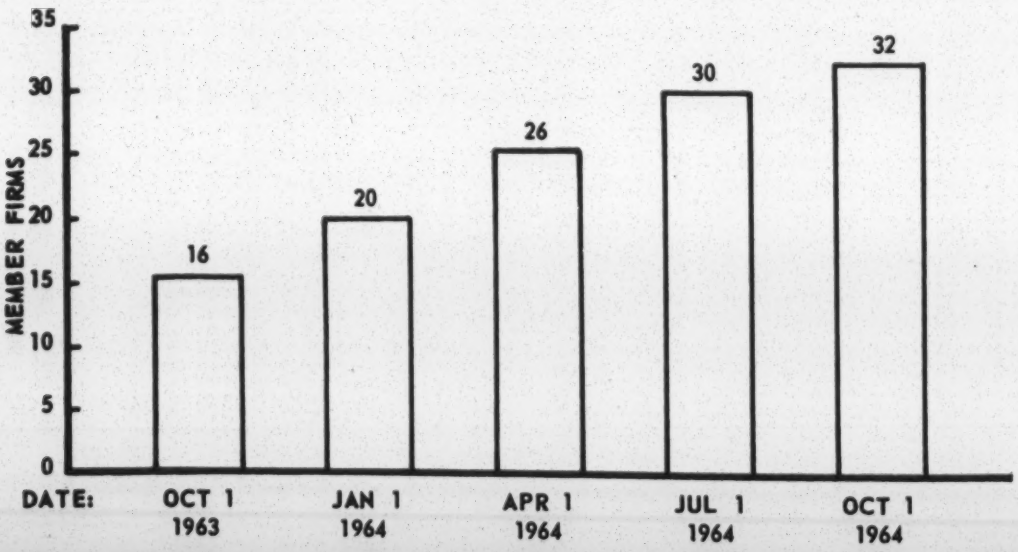


mings to President Johnson's Community Relations Services Committee and offered motions (unanimously adopted) that Mr. Cummings draft a resolution on behalf of AHAC agreeing to conform with provisions of the Civil Rights Act, and that the Association express its appreciation to Mr. Cummings for his acceptance of the appointment to the President's Committee.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1964 – President Cummings reported on attendance at meeting of Community Relations Services Committee in Washington and conference with Sargent Shriver in regard to a pilot project for Huntsville in the War on Poverty. Mr. G. J. Millet (Brown Engineering Co.), Dr. A. V. Pinkney (President of Oakwood College) and Dr. R. D. Morrison (President of Alabama A&M College) presented panel discussion report of the College Placement Officers Conference in Washington, D. C. The panel agreed that Negro colleges, by and large, lack sufficient funds to develop new courses or programs, but with incentive from industry, these schools can improve their programs.

OCTOBER 8, 1964 – Members unanimously adopted Nominating Committee's proposed 1964-65 slate of officers: Mr. A. V. Pilling, President; Mr. Ruffin Blaylock, Vice President; Mr. W. T. Brooks, Treasurer; Mr. J. O. Schrimsher, Mr. Tom Burkett, Mr. Milton K. Cummings, Mr. Harry Wrage, Executive Committee. Report on the Community Leaders' Conference, attended by 75 persons who presented recommendations for improving the status of the minority, was presented. Members heard encouraging report from Southern Association of Colleges and Schools concerning Education Improvement Center for Huntsville. Dr. Frank Albert and Mr. Howard Blair of MSFC interpreted "Affirmative Action" during a special presentation and discussion. Progress of special classes designed to assist employed persons to gain promotions, unemployed persons to become more proficient in needed skills, and supplement classroom instruction of students was reported.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH OF AHAC FROM OCTOBER 1, 1963 – OCTOBER 1, 1964



ASSOCIATION OF HUNTSVILLE AREA CONTRACTORS
Consolidated Balance Sheet September 30, 1964

ASSETS

Current Assets:		
Cash on hand and in Bank	$9,747.74	
Accounts receivable – members	3,110.30	$12,858.04
Fixed Assets:		
Office furniture and fixtures	3,207.86	
Leasehold improvements	1,032.11	4,239.97
Other Assets:		
Deposit – Huntsville utilities		60.00
TOTAL ASSETS		$17,158.01

LIABILITIES AND SURPLUS

Current Liabilities:		
Taxes withheld from employees' compensation	538.60	
Notes payable	4,000.00	$ 4,538.60
Surplus:		
Current year income – Loss *		$12,619.41
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND SURPLUS		$17,158.01

ASSOCIATION OF HUNTSVILLE AREA CONTRACTORS
STATEMENT OF INCOME/EXPENDITURES
For Months Ending September 30, 1964

INCOME from Membership Dues		$36,479.11
OPERATING EXPENSES:		
Salaries and wages	$14,946.00	
Payroll taxes	236.27	
Operating supplies	224.79	
Office supplies	368.01	
Publications	658.24	
Postage and freight	139.50	
Water and electricity	182.61	
Rent – Office	3,500.00	
Rent – Equipment	663.33	
Telephone and telegraph	545.11	
Insurance	47.00	
Building maintenance	224.45	
Professional services	366.81	
Relocation cost	615.21	
Travel	1,013.94	
Miscellaneous operating expenses	64.55	
TOTAL Operating Expenses	$23,795.82	
OTHER DEDUCTIONS:		
Interest expense	$ 3.53	
Miscellaneous	60.35	
TOTAL Other Deductions	$ 63.88	
TOTAL EXPENSE		$23,859.70
NET INCOME		$12,619.41

The Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Report...

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON INSTITUTES

University of Maryland
College of Education

December 16-19, 1964

Jean D. Grambs
Conference Director and Reporter

Report of the

Leadership Conference on Institutes

conducted by the

University of Maryland, College of Education

and

United States Office of Education

in cooperation with

University of Maryland, University College
Conferences and Institutes Division

December 16-19, 1964

* * * * *

The Conference reported herein was performed persuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

This conference marks the most significant step taken thus far to launch the U.S. Office of Education's Equal Educational Opportunities Program, authorized under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Francis Keppel,
United States Commissioner of Education
December 16, 1964

With this remark, Commissioner Keppel opened a four-day conference held under the auspices of the United States Office of Education and the College of Education of the University of Maryland.[1] The conference was organized to look at the following broad questions:

I. What are the dimensions of the problem of school desegregation which may be the focus of institutes supported by Federal funds under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

II. How can some priority be established upon which decisions can be made by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program of the U.S. Office of Education as to which type of institute, which target population, which area of concern--national or local-- might best be served by such Federally-supported institutes? Since the money for such institutes ($3,000,000 for fiscal year 1965 under Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) will not spread very far in terms of the vast need, it is hoped that one outcome of the Conference will be advice to the U.S. Office of Education regarding which programs would have the broadest "ripple effect."

III. What is the most appropriate content (knowledge, skills) for

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[1]The conference was supported by funds allocated by the United States Office of Education under Title IV, Public Law 88-352.

such institutes, in terms of what types of participants, at what positions in the school desegregation process?

IV. What designs and processes for such institutes hold particular promise for optimal learning?

V. What strategies are of greatest potential in terms of school change, particularly in an area such as this, fraught with acute community emotion?

VI. What kinds of short-run evaluation and long-run research would be desirable, to help assess current efforts, and to provide some insight into more significant aspects of change within the institutional and community setting?

VII. Finally, what kinds of follow-up conferences, institutes, training programs, and leadership discussions would be recommended to further maximize the impact of institutes?

Conference Background

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorized the utilization of funds to further the orderly process of school desegregation through appropriate educational processes. The authorization, Title IV, Public Law 88-352, reads as follows:

TITLE IV--DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Definitions

Sec. 401. As used in this title--

"Commissioner." (a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

"Desegregation." (b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

"Public school."

(c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution, and "public college" means any institution of higher education or any technical or vocational school above the secondary school level, provided that such public school or public college is operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or property derived from a governmental source.

"School board."

(d) "School board" means any agency or agencies which administer a system of one or more public schools and any other agency which is responsible for the assignment of students to or within such a system.

Survey and Report of Educational Opportunities

Report to President and Congress.

Sec. 402. The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia.

Technical Assistance

Sec. 403. The Commissioner is authorized, upon the application of any school board, State, municipality, school district, or other governmental unit legally responsible for operating a public school or schools, to render technical assistance to such applicant in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public schools. Such technical assistance may, among other activities, include making available to such agencies information regarding effective methods of coping with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation, and making available to such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping with such problems.

Training Institutes

Sec. 404. The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Individuals who attend such an institute on a full-time basis may be paid stipends for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the Commissioner in regulations, including

Stipends, etc.

allowances for travel to attend such institute.

Grants

Sec. 405. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of--

(1) giving to teachers and other school personnel in-service training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

(2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

Conditions.

(b) In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

The funds to carry out these functions were made available several months after the passage of the law, and the task of assembling a staff was commenced. At the same time, a number of interested institutions and individuals were already making inquiries of the U.S. Office of Education regarding the establishment of summer institutes under Section 404 above. It became increasingly clear that, as noted in item II outlining the purposes of the University of Maryland conference, that the need was tremendous, but the financial assistance available could not possibly extend very far during the first year of operation.

It was clear to the U.S. Office of Education, therefore, that given the complexity of the training problems related to desegregation and the limited funds available, the counsel of competent advisers should be sought in developing the institutes program. In turn, of course, many legal questions had to be studied by the Office of General Counsel, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and some general procedural matters worked

out for the new program. Under extreme pressure of time, the staff was able to clear most of the legal problems, and circularize a preliminary set of guidelines for those interested in applying under the provisions of the Act.

Many questions remained unanswered, however. Meetings and consultations had been taking place over a period of 18 months, but it was hoped that by gathering a group of specialists in education, school administration, behavioral science, and community intergroup organization, many issues could be clarified and problems explored, and thus aid the program in moving ahead rapidly on the basis of expert advice and experience.

The conference at no time was considered to be a policy-making or policy-determining group. No votes were taken. Where consensus was apparent it was always with the caveat that those not present might enter other points of view for consideration. This report, therefore, reflects the varied opinions, experiences, and hopes of about 55 individuals representing many fields, many regions, many disciplines, and a variety of institutions, school systems, and community organizations.

Several points were made over and over again by the participants. They are essential to an understanding of this report, and will be repeated again at the conclusion of this report in order that there be as few grounds for misunderstanding as possible.

The kinds of institutes or institute programs which were envisioned covered a vast range. If one word could be used to characterize the ideas held by the participants it would be "variety." It was equally clear that no participant, despite the fact that many had lifetime careers in the organizing and directing of institutes for teachers and other educators, would suggest that his type of institute would be applicable in all and

every case. Again, then, the emphasis on "variety" was augmented by the concept of "appropriate." These ideas will be spelled out in further detail in later sections of this report.

The following report is a very brief summary of the major ideas of the conference participants. The report is to be considered in no way as a strait jacket for institute proposals. In fact, the very opposite is the intent of this report. As will be stated again later, a number of institutions may wish to plan and organize very similar types of institutes because of the similarity of their situation. Other institutions may wish to experiment, innovate, and utilize training techniques adapted from industry, and elsewhere.

The report will consider briefly those items listed on pages 1 and 2 which provided the basic framework around which the conference was organized.

I. What are the dimensions of the school desegregation problem as defined by Title IV?

As the reader will note, Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act calls for a survey of the "lack of equal educational opportunity." This survey will undoubtedly help answer some of the key questions raised by the conference, but unfortunately the findings of the survey are at least 18 months away. Each participant was therefore asked to state the problem as he saw it. The diversity of backgrounds and experiences provided, as one would expect, a diversity of responses. What came out most clearly was that different regions as well as different communities within regions are at different stages in the achievement of equal educational opportunity regardless of race.

Some areas are totally resistant; here the problem of even suggesting that an institute be held would be rejected by the white community. It is probably that here, too, the Negro community would be unable to participate because of possible reprisal. Other communities, although many white voices express resistance, are willing to accede to the letter of the law, if not the spirit, and thus have already indicated a willingness to cooperate in some kind of preparatory training program. In some localities this mutual interest in utilizing the available Federal assistance has already resulted in colleges and universities and adjacent school districts discussing together the establishment of institutes in the very near future.

There was some agreement that larger cities in areas where segregation by law has been enforced might be places where cooperative activities could occur soonest. The problem of definition--"when is a school system desegregated?"--arose, but the general response appeared to be that so-called token desegregation was not what the Civil Rights Law referred to. Institutes therefore would be quite as appropriate to assist school systems in which no integration had taken place at all, as in situations where one or two "mascot" Negroes had been enrolled in previously all white schools. It was clear, too, that even in school systems where complete desegregation had been achieved, many educational problems might still remain unsolved and critical. Such problems as variation in educational achievement, for instance, among different segments of the community could present a pressing training problem for teachers.

Throughout the discussion of the individual participant's statements it was clear that desegregation is occurring as part of a much larger pattern of social change. However, it was also agreed that this larger pattern was not within the purview of the Title IV provision. But within its sections, educational personnel could and indeed should accept leadership

in educational desegregation.

The group was reminded, too, that many cities which had desegregated had, over the space of a decade, become in effect resegregated. This would be the problem of another generation of educators if today's educator ignored or evaded this potential problem. The kinds of institutes--the content explored, the processes and designs developed--could be effective in much more long-range terms if appropriately foreseen, now.

The participants listed many problems which might arise. Among these were:

- development or use of new curriculum materials, content, and approaches helpful in meeting instructional problems of disadvantaged groups.
- planning procedures for the conduct of extra-curricular activities in situations involving students from different backgrounds.
- establishing plans and policies for the assignment of administrative and teaching staff as an integral part of school desegregation.
- development of understanding of different value and behavior systems and the appropriate educational and psychological response.
- extending diagnostic skills to identify areas for special educational effort to meet individual differences in educational attainment.

Other items mentioned included: recruitment of white and Negro school personnel for integrated institutes; convincing some school systems and school personnel that there was any problem in connection with desegregation; obtaining appropriate resource leadership and materials for institute participants; difficulties foreseen in community hostility, apathy, or lack of involvement; the impact of track or grouping practices; the use or misuse of test results; and the need for new approaches in pre-service teacher education.

Space precludes a complete listing of the problems identified by the participants. Many will be considered in other sections of this report.

The dimensions of the problem were, indeed, difficult to assess. The map could not be accurately filled in. We are still too ignorant, and perhaps too provincial, seeing our own area or region or field of specialization. It was considered highly important, therefore, that there be continued communication among those actively involved in implementing Title IV. The problem evaded precise description also because it involved not only the politics but the psychology of change, areas again in which scholars and educational practitioners have not generally shared each others understandings.

II. On what basis can priorities be established for the support of institutes under Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act?

The conference addressed itself to this extremely difficult problem throughout one day, meeting in large session with spokesmen presenting varying points of view and then meeting in smaller groups to come to grips with the practical problems of priority determination.

As has been stated, the conference was not asked to and did not expect to--in fact did not want to--establish hard and fast guidelines. Certain large themes emerged, however, which gained at least general approval.

1. It was felt that where several institutions of higher learning could jointly plan with adjacent interested school districts, an institute might have a better chance of achieving its goal. With this general agreement there was the stated belief of several that the institutions of higher learning involved might most appropriately be both Negro and white if the locality is one in which such institutions remain, to all intents, predominantly of one race.

It was further felt to be valuable if the institute planning included consideration of appropriate follow-up assistance available under Sections

403 and 405. Previous workshop directors who were among the conference participants noted that much good has been done in other kinds of workshops, but lacking any machinery for follow-up support for individual teachers or administrators, the workshop experience may have only produced individual frustration. Again and again it was repeated by conference participants that institute experiences, while valuable in and of themselves, would not have the desired impact if follow-up plans were not considered an integral part of total institute planning The inference here was that those institutions of higher learning responsible for organizing and applying for the institutes, would include at all planning levels key school personnel from the school systems in which follow-up activities would be desirable. Again, too, the point was stressed that such school planning personnel include spokesmen for both Negro and white segments of the school districts. If all school superintendents in the country were to meet, it is probable that out of the many thousands, only one or two might be Negro. Thus the planning involving desegregation, in order that it not appear to be planning by white school personnel for Negro school personnel, will need careful consideration by those responsible for requesting and planning institutes.

2. The personnel who would be recruited for institutes could be of several kinds. That is, an institute might be designed wholly for school board members to meet with specially trained legal counsel; or school board members with school administrators of communities where desegregation has been successfully achieved. There might be institutes in which, for example, primary grade teachers only would be involved, whose major focus might be on the learning needs of pupils different from those whom she is used to instructing. This of course would apply equally to white as well as Negro teachers. Similarly, an institute for counselors with the appropriate

employment and vocational personnel of an area, with testing experts and others, could be helpful.

Since the act refers to "school personnel" as those to be served by institutes, conference participants agreed that this was a wide net. School nurses, for instance, might profit from a mutual exhange of problems; school bus drivers might benefit from interracial training sessions. It was pointed out that many professional personnel are already affiliated with organizations which represent their major professional interests--band directors, coaches, social studies teachers, remedial reading teachers, vocational education teachers, school supervisors, art teachers, and so forth. There are a number of honorary sororities and fraternities in professional education, as well as state and local teachers and administrators groups. It was suggested that these organizations might also join forces with local colleges or universities in assisting in the planning and recruiting of personnel for specialized institutes. Such organizations could of course utilize their own local, state, and national meetings to help their membership develop appropriate skills and understandings for orderly school desegregation, as appropriate. Institutes, therefore, could be designed to serve a specialized group in the school organization.

There were repeated requests also for institutes to which teams of school personnel from a given school or system would be enrolled. It was felt that such persons, sharing a common experience, could support each other back home. The resources of the institutes could be used for making more realistic plans for back home application. The team idea is indeed a most attractive one. Sociologically, some warnings might be observed before too hasty decision on this particular point is reached. A team which includes personnel of differing status relationships may suggest a different design for a workshop. If, for example, a principal is present with a teacher,

counselor, perhaps school board member, then all could participate in some general activities. But there might be need for special small group activities for each of the different team members in terms of his or her own area of specialty. It must also be noted that some team members might be selected by local personnel because they were seen as effective barriers to desegregation and invulnerable to institute programs or were so low on the status ladder that any convictions or plans they might bring home could be successfully ignored. The suggestion then in terms of priority and selection of personnel for an institute would depend to a large extent on the perceptive planning of the institute director together with his advisory group from his own institution, from the related school systems, and from the U.S. Office of Education as requested.

It probably need not be pointed out, but it was obvious that all institutes would be interracial in planning, in recruitment, in staffing and in all follow-up plans.

3. Although there was concern that the conference might founder on the big-city resergregated school district as against the never-desegregated system, this discussion, while keen, did not pose particularly critical problems to this particular conference group. It was agreed, however, that although areas in the South where the problems are at the moment most severe, where compliance has been most difficult, might well request and need assistance most; it was also agreed that acute problems of desegregation exist in other parts of the country, and merit consideration and assistance.

4. There were some serious questions raised regarding the role of some major universities in such institutes. It was agreed that they had superior staff resources in many areas, but it was also pointed out that many of them had already acquired a lion's share of project support from many sources,

Federal and otherwise. The idea was suggested that, granted the shortage of trained personnel, institutes developed by the larger universities and their experienced teaching personnel could perhaps be made available to another region of the country where the need might be greater. There was some feeling that benefits would be derived for all concerned. While not underestimating the problems of school segregation which exist in so many parts of the nation, it was at least hoped that some major Eastern or Western university could experiment with teaming its institute staff with the staff of a college or university in an area of critical need elsewhere. It was also pointed out, however, that there might be distinct advantages to be gained by school personnel attending institutes in otner sections of the country where they might observe practices which could provide models for back home procedures.

Some critical comments were voiced regarding the inappropriateness of inter-institution rivalry in the pursuit of grants for institutes under the Civil Rights Act. The need, obviously, is too urgent and the problem too significant for any institution to consider requesting an institute for mere status reasons. In this respect, some of the smaller liberal arts, non-public institutions might provide a particular kind of local setting as well as freedom from some kinds of public restrictions which would suggest encouraging such institutions to develop institute plans.

5. A priority high on the list was the need for locating resource personnel not only to aid in the staffing of institutes, but to provide the desired follow-up training and guidance. The staff of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program in the U.S. Office of Education has agreed to compile a list of resource personnel on as wide a base as possible. Institute planners are urged to utilize this service as necessary, and

conference participants and others were also asked to contribute names of persons who might be helpful. There was agreement, however, that such personnel were in extremely short supply, and obviously could not serve all those requesting such service. There was a feeling that college faculties might themselves be attached to some institutes as trainees so that they could return to their home institutions and provide local leadership.

This particular point was re-emphasized in other contexts, but suggests a priority that is of great significance. In this sensitive area of social change, local defensiveness is apt to rise particularly on the part of the white power group. Thus the development of local talent, Negro and white, adequately trained, might constitute a significant aspect of strategy in promoting orderly desegregation.

III. What content, skills, knowledges are most appropriate for such institutes?

The question, as phrased, obviously covered far too much territory. As was pointed out, the selection of content had to be closely related to the participant group. It was also agreed that content and process cannot be separated, though for the purposes of discussion the major focus of one session was on the content question.

In one instance an institute might be designed for primary grade teachers, and the content therefore might well be directed at those questions which would be of greatest concern to this group. If the institute called together superintendents of medium-sized cities, then again the content might be rather different.

Several recurrent themes however, were stressed.

1. It appeared essential that there be understanding of the total community which the institute was operating to serve. If several school

systems and two or three colleges and universities joined forces to sponsor an institute, then it was pointed out that knowledge of the total community in which the schools were operating would be of great concern. Within this general content area, reference was made to the fact that the white community in many instances is quite unaware of the power structure of the Negro community. Too often the leading ministers, a few Negro educators, maybe a prosperous businessman, are considered the key figures in the Negro group. As was made clear, this may be far from the case. Obviously the sentiments, fears, ambitions and wishes of the Negro community need to be accurately assessed as part of the content of an institute concerned with school desegregation.

2. No matter what the clientele of an institute, it was pointed out that almost all of us, Negro and white alike, need to be re-educated when it comes to the myths and historical gaps in our knowledge about the Negro, his antecedents, his role in the American story, and his actual and potential achievement. Removing some of these misconceptions among adults, who in turn could help clarify the views and understandings of children,could pave the way for more amicable resolutions of conflicts. That some of these myths are deeply rooted in our subconscious was made graphic by one of the participants, a psychiatrist, who had, in working with future doctors, identified the same level of folk acceptance of racial differences in this supposedly scientifically trained group that exists in the public at large. The need for such re-education, therefore, appears to suggest a large area of content for appropriate institutes.

3. Stress was placed on the need to gather and utilize the findings of behavioral sciences as they apply to the manifold and complex problems of school desegregation. There is scholarly research which must be tapped in political science, anthropology, social psychology, psychiatry, sociology,

and related interdisciplinary fields such as group dynamics, communications, etc. The insights of specialists in these many fields have until now not been extensively called upon by educators. Yet one could conceive of few problems now faced by the educational profession which could more appropriately make use of the findings from these fields, as well as using the services of the scholars themselves. It was noted that many scholars whose research may be quite relevant are not always able to translate the application of their research to the action level. It is possible that in some future time institutes for behavioral scientists might well be called; institutes in which these behavioral scientists are provided opportunities to identify the applicability of their knowledges to the action needs of school desegregation.

4. The new skills which may be needed for a group embarking on school desegregation were discussed, but opened such a vast area of inquiry that only brief mention could be made of what is possible. Such skills as role-playing; incident control; action research; participant-observer sensitivity; identifying overt vs. covert communication: all of these imply new ways of behaving and new skills to be learned. In the design of institutes, those skills most needed by the given group must be assessed. The participants themselves may be the least competent to identify those skills which they may most need to acquire.

5. At a very practical level, the content of many institutes would, said the conference participants, appropriately include case studies of desegregation situations which worked amicably, and those in which difficulty was encountered. In many places, it was felt, information about successful school desegregation has not been widely disseminated.

6. Two levels of content were discussed: the level of information received, which in turn the individual uses either in transmitting to some-

one else (as in the case of teachers in a classroom) or translating into policy (as in the case of administrators and school board members). A second level of content had to do with the kind of information, if one can use that word, which provides the individual an opportunity to gain knowledge about himself. It was felt by some participants that inability to understand the workings of one's own emotional and irrational areas of life tends to interfere with the individual's ability to hear or observe anything which may interfere with this internal frame of reference, unrelated as it may be to reality. To what extent some institutes may deem it appropriate or useful to explore this content area depends, of course, on the competence of the director, the participants involved, and the resource personnel who will be available.

It was pointed out, however, that no matter how much we may appear to be working on level one type content, as noted above, inevitably we will be invading level two type content. A director of an institute who is unaware of this may find not only minimal outcomes from his efforts, but even rejection and regression. Clear to everyone was the inescapable fact that the problem of race in America has roots deep in irrationality, and desegregation inevitably will trigger such irrationality in even the most well-meaning and well-educated individuals, both white and Negro.

7. Emphasis was placed again and again on the concept of "readiness." The selection of institute content will have to relate, ultimately, to the readiness of the participants. The determination of such readiness in itself poses problems for institute directors. He must listen to many voices and see through many eyes. The help of behavioral scientists skilled in this kind of assessment could possible be very useful. Even the term "readiness" will have different meanings for different groups. Teachers

who are deeply committed to doing the best job of teaching they can, may readily accept a call to an interracial institute to learn better how to teach primary grade reading, for example. This then becomes their point of "readiness." Another group of school personnel, such as school supervisors, may be concerned with the ways in which classroom atmosphere effects self-concept and in turn influences achievement levels. The "readiness" of this group, then, for another kind of content, is obvious.

It must be pointed out, again, however, that what may appear on the surface to be the individual's own perception of his "readiness," may indeed be only the beginning of his awareness of his own needs to grow and learn. Thus the institute, in its planning, as it considers starting where the participants appear to be, must continually appraise where they are going, and change content and design as the group grows in new insights and learnings.

IV. <u>What designs and processes for proposed institutes hold particular promise for optimal learnings</u>?

The literature on how adults learn, or relearn, has not been generally available to the educational groups planning institutes for other educators. It was noted, however, that research in such areas is scanty and nonconclusive. The major points in institute planning, taking into consideration both design and process appeared to be these:

1. An institute needs extensive data about those who are participants. Too often institutes are planned without enough thought given to those who will come. What are their expectations? Do they expect lectures? Entertainment? Depth psychology? Exchange of skill? Sharing of materials?

What previous inter-racial experiences have the participants had, and how have these experiences affected their perceptions of the problems to

be dealt with? What variation in such experiences exists among the participants in a workshop? If, for instance, some school personnel have had little or no inter-racial experience, while others have had many pleasant such experiences, the sharing of insights gained can be very supportive.

2. Some educators appear to be allergic to anything which sounds like "group dynamics" or "group process." If this is so, then the labels for such procedures may need to be changed. Many of the basic principles of such procedures, however, have been validated by intensive research. Industrial organizations, whose main interest is profit, seem to find "group dynamics" in its various forms and manifestations, to make a considerable contribution to their goals. Why educators are so distrustful of approaches of this sort remains an unanswered question.

3. Whatever the duration of an institute, be it three days or once a month for a year, planning should take into account a deliberate sequence of experiences. What is now known about how adults learn can well be applied to the organization, the "design" of an institute experience. Many institutes and workshops for teachers have followed a standard pattern of morning lectures, presentations or programs, followed by afternoon smaller group activity on some kind of project, interspersed with field trips, picnics or other diversions. Such a pattern, while agreeable to participants and relatively easy to plan on the part of institute directors, has not always resulted in noticeable increments of behavioral change back home. There was some agreement that more creative and more sophisticated institute designs needed to be sought. This did not imply, however, that the kind of format to which teachers and others are acclimated should not be utilized where their personnel make-up, might preclude innovating on too many fronts.

4. It was apparent that some of the more interesting and possibly more effective institute or workshop patterns were relatively unknown. The extensive citywide involvement via open-ended television, pioneered by Dr. Eugene Johnson, for instance, in St. Louis, was news to many conference participants who had for years been in the midst of institute and workshop activities. The need to exchange such experiences as well as evaluate those which had taken place was clearly apparent.

5. Some discussion pointed out the differential learnings that might be expected from short-term intensive live-in workshops, as against longer, commuter-type workshops. There are understandably places where an inter-racial residential experience might, at this juncture, be impossible. By and large, however, it was felt that the gains to be achieved by these very important informal relationships are such that the live-in institute can be strongly recommended.

6. In planning both the process and content aspects of an institute, there was general agreement that the findings of the behavioral sciences must be utilized. Not only should such data be available to participants, but scholars representing a number of disciplines could aid in planning and staffing institutes. For instance, if a psychiatrist were to advance his view of the expected responses of young children in a newly desegregated situation, a sociologist and an anthropologist might well be asked to comment upon his observations. The problem would gain greater illumination via this kind of inter-disciplinary exchange.

V. <u>What strategies are of greatest potential in terms of school change, in an area such as this fraught with acute community emotion</u>?

Schools change relatively less drastically than some observers might

either note or wish. The times, however, appear to be propitious for some significant changes in the structure of the school and in the deployment of teacher personnel. The value of viewing some successful innovations which may support school desegregation was suggested.

The problem of strategy, however, is a difficult one to grapple with. Institutes are too often seen as separate entities. As has been pointed out already, Title IV of the Civil Rights Act makes it possible for school and college personnel to do some strategic planning, and utilize Federal support and consultant help. It was pointed out that there is no standard continuum from total segregation, through token desegregation, to actual desegregation, to final integration. A neat model does not exist, as we know from case studies of many communities. Some localities can make the jump from one end of the continuum to the other almost overnight. Others may become fixated at one point along the way, but with appropriate help skip some intervening steps. Strategic thinking suggests some sensitive appraisal of a given school system, systems, or localities, and then after such study make proposals for the utilization of certain kinds of groups of consultants, types of institutes, numbers of institutes, locations of institutes, and even the sequence of institutes for particular personnel.

Some participants perceived the principal as a key figure in the educational program, and felt that he should particularly be involved in training institutes. Others noted that the most well-meaning principal cannot operate under an ambiguous policy. Also, of course, a determined teacher (on tenure) can sabotage the best efforts of the most adroit administrators.

Yet in many areas the strategic persons can be located if one looks carefully. It is these persons whose support will be crucial in some situations. One need is greater depth of insight into the power structure of the school as an institution in terms of the facilitation of change.

Although a beginning has been made, there is little research to guide school personnel in planning educational change. It would be hoped that one outcome of the current institute and grant program in desegregation might be to throw more light on the ways in which very different kinds of educational institutions and situations can deliberately and more easily adapt to new educational expectations.

VI. What kinds of short-term evaluation and long-term research would be valuable?

Certainly every institute director, every participating school system, and the sponsoring Federal agency would like to know whether the institute experience has been worthwhile. Thus some kinds of evaluations will be in order. The plan for follow-up of institutes provides one kind of evaluation. Shifts in attitudes and understandings on the part of participants can provide some pertinent data, through pre- and post-testing of various kinds.

Although research is not a major focus of the institutes, it appeared to many of the research-oriented participants that here was a very unique opportunity to study social change and assess the differential impact on different individuals of varying kinds of experiences under a variety of circumstances. It is hoped that research interests will be roused to plan research studies independent of the institutes themselves, and call upon other Federal or nonfederal funding resources for support.

Of major concern, however, is that we do not repeat our mistakes, or continue to do that which is of minimal value. One of the easiest things for an institute director to achieve is a feeling on the part of the participants that they had a wonderful experience! Yet this level of evaluation will provide little if any guidance for the planning of subsequent

efforts. It is vital that we learn from what we are trying to do in the next few months. Research, if adequately conceived and carried out, can certainly reveal more than we whose egos are involved in seeing that our efforts succeed! Those planning institutes are thus encouraged to call upon available research talent in their own school systems or institutions or elsewhere so that data can be gathered which will help guide the plans for succeeding years.

VII. What kinds of follow-up activities might be considered?

As has been noted, throughout the conference discussion there was awareness of and appreciation for the need for institutes to be planned in terms of later follow-up aid wherever feasible.

Another point, related to the above, but one that emerged as the conference continued, was the possible need for an institute for institute directors. It became apparent that even the consideration of follow-up activities required the kind of thinking and planning which has not typically been the concern of organizers of workshops or institutes. It was also increasingly clear that problems of content, design, strategy, research, were all of such a complex nature that whatever help could be provided by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program would be valued.

Time did not permit extended discussion of this idea, but many participants submitted their reactions in writing. Many felt such an institute for directors would be helpful if set in a "clinic" atmosphere; that is, where specific practical help would be provided. Several suggested smaller meetings by regions, with specialized help available. Another reaction was that it would be useful to bring together institute directors at the end of the summer for an exchange of ideas and experiences.

Summary

Mention was made at several times of the many other programs in the Federal government now working upon the same general area of civil rights. Institutes for teachers of culturally disadvantaged youth and many aspects of the Poverty Program touch on one phase of the problem. Educators are urged to utilize the Equal Educational Opportunities Program to gain information about other Federal resources which might support, supplement, or even be preferable to that available under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

Two key words dominated the thinking of the conference participants as they discussed institutes: "variety: and "appropriateness." To this we want to add, "urgency."

As an institute in microcosm, we were reminded by Father Trafford Maher, in his summary statement, that many of us have been operating perhaps under an old and outmoded frame of interracial exchange. That, indeed, the time has come for white and Negro to enter into open, honest, and even heated discussion if we are to move forward significantly. Now that we have been given the legal foundation, and the financial support, it is incumbent upon all of us to make the strenuous, even at times dangerous, steps towards the elimination of the blight of segregation in the educational lives and experiences of our children.

Because of the press of time, I must perforce take all blame for errors of omission and commission in summarizing the conference. Any distortions or biases in reporting are mine, and I merely beg the indulgence of my colleagues who so generously gave their time to the conference. I also would invite their comments, as well as those of any other readers which may help clarify any future, more extensive summary, budget permitting.

Appendix I

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON INSTITUTES

December 16 - 19, 1964

Conference Roster

Conference Guests:

Dr. Donald C. Agnew
Southern Association of Colleges and
Secondary Schools
Suite 592
795 Peach Street, North East
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dr. T. P. Baker
Assistant Superintendent
Austin Public Schools
701 East 11th Street
Austin, Texas

Dr. Kenneth Benne
Director, Human Relations Center
Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. Max Birnbaum
Director of Education and Training
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dr. Eli M. Bower
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda, Maryland

Dr. Henry M. Brickell
Director of Curriculum
Manhassett Public School System
Manhassett, Long Island, New York

Dr. Ernest Campbell
Department of Sociology
Vanderbilt University
Station B, Box 1811
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dr. Benjamin E. Carmichael
Superintendent
Chattanooga Public Schools
Board of Education
1161 West 40th Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. Roger Cartwright
Bank Street College
New York, New York

Dr. Paul Cooke
Director of Programs
Model School Division of the
Public Schools of the
District of Columbia
Miner Building
Georgia Avenue and Euclid
Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Muriel Crosby
Assistant Superintendent
Wilmington Public Schools
1400 Washington Street
Wilmington 1, Delaware

Dr. William Engbretson
Dean
School of Education
Indiana State College
Terre Haute, Indiana

Mr. Mario Fantini, Consultant
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dr. Marie Fielder
School of Education
University of California
Berkeley, California

Conference Guests (Continued):

Mr. Otis Finley, Jr.
Associate Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

The Reverend Albert Foley, S. J.
Chairman, Department of Sociology and Psychology
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dr. John Hope Franklin
Professor of History
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dr. Keith Goldhammer
Associate Director
Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Dr. Edmund Gordon
Director of the School of Education
Yeshiva University
110 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dr. John D. Greene
Director of Instruction
Baton Rouge Parish School Board
Box 2950
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dr. Burton Henry
Professor of Education
California State College
5151 State College Drive
Los Angeles, California 90032

Dr. C. W. Hunnicutt
School of Education
200 Slocum Hall
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

Dr. Eugene Johnson
Executive Director
Adult Education Association of the U. S. A.
1225 - 19th Street, North West
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dr. John Letson
Superintendent
Atlanta Public Schools
224 Central Avenue, South West
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Arthur Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, North West
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Herman Long
President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

The Reverend Trafford Maher, S.J.
Director, Department of Education
St. Louis University
St. Louis, Missouri

Dr. G. D. McGrath
Dean
College of Education
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

Dr. Kenneth Moreland
Department of Sociology
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dr. James Nabrit
President
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Conference Guests (Continued):

Dr. Charles H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr Truman M. Pierce
Dean
College of Education
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

Dr. Wilson Riles, Chief
Bureau of Intergroup Relations
California State Department of Education
4246 Warren Avenue
Sacramento 22, California

Dr. Malcolm F. Rosenberg, Jr.
New Orleans Public School System
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Dr. Margaret Rowley
Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Morris Brown College
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Dr. James Scott
Assistant Superintendent
St. Louis Board of Education
Instruction Department
911 Locust Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dr. Fannie Shaftel
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Dr. Glenn Snider
Chairman
Executive Committee
Southwest Center for Human
Relations Studies
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dr. Morton Sobel
Assistant National Director
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
1712 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dr. A. F. Tuttle
Assistant Dean
Stetson University
DeLand, Florida

Dr. Harold N. Stinson
George Peabody College
Box 13
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Lloyd Trump
Executive Director
National Association of
Secondary School Principals
1201 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. William Van Til
Chairman, Department of
Secondary Education
New York University
New York, New York

Dr. Frederick P. Venditti
College of Education
Department of Educational
Administration and Supervision
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dr. Herbert Wey
Assistant Dean
School of Education
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dr. Louis J. West
Chairman, Department of Psychiatry
University of Oklahoma
School of Medicine
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dr. Kimball Wiles, Dean
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dr. W. Cody Wilson
Sutton Hall 206
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Conference Guests (Continued):

Dr. Cliff W. Wing, Jr.
Director of Admissions and
Assistant Professor of Psychology
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Representing the U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Francis Keppel
U.S. Commissioner of Education
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Broadus Butler
Special Assistant to the Commissioner
U.S. Office of Education

Dr. Edward Gordon
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. W. Stanley Kruger
U.S. Office of Education

Mrs. Phyllis McClure
U.S. Office of Education

Dr. Nathan Pitts
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. David Seeley
Special Assistant to the Commissioner
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Joseph Shea
U.S. Office of Education

Mr. Donald Sullivan
U.S. Office of Education

Miss Harriet Ziskin
U.S. Office of Education

Representing the University of Maryland

Dr. Jean D. Grambs
Project Director
Associate Professor
College of Education
University of Maryland

Dr. Richard Neville
Assistant Project Director
Associate Professor
College of Education
University of Maryland

Mr. Leonard P. Oliver
Conference Coordinator
University College
Center of Adult Education
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742

Dr. James Raths
Associate Professor
College of Education
University of Maryland

Dr. Gordon Liddle
School of Education
University of Maryland

Dr. Eric Seidman
School of Education
University of Maryland

Recorders:

Dr. Robert G. Risinger
Chairman
Department of Secondary Education
College of Education
University of Maryland

Dr. David Rhoads
Assistant Professor
Personnel Services in Education
College of Education
University of Maryland

Dr J. Paul Anderson
Associate Professor of Education
Associate Director of Administrative Internships for
Secondary School Improvement, NASSP, NEA
College of Education
University of Maryland

Mr. Thomas McPherson
Associate Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Southern Building
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Albert Klevan
Assistant Professor
Institute for Child Study
College of Education
University of Maryland

Dr. V. Phillips Weaver
Assistant Professor
College of Education
University of Maryland

Appendix II

Address by Commissioner Francis Keppel

At Leadership Conference on Training Institutes

For School Personnel on Desegregation

Center of Adult Education Wednesday, December 16, 1964

The University of Maryland

Dr. Grambs, Dean Anderson, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to thank the University of Maryland, and in particular -- Dean Anderson, Dr. Jean Grambs, and Dr. Richard Neville, for their effective efforts in making this important conference possible.

We very much appreciate the fact that forty-five outstanding and extremely busy educators, behavioral scientists, and human relations specialists have taken the time to meet together for three days for the purpose of giving the Office of Education -- their advice on crucial questions in the area of desegregation, which should receive attention in institutes which the Office of Education will support under Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This conference marks the most significant step taken thus far to launch the Office of Education's Equal Educational Opportunities Program, authorized under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The intent and ultimate design of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is to end discrimination in practice, to close the gap between the ideals we have professed in American life, and the unsatisfactory reality in which we have lived.

In speaking to an Urban League Conference held in Washington last week, President Johnson said:

> No task is more deeply rooted in the complexities of American life. Poverty and tradition, fear and ignorance, the structure of our society and the workings of our economy, all converge on this enormous wrong which has troubled the American conscience from the beginning. Its just solution is essential, not only to give the full blessings of freedom to Negroes, but to liberate all of us.

The President added another challenge which holds particular meaning for educators. "We must," he said, "open the doors of opportunity. But we must also equip our people to walk through those doors."

For too long, educators should have been giving -- and have not given-- their best resources and attention to the children who require them most -- the children of poverty and discrimination.

For too long, we have failed to recognize, and act on our recognition, that "separate but equal" is not freedom and is not equality -- in the South, in the North, or anywhere else.

For too long, we have reacted, not acted -- followed, not led. And we are not alone.

Let us turn for a moment to some of the specific responsibilities of education, of the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the Civil Rights Act. Your cooperation as national leaders is essential if these responsibilities are to be met.

The basic intent of the Congress is stated precisely and clearly under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Here, with regard to federally-assisted programs -- in education and in other areas -- the Congress has stated:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

To the Office of Education, this means that Federal financial resources

must never be used to assist one group, by virtue of color or national origin, to achieve an advantage over another.

It means that Federal funds must never be used to perpetuate segregation in any of its manifest forms.

-Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are given responsibility for active promotion and assistance in the desegregation of public education.

-First, we will conduct a survey and report to the President and to the Congress on the availability of equal educational opportunities in public education at every level.

-Further, we in the Office of Education, will, upon request, assist local schools and communities in the preparation, adoption and implementation of plans for desegregation. We hope to make available accurate and effective information regarding special educational problems occasioned by desegregation.

Section 405 of the Civil Rights Act authorizes the Commissioner of Education to provide grants to school boards to aid them in employing specialists to assist with educational problems occasioned by desegregation, and to develop in-service training programs designed to better equip school personnel to cope with school desegregation problems.

Finally, the Civil Rights Act authorizes us to arrange institutes for the special training of school personnel who, in turn, will enable our schools to deal more effectively with the educational problems of desegregation. During the next three days you will be addressing yourselves to the most important problems which should receive attention in these institutes, you will be making recommendations about the kinds of persons who should attend them, and you will be discussing some promising practices

which have been developed over the years which should prove effective in these institutes.

It seems to me that it is most significant that you school superintendents, professors and deans of colleges of education, psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and human relations specialists have taken this time out of your very busy lives to work with us on this important matter. It is of crucial importance that the institutes supported under Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act make a major contribution toward improving the ability of school personnel to cope effectively with problems occasioned by desegregation. These problems call for training which will better equip school personnel to understand themselves, their students, their communities, and sound educational practices, to the end that they will become more effective teachers in a period of great change. In addition, as each of us knows, many of our Negro students have not had educational opportunities equivalent to those of white students, and for that reason, in some instances do not initially meet the achievement levels of some of their fellow students when desegregation begins. We know, therefore, that we must equip our teachers to bridge this educational gap as quickly and as effectively as possible.

The discussions in which you will be engaging during the next few days offer exciting possibilities for a major thrust in improving the ability of school personnel to deal with these problems. I cannot emphasize enough how much we of the Office of Education appreciate your good work. Your guidance will be of major importance to us, and to the colleges and universities which receive the report on this conference.

These tasks in which we are now engaged, on which your counsel is being sought, are new to the Federal Government. Undoubtedly, mistakes will be made. But the importance of effective action cannot be over-estimated.

So we shall move to execute the intent of the law, not only because law and morality require affirmative action, but because good educational practice demands it. By breaking the lock-step of discrimination, we will liberate the full potential of American education.

Universal and voluntary compliance with the Civil Rights Act is, of course, our objective and our hope. Our schools, in helping to attain it, can teach us all that integration will not impair the quality of our schools, as so many fear. On the contrary, we can achieve both quality and equality in education at one and the same time. This, as I see it, is education's critical assignment for 1965.

When we speak of equality in education, however, let us be clear what we mean. To end discrimination and segregation will not alone produce it, nor will the mere intermixing of races assure true equality. If we would achieve equality in substance, not merely in form, we must recognize that our immediate challenge is presented by today's children of poverty and discrimination, and that this calls for initiative above and beyond the fine print of the law.

The challenge of civil rights challenges us all--wherever we are, however it finds us. If education has flaws -- and it has -- it also has enormous potential for leadership. I have faith that we will exercise that leadership at this major turning point for American education.

Our schools should be, can be, the people's major instrument to democratize society, to give substance and meaning to the promise of America. When the creative energies of leaders like you who are assembled here today, are allied and joined with the best traditions of American education, then we shall find beyond <u>legislation</u> for equality, the <u>reality</u> of equality -- in education and in every other realm of our lives.

DARWEN FINLAYSON

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Autumn Winter 1964-5

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List of forthcoming titles and titles published since the issue of our 1963 list.
Complete stock list with prices on back page (page 16)

FORTHCOMING TITLES

			Page
Ten Years of Prelude	Benjamin Muse	October	3
The Doctor Has a Heart Attack	S. B. Goodstone	November	4
The Spice of Life	G. K. Chesterton	October	5
Selected Verses of Mirza Ghalib	Sufia Sadullah	November	6

Delta-Lux

A History of Lancashire	J. J. Bagley	October	7
Second Thoughts	François Mauriac	February '65	7
A History of Essex	A. C. Edwards	November	8
A History of Yorkshire	Tate & Singleton	January '65	8

Delta

The Club of Queer Trades	G. K. Chesterton	October	9
The Man Who Knew Too Much	G. K. Chesterton	October	9
Manalive	G. K. Chesterton	October	9
Four Faultless Felons	G. K. Chesterton	October	9

JUST PUBLISHED (*Autumn '63–Spring '64*)

The Man Who Was Thursday	G. K. Chesterton	13
The Ball and the Cross	G. K. Chesterton	13
The Napoleon of Notting Hill	G. K. Chesterton	13
Mother Edith O.M.S.E.	Sister Gertrude	6

Delta

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The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision.

by BENJAMIN MUSE

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The Authors: Mr. W. E. Tate is well known for his book *The Parish Chest* and is a lecturer in history in the Education Department of the University of Leeds. Mr. F. B. Singleton is a geographer and W.E.A. lecturer in Leeds.

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CRENDON HOUSE, STATION ROAD,

BEACONSFIELD, BUCKS.

Telephone: Beaconsfield 4505

Printed in Great Britain by COX AND WYMAN LTD., LONDON, READING AND FAKENHAM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

Memorandum January 25, 1965

To: Personnel Responsible for Administration of Public School Programs

From: David S. Seeley, Director
Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Subject: Grants to School Boards to Assist in Dealing with Problems Incident to Desegregation

In accordance with your request, we are forwarding the enclosed policies and procedures guide concerning grants to school boards as authorized by Section 405 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although this guide has not yet received final clearance it is a temporary working document and may be used in developing a draft proposal, as few changes are anticipated. An approved copy will be mailed as soon as it is available.

If a college or university in your area is considering an institute on problems of desegregation, it might prove advantageous for you to contact them about mutual concerns and the possibility of cooperative planning. Since the supply of policies and procedures guides for the conduct of institutes is limited, we are presently unable to include them for the public school personnel who requested these manuals. The manuals will be provided in these cases, but at a later date. Similarly, requests for institute schedules and lists of available materials will be filled as these items are developed.

You will note that grants to school boards are available for: (1) the in-service training of school personnel, (2) the employment of advisory specialists, or (3) a combination of both approaches. Details for completing proposals according to the types of assistance desired are contained in Parts A and B of the manual.

Applications for grants will be processed and reviewed as they are received, and it is anticipated that subsequent notification of the determination made with respect to each proposal will be forthcoming within approximately one month from the date of receipt of the application.

If you wish to contact this Office regarding any aspect of your proposal, you may direct correspondence to us at the following address:

Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Grants Branch
U. S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Telephone WO 2-0393 Area Code: 202

REVISED DRAFT FOR
ADMINISTRATIVE USE ONLY
December 15, 1964

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

Policies and Procedures

for

Grants to School Boards

Authorized Under

Title IV, Section 405,

of Public Law 88-352

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

December 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
Washington, D.C. 20202

INTRODUCTION

This manual of policies and procedures for the grants to school boards, a phase of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, is organized into two major sections. The first section, entitled "Submission of Proposals," presents information pertaining to eligibility, nature of grant awards, procedures to be followed in submitting grant proposals, and procedures to be used in evaluating these proposals and making the grant awards. The second section, entitled "Administration of Grants," presents information pertaining to the terms and conditions under which the grants will be made, and the procedures to be followed in their administration.

INDEX

		Page
I.	Submission of Proposals	
A.	Nature and Purpose of the Grants	1
B.	Eligibility for Grants	1
1.	Eligibility of Applicants	1
2.	Eligibility of Programs	1
C.	Characteristics of Grant-Supported Programs	2
1.	Problem Identification	3
2.	Planning the Program Approach	5
3.	Staff	6
4.	Facilities and Equipment	7
5.	Administrative and Service Requirements	7
6.	Evaluation and Dissemination	7
D.	Responsibility for Development of a Grant Proposal	8
E.	Purpose of a Proposal	8
F.	Submission Dates	8
G.	Award Periods	9
H.	Applicant Contribution	9
I.	Instructions for Submission of Applications	9
1.	Information Required	9
2.	Mailing Address for Applications	10
3.	Number of Copies Required	10
4.	Length of Applications	10
J.	Proposal Format	10
1.	Cover Page	10
2.	Abstract	12
3.	Outline of Proposal Content	12
K.	Subsequent Requests for Continued Support	28
L.	Procedures for Application Evaluation	28
1.	Evaluation	28
2.	Disposition	28

INDEX Continued

		Page
M.	Criteria for Evaluation of Application	28
	1. Program Significance	28
	2. Plan and Procedures	29
	3. Personnel and Facilities	29
	4. Economic Efficiency	30
II.	Administration of Grants	
A.	Award of Grant	31
	1. Notification and Acceptance	31
	2. Payment of Grants	31
B.	Changes in Grant Provisions	31
C.	Consultant Services	32
D.	Use of Funds	32
E.	Responsibility for Exceeding Grant Funds	32
F.	Allowable Expenditures	32
	1. Allocation of Costs	32
	2. Direct Costs	33
	3. Indirect Costs	33
G.	Termination of Grants	33
	1. Termination by the Grantee	33
	2. Termination by the Commissioner	33
	3. Accounting	33
H.	Supplementation of Grants	34
I.	Grantee Accountability	35
	1. Date of Final Accounting	35
	2. Accounting for Grant Award Payments	35
	3. Accounting for Equipment, Materials, or Supplies	35
	4. Interest	36
	5. Project Net Income	36
	6. Final Settlement	36
J.	Records and Reports	36
	1. Records	36
	2. Reports	37
K.	Grants for Continued Support	39
L.	Clearance of Forms	39
M.	Patents	39
N.	Copyrights	40
O.	Safety Precautions	41
P.	Other Conditions	41

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

GRANTS TO SCHOOL BOARDS

I. Submission of Proposals

A. Nature and Purpose of the Grants

Under Title IV, Section 405, of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, (Public Law 88-352) the Commissioner of Education is authorized, upon the application of a school board, to make grants to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of:

1. giving to teachers and other school personnel in-service training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

2. employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

B. Eligibility for Grants

1. Eligibility of Applicants

Applications for grants may be submitted by any agency which administers a system of one or more public schools and any other agency which is responsible for the assignment of students to or within such a system. Eligible applicants would include:

a. Any State department of education.

b. Any local board of education.

c. Any other board governing an area, regional, or district school system.

2. Eligibility of Programs

Grant awards will be made only for programs dealing with problems incident to desegregation, as distinguished from ordinary operating activities of the school system of the applicant. "Problems incident to desegregation" means those problems arising from the assignment of students to and within public schools without regard to differences in their race, color, religion, or national origin; other than problems uniquely related to the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

Applications may be made for grant funds to be used for the in-service training of school personnel in dealing with problems incident to desegregation. "In-service training" includes all classroom, laboratory, field, and study experiences constituting a planned learning situation designed to provide school personnel with new knowledge, skills, insights, and attitudes which may be used to bring about the solution of identified problems related to desegregation within the school system of the applicant. These in-service training programs may be concerned with improving the ability to cope with desegregation problems of any of the several categories, or combination or categories, of "school personnel," e.g., teachers, teacher aides, interns, counselors, supervisors, principals, administrators, health personnel, secretarial-clerical workers, custodial-maintenance workers, cafeteria workers, drivers, officers of school-related organizations, and school board members.

Applications may also be made for grant funds to be used to employ specialists to advise the applicant school board, or personnel in the school system of the applicant, with respect to the solution of problems related to desegregation within that system. A "specialist" must be a person having the professional training or experience appropriate to the particular element or phase of the problem incident to desegregation for which advice is requested by the applicant. The services of the specialists are to be in an advisory capacity only. The advice may consist of information, demonstration, guidance planning or other technical assistance, or the provision of appropriate illustrative or demonstrative materials. The specialist may not assume a line administrative position or a direct operating position within the applicant's school system.

C. Characteristics of Grant-Supported Programs

Grant-supported programs, whether for in-service training of school personnel or for the employment of advisory specialists, should be tailored to meet the particular needs of the school system of the applicant. It is recognized that no single program approach is suitable for the wide variety of problems which may confront school system officials. It is also recognized that these officials are usually in the best position to identify the important elements of the problems with which they must deal. The nature of school desegregation problems, however, suggests the desirability of careful consideration of several general program characteristics in the program planning prior to the development of the grant application. These characteristics are briefly described below in order to draw attention to areas where creative and imaginative thinking should be directed in relation to the specific problems of the applicant. Assistance with any phase of program planning or proposal development may, upon request, be arranged through the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office.

1. Problem Identification

Accurate identification of the key factors causing the particular problem or problems incident to school desegregation in the school system of the applicant is crucial to the success of any attempt to alleviate those problems. Applicants should make certain that this point has been given adequate consideration prior to attempts to develop the details of the program proposal. The specific reference in Title IV of the Act to "special educational problems" clearly indicates that problems of instruction and curriculum within the multi-cultural schools, as well as problems of inter-personal and inter-group relations, are to be the targets of programs financed under this Title.

Examples of areas which should be considered in any analysis of school desegregation problems follow:

- the differences between the value systems of (middle and lower) different racial and class sub-cultures in the community and the implication of these for the classroom situation.

- the characteristics of an impoverished community and the nature, causes, and the effects of cultural deprivation.

- the relationship of student potentials to attained levels of achievement, with emphasis on the effects that educational, social, and economic conditions have on this achievement.

- the professional skills needed in analyzing instructional problems, particularly those involved in correcting serious educational deficiencies experienced by disadvantaged children.

- the controlling personal and environmental factors involved in the teacher-learning process.

- the ways and means of organizing the school and classroom for instructional quality.

- the new curriculum materials, content, and approaches helpful in meeting instructional problems of disadvantaged or minority groups.

- the design of vocational, special education, and other specialized programs needed to provide instruction appropriate to individual student differences.

- the creation and organization of pupil-personnel programs to give adequate attention to student needs in areas of counseling and guidance, school attendance, and health.

- the insights into typical behavior patterns and attitudes of disadvantaged children necessary to the ability to empathize with these persons.

774-278 O-65-2

- the procedures required for dealing with disciplinary problems resulting from a lack of understanding and communication among students and student groups.

- the planning, content, organization, and conduct of extra-curricular activities in situations involving students from different backgrounds.

- the personnel problems of the professional staff, including policies on the recruitment and assignment of teachers and the role of teacher organizations in the solution of school system problems.

- the establishment and support of training programs to improve the ability of various categories of school personnel to deal with school desegregation problems.

- the creation of adequate community understanding and support for school desegregation programs.

- the problems of school administration unique to the desegregated school situation, including the preparation of school desegregation plans.

2. Planning the Program Approach

After the identification of key problem factors has been accomplished, the approach for solving these problems should be selected. A grant program proposal may be directed toward three basic approaches: in-service training of school personnel, the employment of advisory specialists, or a combination of both. In addition, the school system of the applicant may coordinate the grant program activities with other measures which are not eligible for grant support. Whatever the nature of the program, it should explore the possibility of new and different ideas in view of the unique circumstances of each situation. The program should also be based on careful planning which gives attention to the following:

a. Objectives: The plan developed by the applicant should be based upon a clearly-stated set of specific objectives which, if realized, would be expected to make a significant contribution to the solution of the problem.

b. Procedures: In designing the program, the applicant should strive to develop procedures which will obtain maximum results from the resources expended. Program planning will often be strengthened if it is a cooperative venture, with representatives from the various categories of school personnel encouraged to present their ideas and suggestions for program content and procedure. The aplicant should also explore the possibilities of joint program planning with neighboring school systems and with area institutions of higher education. The neighboring school systems may have similar problems relating to school desegregation, and the concentration of planning efforts may permit more extensive programs to be conducted cooperatively than might be possible for any one system. Working with institutions of higher education will permit the coordination of school system programs of in-service training with the institutes sponsored by those institutions, again bringing a greater concentration of resources to bear upon the problems involved than might occur through independent activity.

In-service training programs should strive for optimum conditions within, and coordination between, each of the following program elements:

(1) Method of presentation: While the presentation of information by classroom lecture is undoubtedly of value as an integral part of many learning situations, care should be taken that it does not become an exclusive method of in-service training. Education which involves behavioral and attitudinal change among its objectives would seem to require emphasis upon other methods. Demonstration, individual participation and involvement in process, practical application of learning by trainees, and continuing on-the-job supervision by instructors are especially suited to programs de-

signed to improve the abilities of persons to cope with school desegregation problems. Since the ultimate test of these abilities is in the school and the community, training programs which use these locations for laboratory and field experiences can be particularly relevant to the general purposes for which grant support is provided. In fact, many training programs will undoubtedly be developed primarily around practical laboratory work.

(2) Schedule of training sessions: The frequency, length, and duration of scheduled sessions should be closely related to the objectives and methods of presentation of the training program. Programs should extend over a period of time sufficient for concepts to be developed, attitudes to be examined, and new techniques to be mastered. They should include necessary time for effective and continuing supervision of trainee personnel.

(3) Selection of participants: It would seem wise to direct programs, whenever possible, to those personnel who can best serve as leaders in their respective work areas, influencing the attitudes and practices of their co-workers. In this manner, the effects of direct program activities can be multiplied through stages of subsequent activities by the program participants, and can thus have a maximum effect.

Programs involving advisory specialists should contain plans, developed prior to the actual employment or selection of the specialists, which specify the nature of the assistance sought, the importance of this assistance, the role of the specialist(s) in relation to regular members of the school system staff, the persons or groups with whom he is to work, and the time and location conditions under which he will work.

3. Staff

Staff personnel used in either the in-service training program or the advisory specialist program may be employed full-time or part-time. Persons supported by a grant may be used only for the purpose stated in the proposal submitted by the applicant, as this has been approved by the Commissioner. Personnel time approved for in-service training programs may be used only for these programs. Advisory specialists may be used only in an advisory capacity, although their advice may be provided on any problem(s) incident to school desegregation, including those pertaining to matters of in-service teacher training. Coordination of the advisory-specialist program and the in-service training program can result in maximum use of available resources. Where both programs are desired, this coordination should be reflected in the details of the proposal submitted by the applicant, including an apportioning of the total time of specialists working in both programs.

On the planning process, an adequate amount of staff time should be allocated to each program activity, so that program goals may be effectively pursued.

Personnel selected as key staff for either the in-service training program or the advisory-specialist program should have demonstrated competency in the area in which they are to be utilized.

4. Facilities and Equipment

It is essential that proper facilities and equipment be planned in order to obtain maximum learning results from expenditures of time and funds for staff and participants. If necessary equipment for in-service training or advisory-specialist programs is not available, and cannot otherwise be obtained, funds required for the rental or purchase of this equipment may be included for consideration in the proposed budget of the application. In analyzing needs for materials and equipment in any part of the program, applicants should investigate the availability of such items through the Cooperative Research, National Defense Education, and Vocational Education Programs of the U.S. Office of Education, in addition to State and local resources which may be available.

5. Administrative and Service Requirements

The programs relating to problems incident to school desegregation should receive competent and continuous direction. If this direction cannot be provided by the chief administrator of the school system, a specific individual should be designated as director, with authority delegated that is appropriate to the responsibilities involved.

Support and maintenance functions are important to effective program operation. These functions include: transportation of in-service training program participants for field trips; transportation of non-participant school-personnel for observation of demonstration projects at the in-service training program site; transportation of staff and advisory personnel to obtain information for planning and operation, on trips inside and outside of the school system; telephone and other communications pertinent to program operation; building-facility operation and maintenance; and, food, recreation, and housing arrangements for participants or staff, where these are necessary. In planning for these functions, their effect on the accomplishments of the programs they support should be carefully considered.

6. Evaluation and Dissemination

Program plans and procedures should contain provisions for continuous and terminal evaluation of program activities. While this need not be an elaborate system of data collection and analysis, enough information should be obtained to enable an assessment of the progress

being made toward program objectives and to provide a basis for the dissemination of knowledge acquired concerning effective solutions to problems of school desegregation. The Equal Educational Opportunities Program office will provide, upon request, assistance to school systems that desire to establish procedures for self-evaluation of in-service training or advisory specialist programs. In addition, the Program office will carry out its general responsibility for evaluating the total Program operation, through report analysis, on site visits, and other measures in cooperation with school system officials.

Applicants are encouraged to develop imaginative ways in which new knowledge can be shared, both within the total school system of the applicant and with school systems elsewhere. In-service training programs based on laboratory or field training situations can usually capitalize on the opportunity to use these situations as demonstration centers, involving many more persons in an introduction to the content of the program than can be accommodated directly in the more intensive training activities of the program.

D. Responsibility for Development of a Grant Proposal

Although the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office stands ready to provide professional assistance upon the request of an applicant, the detailed development of a proposal must and should remain the responsibility of the applicant. The nature and extent of assistance given will be dependent upon staff or consultant availability and budgetary limitations.

E. Purpose of a Proposal

The purpose of a proposal is to inform the Commissioner of the nature and scope of the program that the applicant desires to conduct. All proposals that are received in the Program office will be reviewed and evaluated in terms of the criteria set forth in Section I-M of this manual. A proposal for an institute will be considered only once. If a particular proposal does not result in an offer of a grant, it will not be reconsidered for a subsequent period. However, the institution may resubmit the proposal, with such revisions as may be appropriate, for consideration at any time.

F. Submission Dates

Applications for grant awards under the Equal Educational Opportunities Program may be submitted at any time. Inasmuch as funds are limited, it will be to the advantage of the applicants to submit applications as soon as proposal plans have been adequately developed and the proposal description has been formulated. It is essential, however, that all available program funds be committed to active projects, and the school system of the applicant should be prepared to commence the program described in the proposal within three months from the beginning date specified in the application.

G. Award Periods

Grant awards will be made only from funds appropriated for the current fiscal year since the Office of Education is not in a position to commit funds until they are appropriated by the Congress. Once obligated, the award funds will remain available during the award period which may continue into or through the fiscal year following that during which the award is made.

Applicants are encouraged to develop long-range programs and to submit proposals covering an entire program rather than to make subsequent applications for continuations of a program. If approval is indicated upon the initial evaluation of the proposal, the continuation of a program beyond the availability of funds from the current fiscal year will receive priority consideration over any new proposals submitted, provided: (1) that adequate funds are available for the year(s) involved; (2) that for a particular in-service training program for the year(s) specified will be carried out essentially as proposed or as modified by mutual agreement; and (3) that a high quality of in-service training program offering is maintained during the initial award period. It is expected that requests for support beyond a two or three year period will be considered on the basis of a new proposal submitted at the appropriate time.

H. Applicant Contribution

In the proposal budget, the applicant is requested to indicate the contribution in funds, goods, or services that will be made to the program by the applicant. No proposal will be rejected on the basis of any lack of applicant contribution. It is expected, however, that school systems in a position to bear a portion of the program operation cost will do so where this is possible. For continuing projects, it is expected that the participant will assume proportionately greater share of the total program cost in successive years of operation.

I. Instructions for Submission of Applications

1. Information Required

All applications must pertain to proposals for in-service training or advisory-specialist programs to be conducted in the applicant school board's system. The applications should follow the proposal format indicated below, and must contain all of the

requested information which is applicable to the program contemplated. The proposal format contains one section pertaining to in-service training and another pertaining to the employment of advisory specialists. Either or both sections are to be completed, as appropriate. It is essential that budget information be accurate and complete. Note carefully the instructions as to supportable items and the restrictions thereupon.

2. Mailing Address for Applications

All application copies required, including the signed copies, should be sent to:

Grants Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

3. Number of Copies Required

Ten (10) copies of the application are required. Two of these copies shall be signed by those officials whose names appear on the cover page.

4. Length of Applications

A proposal should be concise but sufficiently complete to provide information necessary for a sound evaluation. Generally, proposals are from 10 to 20 single-spaced pages. Applications are to be typed or otherwise reproduced on white paper of standard size (8" by 10½" or 8½" by 11" but not the longer "legal" size), on one side only.

J. Proposal Format

1. Cover Page

The cover page of the proposal must show the following information in the order indicated on the following page.

(Cover Page)

PROPOSAL FOR SCHOOL BOARD GRANT PROGRAM
ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Under the Provisions of Title IV, Section 405, of Public Law 88-352
The Civil Rights Act of 1964

Title: The title should be concise, descriptive, and as specific as possible. Key words in the title should indicate the type of problem involved and the nature of the groups with which the program is concerned. Avoid technical terms that are obscure.

Submitted by: Official name and address of the applicant school board or agency.

Initiated by: Name, position, mailing address, and telephone number of the individual who initiated the proposal, ordinarily the chief executive officer of the school system of the applicant. The signature of this initiator should appear on the first two copies of the proposal submitted.

Authorized by: Name, position, mailing address, and telephone number of the individual authorized to enter into the grant agreement on behalf of the governing board involved, ordinarily the head of that board. The signature of this authorized person should also appear on the first two copies of the proposal submitted.

Fiscal Officer: Name, position, mailing address, and telephone number of the official who is authorized to receive Federal funds on behalf of the applicant school board or agency.

Federal Funds Requested:

Part A (In-Service Training) $_____
Part B (Advisory Specialists) $_____

Total of Part A and Part B $_____

Duration: Beginning Date_____ Ending Date_____

Date Transmitted:_____

774-278 O-65-3

2. Abstract

On a single, separate page present a summary of the proposal. Use the following headings:

a. Title:
b. Submitted by:
c. Director of the Program:
d. Objectives:
e. Procedures:
f. Time Schedule: i.e., beginning and ending dates
g. Budget: i.e., total cost of the program and total Federal funds requested.

Place the Abstract immediately after the Cover Page.

3. Outline of Proposal Content

Follow the appropriate outline below in Part A or Part B, or both, to describe the proposed program in a manner that the designated review panel and the Commissioner will have adequate information upon which to base an objective evaluation. In preparing the description, identify each item of the proposal by using the number and the under-lined words given in the outline. Other sub-headings indicated may be used, but are not essential. The material presented under each item of the outline is for explanatory or informative purposes only and should be considered in relation to the exact problem circumstances confronting the applicant.

Part A--In-Service Training Program Proposal

1. Problem: Give a brief statement of the problem, explaining its importance to the school system of the applicant and its specific relationship to school desegregation. The problem description should focus on the key factors related to the problem(s). Information on such topics as the following may be applicable:

   a. Nature of the problem.

   b. Specific causes of the current problem situation.

   c. Immediate and probable long-range effects of the problem situation on the quality of education in the school system and on equality of educational opportunity.

   d. Estimated community understanding of the problem.

   e. Previous attempts to alleviate the problem.

   f. Primary reasons for planning the proposed program of action.

2. General statistical information: Indicate the number of schools, pupils, and teachers involved in the problem situation; and, the current state of segregation and desegregation in schools and classes, among students and faculty. (Estimates are acceptable when exact data are unavailable.)

3. Objectives: State the specific objectives toward which the in-service training program will be directed and the ways in which these are expected to affect the problem. As much as possible, these objectives should be described in terms of the estimated accomplishments of the program, accomplishments which might be measured in an evaluation of the program or its procedures.

4. Procedures: Describe the procedures contemplated for use in the program of in-service training. Give as much detail as is necessary to provide a clear understanding of each of the following:

   a. Type of Program: Indicate the general type of program planned--whether the proposed program is to be conducted by staff members of the school system of the applicant, by staff members from a nearby college, university, community organization, or other agency, or in conjunction with a training institute conducted by an institution of higher education under Section 404 of P.L. 88-352.

   b. Program Content: Describe the general content of the program, in terms of the skills to be learned, materials to be developed, information to be gained, or other experiences designed to benefit the participants in improving their ability to deal with problems incident to school desegregation.

c. Methods: In describing the methods of training to be used, indicate specific classroom, laboratory, or field situations which will be utilized to accomplish the program objectives. Indicate how training program participants are to receive consultation and guidance from the program staff both during and following the intensive training sessions. If curriculum or instructional materials are to be developed as part of the in-service training program, indicate the general nature of these.

d. Frequency and Duration of Training Sessions: Indicate the structure of the training sessions in terms of: length of individual session; length of total program; scheduling of training sessions within the school week--whether during normal working hours or outside of them--or during weekends; provisions for time for laboratory sessions, field excursions, and research and study time.

e. Evaluation: Describe the techniques which will be used to evaluate the kind and amount of contribution that the in-service training program makes to the solution of problems incident to desegregation within the applicant school system.

f. Dissemination: Describe how the results of the in-service training sessions will be disseminated throughout the applicant school system or to other interested school systems or agencies, e.g., newsletters, radio or television programs, staff meetings, journal articles, etc.

5. Selection of Participants: Participant selection is the responsibility of the applicant school system, but the procedures used must be in harmony with the overall objectives of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program. A description must be given of the selection procedures and criteria to be used for the in-service training program that is proposed. The description should include an indication of the type of school personnel which will receive the training (e.g., teachers, supervisors, counselors, administrators, classified, or other), the number of participants to be included, the basis upon which selections are to be made, and by whom selections are to be made.

6. Staff Personnel: Indicate the persons who will be responsible for the operation of the in-service training program--whether members of the school staff, college or university staff, community leaders, or personnel from community, civic, social, or welfare agencies. Where possible, give the names and general qualifications of the key personnel involved in directing or conducting the program, e.g., present position title, degrees, major fields of preparation, certification, experience, and other pertinent information. The use of community resource persons in an in-service training program is encouraged, provided that the purpose of using the services of the resource persons is to contribute to the learning experience of the participants, and that the anticipated use of such resource persons, how they shall be used, and the anticipated number and types of such persons are set forth in the procedures section of the program proposal. Indicate

the program position each individual will occupy. Next to each name indicate whether these individuals have been contacted and are willing to serve in the capacity desired. If specific personnel arrangements cannot be indicated, outline the desired staffing plans for the program.

7. Facilities: Indicate the location of the training sessions--whether they are to be held in a school-system facility or at some other site. Describe the facilities available for the program, in terms of the number and nature of classrooms, conference rooms, laboratories, libraries or other teaching spaces required.

8. Materials and Equipment: Special requirements of materials or equipment should be described, including the relationship of these requirements to the program objectives.

9. Special Administrative and Service Requirements: Support functions necessary to successful operation of the in-service training program should be outlined, e.g., program direction, travel, communications, cooperation with other agencies, etc.

10. Time Schedule: Indicate, using calendar dates, the time schedule anticipated for major phases of the proposed program.

11. Other Information: Make a brief statement concerning each of the following items. This information will in no way jeopardize approval of the proposal.

    a. Indicate the amount of support available for this project from sources other than the applicant school system or agency, e.g., foundation funds, governmental grants, private donations.

    b. Indicate whether this proposal has been, or will be, submitted to any other agency.

    c. Indicate whether this is a proposed extension of or addition to a project previously or currently supported by the Office of Education.

12. Budget: (Start this section on a new page in the proposal.) In a tabular presentation similar to the following format, itemize the estimated cost of the in-service training program. Round all amounts to the nearest ten dollars. In the first column list the items of expenditure, using the categories shown. After each line item, add a brief parenthetical statement which explains how the cost of the item was computed. (Do not include in your proposal the explanatory information shown in the format.) In subsequent columns indicate, by line item, the funds requested from the Office of Education for each of the years of the proposed program, by fiscal year, and the estimated dollar value of the goods and services to be contributed by the institution or agency during each fiscal year. (A fiscal year extends from July 1 to June 30 and bears the year designation of the last six months.) At the bottom of each column indicate the Subtotal (sum of direct costs) and the Total (direct costs plus overhead) for the particular fiscal year. Repeat this process for each fiscal year of the proposed program. Present a Grand Subtotal figure and a Grand Total figure for the entire proposal, entering these figures on the Cover Page as well as at the close of the budget section.

Proposed Budget

In-Service Training Program Under Title IV, Sec. 405, of P.L. 88-352

Submitted by: Official name and address of the applicant school board or agency.

Duration: Beginning Date_____ Ending Date_____

NOTE: Salaries, service charges, travel costs, etc., must conform to the standard rate of the school board or agency, within the maximum limitations indicated. Amounts paid in accordance with standard rates of the school board or agency which are in excess of maximum limitations, for categories where these exist, may be shown as applicant contributions to the program.

AMOUNT REQUIRED FOR FISCAL YEAR:_____

ITEM	Grant Funds	Applicant or other funds
DIRECT COSTS: Direct costs are those that are specifically incurred in the conduct of the program. These may include the following:		
a. Compensation for Personal Services: Includes salaries, wages, and honoraria directly attributable to the program, for the director of the program, instructional staff, special lecturers, secretaries, clerks, or other personnel. Such compensation should be charged at the actual rates paid by the applicant. Where any person works less than full-time on the program, reasonable estimates of time spent on the program may be used in determining the part of the salary to be charged to the program. List all position titles, and state the percent of time on the program and the per annum or per diem salary of each person.		
b. Compensation for Substitute Personnel: Includes the salaries or wages of substitute personnel required to take the place of program participants when the in-service training is conducted during normal school hours.		

c. Employee Services and Benefits: Includes costs such as insurance, social security, pension, etc. when not included as part of the cost of personal services or substitute personnel.

d. Compensation for Participants: Includes payment of teachers and other school personnel for actual participation in in-service training outside of regular school hours. This additional compensation is to be at the rate of $3 per hour, or the hourly rate at which the individual is paid by the grantee, whichever is less, not to exceed $15 per day or $75 per week. Compensation above these rates may be paid, but not from the Federal funds portion.

e. Supplies, Materials, and Equipment: Amounts required for ordinary operating supplies and training materials should be indicated by subtotals for each of those two categories. Amounts required for special training materials or for the rental or purchase of equipment necessary to the effective operation of the proposed in-service training program should be indicated for each type of item required.

f. Tuition and Fees Payments: Includes payment of tuition for participants in in-service training programs if these involve attendance at institutions of higher education or in approved courses or activities conducted by other agencies. The per capita costs involved should be indicated. In no instances are tuition or fee costs to be included in grant proposals for attendance at institutes or other activities receiving Federal support for these costs.

g. Travel:

(1) Instructors: Other than air transportation, travel will be in accordance with the established policy of the grantee, except that allowances from Federal funds for travel by private automobile shall not exceed 9¢ per mile. Travel or an allowance for same may be paid to visiting instructors and special lecturers, from place of residence or employment to the site of the program and return, as well as to members of the program staff, when necessary for the effective conduct of

the training program. When air transportation is used, first-class accommodations may normally be used only if (a) less than first-class is not available (providing reservation was requested within 24 hours after the traveler had knowledge of the trip), (b) less than first-class requires circuitous routing, (c) less than first-class requires travel to begin or end at unreasonable hours (e.g., if scheduled arrival is after 9:00 p.m.), (d) less than first-class would result in additional direct costs which offset the transportation savings, or (e) less than first-class will not make connections with other flights or means of transportation for continuation of the journey. It is recognized that, under unusual circumstances, use of first-class accommodations may be warranted for reasons, other than those set forth in the foregoing paragraph. Such circumstances, however, should arise rarely and then only for good and sufficient reasons.

(2) Participants: Allowances for local travel necessary to the effective operation of the proposed in-service training program may be made in accordance with the established policy of the applicant, except that allowances from Federal funds for individual or joint travel by private automobile shall not exceed 9¢ per mile. This travel may be for purposes of transporting participants from place of residence or employment to the site of the program and return. It may also be for field trips, visitations or similar program activities. Enter these two types of participant travel as separate line items. Justification for participant travel other than that of a local nature must be given. If approved, allowances may be made as for instructors in (1).

h. Communications: Includes long distance telephone calls, telegrams, and postage which are directly attributable to and necessary for the implementation and conduct of the specific program.

i. Printing: Includes the cost of printing brochures, reports, and nominal items which are specifically required for the conduct or promotion of the program.

j. Transportation Costs: Includes freight, express, cartage, and parcel post relating either to goods purchased, in process, or delivered.

k. Services: Itemize requirements for statistical, duplicating, testing, or other services to be performed in conjunction with the in-service training program.		
l. Other: List other essential items not listed above.		
SUBTOTAL		
INDIRECT COSTS: Indirect costs are actual overhead costs, not to exceed 20% of the total Federal direct cost. If the local rate results in a greater amount, the difference between it and Federal overhead may be shown as a local contribution. Give the basis on which the local overhead is computed. (See Section II F-3.) Where possible, applicants are requested to consider the assumption of overhead costs as an applicant contribution.		
TOTAL		

REPEAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION FOR EACH FISCAL YEAR FOR THE DURATION OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM, EITHER IN COLUMNS PARALLEL TO THOSE FOR THE FIRST FISCAL YEAR, OR IN SUBSEQUENT SECTIONS AS ABOVE

PART A GRAND SUBTOTAL _____

PART A GRAND TOTAL _____
(Includes all overhead)

Part B--Employment of Advisory Specialists Proposals

1. Problem: Give a brief statement of the problem, explaining its importance to the applicant school system and its specific relationship to the problem of school desegregation. The problem description should consider the items suggested in Part A-1. If employment of the advisory specialist(s) constitutes a phase of a program in which in-service training is also included, the problem need be described only once, under Part A-1 of the application. If the employment of advisory specialists is directed at different problems, indicate the nature of those problems here.

2. Objectives of the Proposed Employment of Advisory Specialists: State the specific objectives toward which the employment of the advisory specialist(s) will be directed. If the employment of the advisory specialist(s) is a phase of the program of which in-service training is a part, you need only indicate the extent that the objectives differ from those stated in Part A-2. As much as possible, these objectives should be described in terms of the estimated accomplishments which might be measured in an evaluation of program procedures. These may include a discussion of specific goals related to the following general problem areas, among others:

   a. The study and survey of the nature and extent of problems incident to desegregation existing in the school system of the applicant.

   b. The determination of new ways of organizing the school and classroom for instructional quality in desegregated school situations.

   c. The introduction or development of new curriculum materials, content, and approaches helpful in meeting educational problems involved in school desegregation.

   d. The organization of guidance and counseling programs to give adequate attention to individual students needs within the desegregated school environment.

   e. The establishment of training programs to improve the ability of school personnel to deal with problems related to school desegregation.

   f. The development of a program of community understanding and support of school desegregation.

   g. The resolution of unique problems of school administration pertaining to aspects of school desegregation.

   h. The preparation of a school desegregation plan to assign students to or within public schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin.

   i. The implementation of a school desegregation plan.

   j. The development of policies and programs to prevent resegregation.

3. Procedures: Describe the procedures planned for use of the specialists to be employed in advising the applicant on problems incident to desegregation.

Give as much detail as is appropriate about each of the following:

a. The general type of assignment to be performed by the specialist(s).

b. Description of type(s) of individuals or groups with whom the specialist(s) will be working.

c. Brief description of the manner that will be employed in selecting the advisory specialist(s).

d. Nature of the supervision to be given the advisory specialist(s).

e. Describe the techniques which will be used to evaluate the performance of the advisory specialist(s).

4. Personnel: If possible, give the following information for each of the specialists you plan to employ. If specific personnel arrangements cannot be indicated, outline the desired staffing pattern for the program. Specialists employed from grant funds at any time during the grant award period must be approved by the Office of Education prior to their employment.

a. Name and present position.

b. Address.

c. General qualifications as an advisory specialist, e.g., degrees, major fields of preparation, experience, and other pertinent information. Briefly cite the key factors upon which the decision to employ this individual was based. If specific personnel arrangements cannot be indicated, outline the qualifications of each specialist position desired.

d. Next to the name of each specialist listed indicate whether the individual has been contacted and is willing to serve in the capacity desired.

5. Other Information: Any other information pertinent to the employment of advisory specialists that would be useful in the evaluation of the proposal may be indicated.

6. Time Schedule: Indicate, using calendar dates, the time schedule anticipated for the employment of advisory specialists, beginning and ending dates, amount of time available per week, etc.

7. Other Information: Make a brief statement concerning each of the following items. This information will in no way jeopardize approval of the proposal.

a. Indicate the amount of support available for this project from sources other than applicant school system or agency.

b. Indicate whether this proposal has been submitted to any other agency.

c. Indicate whether this is a proposed extension of or addition to a project previously or currently supported by the Office of Education.

8. Budget: (Start this section on a new page in the proposal.) In a tabular presentation similar to the following format, itemize the estimated cost of the advisory specialist program. Round all amounts to the nearest ten dollars. In the first column list the items of expenditure, using the categories shown. After each line item, add a brief parenthetical statement which explains how the cost of the item was computed. (Do not include in your proposal the explanatory information shown in the format.) In subsequent columns indicate, by line item, the funds requested from the Office of Education for each of the years of the proposed program, by fiscal year, and the estimated dollar value of the goods and services to be contributed by the institution or agency during each fiscal year. (A fiscal year extends from July 1 to June 30 and bears the year designation of the last six months.) At the bottom of each column indicate the Subtotal (sum of direct costs) and the Total (direct costs plus overhead) for the particular fiscal year. Repeat this process for each fiscal year of the proposed program. Present a Grand Subtotal figure and a Grand Total figure for the entire proposal, entering these figures on the Cover Page as well as at the close of the budget section.

Proposed Budget

Employment of Advisory Specialists Under Title IV, Sec. 405, P.L. 88-352

Submitted by: Official name and address of the applicant school board or agency

Duration: Beginning Date_____ Ending Date_____

NOTE: Salaries, service charges, travel costs, etc., must conform to the standard rate of the school board or agency, within maximum limitations indicated. Amounts paid in accordance with standard rates of the school board or agency in excess of maximum limitations, for categories where these exist, may be shown as applicant contributions to the program.

ITEM	AMOUNT REQUIRED FOR FISCAL YEAR: Grant Funds	Applicant or other funds
DIRECT COSTS: Direct costs are those that are specifically incurred in the conduct of this program. These are as follows:		
a. Compensation for Personal Services: Includes salaries, wages, and honoraria directly attributable to the employment-of-advisory-specialists program, including administrative direction, and secretarial-clerical costs, where identifiable with this program. Such compensation should be charged at the actual rates paid by the applicant. Where any person works less than full-time on the program, reasonable estimates of time spent on the program may be used in determining the part of the salary to be charged to the program. List all position titles, and state the percent of time on the program and the per annum or per diem salary of each person.		
b. Employee Services and Benefits: Includes costs such as insurance, social security, pension, etc., when not included as part of the cost of personal services.		
c. Supplies, Materials, and Equipment: Amounts required for ordinary operating supplies and training materials should be indicated by		

subtotals for each of those two categories. Amounts required for special training materials, or for the rental or purchase of equipment necessary to the effective operation of the proposed advisory specialist program should be indicated for each type of item required.

d. Travel:

(1) Advisory Specialists: Other than air transportation, travel will be in accordance with the established policy of the grantee, except that allowances from Federal funds for travel by private automobile shall not exceed 9¢ per mile. Travel or an allowance for same may be paid to advisory specialists, from place of residence or employment to the site of the program and return, as well as to members of the program staff, when necessary for the effective conduct of the training program. When air transportation is used, first-class accommodations may normally be used only if (a) less than first-class is not available (providing reservation was requested within 24 hours after the traveler had knowledge of the trip), (b) less than first-class requires circuitous routing, (c) less than first-class requires travel to begin or end at unreasonable hours (e.g., if scheduled flight time is before 8:00 a.m. and scheduled arrival is after 9:00 p.m.), (d) less than first-class would result in additional direct costs which offset the transportation savings, or (e) less than first-class will not make connections with other flights or means of transportation for continuation of the journey. It is recognized that, under unusual circumstances, use of first-class accomodations may be warranted for reasons other than those set forth in the foregoing paragraph. Such circumstances, however, should arise rarely and then only for good and sufficient reasons.

e. Communications: Includes long distance telephone calls, telegrams, and postage which are directly attributable to and are necessary for the implementation and conduct of the specific program.

f. Printing: Includes the cost of printing brochures, reports, and nominal items which are specifically required for the conduct or promotion of the program.

g. Transportation Costs: Includes freight, express, cartage, and parcel post relating either to goods purchased, in process, or delivered.

h. Services: Itemize requirements for statistical, duplicating, testing, or other proposed services needed in the advisory specialist program.

i. Other: List other essential items not listed above.

SUBTOTAL

INDIRECT COSTS: Indirect costs are actual overhead costs, not to exceed 20% of the total Federal direct cost. If the local rate results in a greater amount, the difference between it and Federal overhead may be shown as a local contribution. Give the basis on which the local overhead is computed. (See Section II F-3.) Where possible, applicants are requested to consider the assumption of overhead costs as an applicant contribution.

TOTAL

REPEAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION FOR EACH FISCAL YEAR FOR THE DURATION OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAM, EITHER IN COLUMNS PARALLEL TO THOSE FOR THE FIRST FISCAL YEAR, OR IN SUBSEQUENT SECTIONS AS ABOVE

PART B GRAND SUBTOTAL _____

PART B GRAND TOTAL _____
(Includes all overhead)

Part C--Financial and Other Resources of the Applicant

Section 405 (b) of P.L. 88-352 states that in determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Commissioner of Education shall take into consideration the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it, in addition to such other factors as he finds relevant. The information requested in this section is for the purpose of assisting in this determination.

1. Schedule of Needed Federal Funds: Using the amount of the total Federal grant requested as a basis, estimate the portion (rounded to the nearest $10) of these funds which will be required during each month through June of the current fiscal year. If the proposal extends for more than one fiscal year, continue the monthly estimate for the duration of the proposed program.

2. Assessed Valuation:

   a. Indicate the current total actual assessed valuation supporting the applicant school system, and the actual assessed valuation per pupil.

   b. Indicate the current or latest available (give year) average percent that assessed valuation is of true valuation within the applicant school system, and the means or the authority by which this figure was determined.

   c. Indicate the current full-value assessed valuation supporting the applicant school system (i.e., item a. divided by item b.), and the full-value assessed valuation per pupil.

3. Per-Capita Income: State the current or latest available (give year) annual per-capita income of inhabitants of the applicant school system or, if figures for the school system are not available, of another governmental unit (identify) most nearly coterminous with the boundaries of the applicant school system for which figures are available. Indicate the means or the authority by which the figure presented was determined.

4. System Taxing Ability:

   a. Indicate the current tax rate established for the applicant school system, by total rate and by rates for sub-categories or funds if these are applicable.

   b. Indicate the current maximum tax rate available to the system, without referendum, for each category given in a.

5. State Aid:

   a. State the total amount and the per-pupil average of State aid received by the applicant school system for the most current distribution year (give year).

   b. Indicate the basis of State general-aid distribution applicable to the applicant school system.

   c. Give the specific values for each factor entering into the computation of the State general-aid distribution for the most current distribution year.

6. Expenditure-Per-Pupil:

   a. State the average per-pupil total expenditure for operating purposes (excluding capital outlay and debt service expenditures) made by the applicant school system for each of the past three school years. Indicate the average budgeted expenditure per pupil for the current school year.

7. Other Resources: Indicate by general category the financial and external assistance resources available to the applicant school system, other than the tax and aid resources cited above.

8. Other Information: The applicant should present any additional information that would be of value in determining the financial condition of its school system and the need for the Federal funds which are requested in the application.

Part D--Attachments

If any of the following items apply to the proposal being submitted, provide the information requested in each instance. Each attachment should appear as a separate item on separate pages.

1. Instruments, Materials, or Procedures: Unpublished data-gathering instruments, samples of materials to be developed, bibliographies, detailed examples of procedures, reports of pilot studies, etc., may be attached if they are key factors in the proposed program.

2. Revisions: If this application is being resubmitted, append a statement describing the major revisions which have been made. This does not apply to those applications which have been submitted previously in draft form for informal review.

K. Subsequent Requests for Continued Support

In cases where continued support was not requested or approved in the original application, the Office of Education will consider subsequent requests for such support in equal competition with all other proposals pending at the time of such request. Consequently, these requests should contain the same information as any other proposal, in addition to a resume of progress to date. Because of the amount of time for review and evaluation that is required, such requests should be submitted well in advance of the anticipated termination date of the original grant if the grantee wants uninterrupted support.

L. Procedures for Application Evaluation

1. Evaluation

Applications for grants will be evaluated as they are received by the Office of Education. A preliminary review will be made to ascertain that the application is complete, that it conforms to the format indicated above, and that the conditions of eligibility have been met. A technical evaluation of the proposal in relation to the defined objectives will be made by a specialist in the Equal Educational Opportunities Program. Following this evaluation, the proposal will be submitted to an advisory panel within the Office of Education for their evaluation, which will take into account, among other pertinent factors, the criteria listed below.

2. Disposition

The ratings assigned by the Program Specialist and the advisory panel will form the basis for a recommendation to the Commissioner who will then (1) approve the application in whole or in part, (2) disapprove the application, or (3) defer action on the application for such reasons as lack of funds or a need for further evaluation. Any deferral or disapproval of an application will not preclude its reconsideration or resubmission.

M. Criteria for Evaluation of Application

Proposals in applications submitted for grants under Section 405 of P.L. 88-352 will be rated, in part, in accordance with the following criteria:

1. Program Significance

a. The problem(s) toward which the program is directed is of relative major importance in meeting successfully the problems of school desegregation.

b. The program is focused on identified key factors of problems incident to or occasioned by school desegregation, as these exist in the school system of the applicant.

c. The results of the activities to be undertaken in the program may be anticipated to be valuable throughout the school system of the applicant, and in other similar school systems that have similar problems.

d. The program will result in the development of new and promising models either for the education profession as a whole or for the applicant school system.

2. Plan and Procedures

a. The problem(s), objectives, and procedures are clearly and concisely stated with a reasonable amount of detail.

b. The problem(s) and objectives are appropriately delimited, so as to make the scope of the program feasible in view of the resources available.

c. The proposal gives evidence of a logical rationale based on a knowledge of related and currently used methods and materials.

d. The relationship between the problem, objectives, and program procedures is clear and appropriate to a problem solution.

e. The criteria and procedures for selection of participants are appropriate to the identified need and objectives of the program, and are designed to obtain a "multiplier" effect through selection of leadership personnel for training, whenever this is possible.

f. The objectives and procedures are technically sound.

g. The procedures include provisions for obtaining a continuity of program effect over an extended period of time.

h. The proposal includes provisions for an adequate evaluation of the effectiveness of the program, including an evaluation of the methods and materials to be developed or employed in the program.

i. The proposal includes provisions for making significant program results available for possible dissemination to other school systems.

j. The proposal indicates that the cooperation which may be needed from the community or school system personnel to undertake the program successfully has been assured.

3. Personnel and Facilities

a. The program director has demonstrated competence for administering the type of program proposed.

b. The key program personnel, whether school system staff or outside advisory specialists, have demonstrated competence for conducting the work under consideration.

c. The supplies, resource materials, equipment, and facilities available to, or to be obtained by, the institution or agency submitting the application are adequate to carry out the program.

4. Economic Efficiency

a. The relationship between the value of the anticipated outcome and the total cost of the proposed program is favorable.

b. The suggested approach to the problem is reasonable in terms of overall cost as compared with the cost of other possible approaches.

c. Cooperative planning and operation with nearby school systems or institutions of higher education has been effected, where possible, to bring about a maximum utilization of resources with maximum efficiency.

d. Itemized costs in the proposal are realistic.

e. The proposed program is one that is conducted in addition to a regular program in the school system of the applicant.

f. The ratio of Federal funds requested to the total cost of the proposed program is reasonable in view of the nature of the problem, the financial condition of the applicant, and other resources available to it.

II. Administration of Grants

A. Award of Grant

1. Notification and Acceptance

The applicant will be notified in writing of the disposition of the application. If the Commissioner makes a grant, the grant award letter will indicate the approved budget and grant conditions, which will include the terms and conditions outlined in this manual of policies and procedures. Each grant is assigned a number which is indicated in the grant award letter. All subsequent communications concerning the grant should make reference to this number.

The applicant shall indicate acceptance of the proposed grant by having the authorized official sign the original and three copies of the grant award letter and by returning the three copies within ten days to:

Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

If the grant is not accepted, all copies of the grant award letter should be returned to the above address within ten days with a cover letter indicating such action.

2. Payment of Grants

The first payment on a grant is generally made within approximately two weeks after the grant award letter copies, duly signed by the grantee, have been received by the Office of Education. Monthly payments, after the initial payment, are made in accordance with the needs of the grantee as specified in the grant award letter, contingent upon receipt of satisfactory fiscal and progress reports as outlined under the section "Records and Reports." The schedule of payments will be adjusted according to the needs shown in such reports from the grantee. A final payment in the amount of ten percent (10%) of total Office of Education support will be paid after submittal of the required number of duplicated final reports.

B. Changes in Grant Provisions

Substantial changes from the project as approved must be submitted as an application for a new grant. Changes not substantial in nature may be made in the scope of the work if such changes are mutually acceptable to the Office of Education and are approved in writing. Other

permissible changes by the grantee which do not require prior approval shall be limited to changes in methods, approach, or other aspects of the program that would expedite achievement of the program's objective, including changes that grow out of the approved program and serve the best professional procedures.

Adjustments may be made among the amounts of the various items in the budget if the total amount of the grant is not increased. Approval by the Office of Education is required before making a total modification of more than ten percent (10%) in any budget category.

C. Consultant Services

The grantee agrees to determine whether or not any consultant to be utilized in conjunction with a program supported under an Equal Educational Opportunities Program grant has in effect an agreement with the Office of Education for similar services at a lesser consultant rate than that offered under the grant and, if so, to advise the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office accordingly.

D. Use of Funds

Any funds granted shall be expended by the grantee solely for carrying out the program as approved. This does not prohibit subcontracts with others for essential services, but the grantee may not in whole or in part transfer responsibility for the use of such funds or the conduct of the program to any other person. Such subcontracting should relate to a minor part of the work to be performed and requires specific approval in advance by the Office of Education.

E. Responsibility for Exceeding Grant Funds

Any commitments or expenditures incurred by the grantee in excess of the funds provided by the grant or beyond the termination of the grant shall be the responsibility of the grantee. (See, however, Section H below, "Supplementation of Grants.") Expenditures incurred prior to the effective date of the grant (date of the grant letter) may not be charged against grant funds.

F. Allowable Expenditures

1. Allocation of Costs

The allocation of expenditures by a grantee as between direct and indirect costs shall be in accordance with generally accepted and established accounting practices and in accordance with the same policies and methods that the grantee applies to all its activities whether self-sponsored or supported by contracts or grants. With respect to research, training, experimental, developmental, or pilot programs such allocation shall be in accordance with Bureau of the Budget Circular A-21, as in effect on the date of the grant.

2. Direct Costs

Funds granted for the direct costs of an approved program may be expended by the grantee for categories indicated in the Proposal Format in Section I-J of this manual.

3. Indirect Costs

In most cases it will be expected that the grantee will contribute indirect costs as part of its share of program support. In cases of special need, however, indirect costs may be allowed under the grant.

The amount awarded for indirect costs is provided for the purpose of meeting the approved program's share of the general administrative and other overhead expenses of the grantee. Indirect costs are those which, because of their incurrence for common or joint objectives are not readily identified with individual programs. Expenditures representing an institution's auxiliary services or supportive activities, such as personnel management, accounting, or purchasing, and the cost of the utilities or the normal maintenance and protection of the grantee's facilities, shall not be charged as direct costs, unless because of special circumstances such a charge is specifically approved in advance of the expenditures. The amount that may be paid for indirect costs is the actual indirect costs not to exceed 20 percent of the direct costs. The grantee will be expected to furnish justification to warrant the indirect cost rate requested. Justification shall be on the basis of an audit by an agency of the Government or by public accountants.

G. Termination of Grants

1. Termination by the Grantee

A grantee may at any time terminate or cancel its conduct of an approved program by notifying the Commissioner in writing setting forth the reasons for such termination.

2. Termination by the Commissioner

Any grant award may be terminated, in whole or from time to time in part, by the Commissioner whenever for any reason he finds that such termination is in the best interest of the Government. Termination of the grant shall be effected by delivery to the grantee of a notice of termination specifying the extent to which the grant is terminated, the reasons therefore, and the date upon which such termination becomes effective.

3. Accounting

Upon termination of the grant, the grantee shall cancel its outstanding commitments thereunder covering the procurement of materials, supplies, equipment, and miscellaneous items. In addition,

the grantee shall exercise all reasonable diligence to accomplish the cancellation or diversion of its outstanding commitments covering personal services extending beyond the date of such termination, to the extent that they relate to the performance of any work under the subject grant.

The grantee shall submit his termination claim to the Office of Education promptly after receipt of a notice of termination, but in no event later than one year from the effective date thereof, unless one or more extensions in writing are granted by the Office of Education upon written request of the grantee within such one-year period or authorized extension thereof. Upon failure of the grantee to submit his termination claim within the time allowed, the Office of Education may, subject to any review required by the Office of Education's procedures in effect as of the date of execution of the grant, determine, on the basis of information available to it, the amount, if any due to the grantee by reason of the termination and shall thereupon pay to the grantee the amount so determined.

Subject to the provisions of the paragraph above, and subject to any review required by the Office of Education's procedures in effect as of the date of execution of the grant, the grantee and the Office of Education may agree upon the whole or any part of the amount or amounts to be paid the grantee by reason of the termination, which amount or amounts may include any reasonable cancellation charges thereby incurred by the grantee and any reasonable loss upon outstanding commitments for personal services which it is unable to cancel; provided, however, that in connection with any outstanding commitments for personal services which the grantee is unable to cancel, the grantee shall have exercised reasonable diligence to divert such commitments to its other activities and operations.

H. Supplementation of Grants

A grant for the support of program activities is not to be considered a "cost-reimbursement" contract. In many cases the amount granted by the Office of Education is less than the amount requested by the grantee. The grantee should plan the program within the grant funds unless additional funds are to be obtained from other sources.

If, however, during the course of the grant, an unexpected and unforeseen development occurs of such significance as to place a choice upon the grantee of either terminating or curtailing the undertaking because of the need of additional funds, the Office of Education will consider making a supplemental grant, for direct costs only, at an amount not to exceed 15 percent (15%) of the original grant, but not to exceed $5,000. Requests for supplemental grants will be approved by the Commissioner only if (a) the need for additional funds is occasioned by unforeseen circumstances and (b) the grantee states that it cannot provide such additional funds as part of its contribution to

the undertaking. Supplemental grants will not be used to reimburse grantees for expenditures or obligations incurred prior to the application for the supplemental grant. Only one such supplemental payment may be allowed for a given grant.

I. Grantee Accountability

1. Date of Final Accounting

In addition to such other accounting as the Commissioner may require, a grantee shall render, with respect to each approved program a full account, as provided herein, as of a termination date which shall be either (a) the end of the program period or (b) the date of any termination of grant support, whichever first occurs.

2. Accounting for Grant Award Payments

With respect to each approved program, the grantee shall account for the sum total of all amounts paid under P.L. 88-352 by presenting or otherwise making available vouchers or any other evidence satisfactory to the Commissioner of expenditures for allowable direct and indirect costs: Provided, however, that where the amount awarded for indirect costs was based on a percentage of estimated direct costs, the amount allowed for indirect costs shall be that percentage of actual direct costs, or approved portion thereof, unless the Commissioner has reason to believe that such application of the percentage would result in an allowance in excess of actual indirect costs.

3. Accounting for Equipment, Materials, or Supplies

Expenditures of grant funds for movable or fixed equipment, materials, or supplies, hereinafter referred to as "materials," may be charged to grant funds as direct costs only to the extent such materials are required for the conduct of the approved program during the program period. Any materials on hand on the date of termination (excluding expendable supplies within such limitations as the Commissioner may prescribe) shall be accounted for, or accountability waived, by one or a combination of the following methods:

a. Retention for Other Similar Programs

The materials may be used, without adjustment of accounts, in other programs within the scope of P.L. 88-352, and no other accounting for such materials shall be required: Provided, however, (1) that during such period of use no charge for depreciation, amortization or for other use of the materials shall be made against any existing or future Federal grant or contract, and (2) if within the period of their useful life the materials are transferred by sale or otherwise for use for purposes outside the scope of P.L. 88-352, the bona fide or fair market value at the time of transfer shall be payable to the United States.

b. Sale or Other Disposition: Crediting of Proceeds or Value

The materials may be sold by the grantee and the net proceeds of sale credited to the grant account for program use, or they may be used and disposed of in any manner by the grantee by crediting to the grant account their fair market value on the termination date. To the extent materials purchased from grant funds have been used for credit or "trade-in" on the purchase of new materials, the accounting obligation shall apply to the same extent to such new materials.

c. Transfer to the United States

To the extent the Commissioner so requires or approves, title to such materials will be transferred to the United States for such authorized use or disposition as he may direct.

4. Interest

Any interest earned through any deposit or investment by the grantee of the funds paid pursuant to P.L. 88-352 shall be paid to the United States as such interest is received by the grantee.

5. Project Net Income

Except as may otherwise be provided pursuant to regulations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with respect to income from patentable inventions or discoveries, the Commissioner may impose on any grant award or class of grant awards conditions that will assure return to the United States of its equitable share of any net income derived by the grantee from the activity supported by grant funds.

6. Final Settlement

There shall be payable to the United States as final settlement with respect to each approved program the total sum of (1) any amount not accounted for pursuant to (2) above, (2) any credits for materials on hand as provided in paragraph (3) above, and (3) any credits for earned interest and for net income of the program pursuant to paragraphs (4) and (5) above. Such payment shall be made by check payable to the U.S. Office of Education and mailed to the Fiscal Management Section. Such settlement may accompany the final report or be made following Federal audit of the grant expenditures.

J. Records and Reports

1. Records

The grantee shall maintain books and records which show all expenditures incurred under the grant, in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles and consistent with the categories of

expenses set forth in the grant. The grantee agrees that the Commissioner or his duly authorized representative shall have access to and the right to examine any directly pertinent books, documents, papers, and records of the grantee, in the performance, or, and involving transactions related to, the grant, for a period of three (3) years after final payment under this grant or until audited by representatives of the Commissioner whichever is later.

2. Reports

a. Fiscal Reports

A cumulative report of expenditures is required prior to payment in accordance with the schedule of payments indicated in the grant award letter. A final fiscal report shall be submitted within 90 days of the end of the grant award period or the termination of the grant, whichever is earlier.

b. Technical Progress Reports

A brief technical progress report in four copies will be submitted prior to payment in accordance with the schedule of payments indicated in the grant award letter. Each report will include a brief description of the scope of the program; work completed during the reporting period; plans for the next reporting period; unanticipated problems; and the personnel paid from grant funds. In those cases where a program has been tentatively approved for grant support extending beyond the award period (See Section I-G.), the progress report submitted, in the fourth month prior to the beginning of the new fiscal year shall, in addition to the information requested above, contain a proposed budget for the new fiscal year or part thereof, as is appropriate to the terms of the original grant. This proposed budget shall follow the format indicated in this manual of policies and procedures. If no change is desired from the budget for the new fiscal year, as it was submitted in the original proposal and approved contingent upon the appropriation of funds by the Congress, a statement to this effect may be submitted in lieu of a new budget proposal.

c. Special Reports

Special reports shall be submitted upon request by the Office of Education.

d. Final Technical Report

Within 90 days of the end of the grant award period or the termination of the grant, whichever is earlier, the grantee shall provide the Office of Education with twenty-five (25) duplicated copies of a final report and an additional twenty-five (25) copies of the abstract contained therein.

(1) Content: Because of the diversity of programs supported, it is not possible to prescribe the length or most desirable arrangement of content for a final report. However, the report constitutes a complete report of the program to the Office of Education and to professional colleagues. It should be a sufficiently detailed account to permit the reader to ascertain the significance and validity of the results and to replicate the program, should he wish to do so.

(2) Format: The final report should be duplicated on standard white paper stock, 8½" by 11", bound with an inexpensive, but durable, paper cover.

(3) Cover: On the cover of the report will appear the following:

(a) (The title by which the project is known)

(b) (Author)

(c) Grant-to-School-Board Number_____
P.L. 88-352, Title IV, Section 405
The Civil Rights Act of 1964

(d) (The name of the Program Director if different from author)

(e) (The imprint of the grantee)

(f) The Project Reported Herein Was Supported by a Grant from the
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

(4) Abstract: The abstract of the final report should be approximately 600 words in length and in general follow the outline below:

(a) Identification (Items (a), (b), (c), (d), and (f) of (3) above)

(b) Purpose

(c) Procedure

(d) Results and Conclusions

e. Acknowledgment of Federal Support

The grantee shall provide the U.S. Office of Education with 25 reprints of any article published resulting from the activity of the program prior to the conclusion of the grant. Such articles or other publications resulting from or primarily related to program activity supported by a grant shall contain the following:

The development of the program activities reported herein was supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

K. Grants for Continued Support

When a subsequent proposal requesting continued support is approved, a new grant will be activated. Although special arrangements for voiding the requirement for a technical report on the original grant may be made, it will be necessary for the grantee to submit a final fiscal report at a time when such final fiscal report can reflect full accounting of all funds expended under the original grant. Normally, expenditures under the new grant should not begin until funds from the previous grant are fully expended or committed. If the funds for the second grant are received prior to the time that the funds from the first grant are exhausted, work under the first grant should be considered completed on the day when funds are fully expended or committed. New accounts should be established for the second grant in order that the recording and reporting of expenditure may be separated.

L. Clearance of Forms

In the event the work performed under a grant for in-service training program operation involves the collection of identical information from ten or more individuals or organizations, other than Federal employees or agencies, the contractor or grantee should submit to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office six copies of all questionnaire forms and survey plans for transmittal to the Bureau of the Budget for approval prior to their use, in accordance with the Federal Reports Act of 1942.

M. Patents

In order to effectuate the general policies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with respect to the utilization of the results of research, experimental, developmental, or pilot programs, supported by grants of public monies (45 CFR, Parts 6 and 8) as amended, any inventions arising out of the activities assisted by the grant shall be promptly and fully reported to the Commissioner. Rights in any invention shall be determined by the Commissioner as follows:

1. If he finds that there is adequate assurance that the invention will either be effectively dedicated to the public, or that any patent which may be obtained thereunder will be generally available for royalty-free and nonexclusive licensing, the effectuation of these results may be left to the grantee.

2. If he finds that the invention will thereby be more adequately and quickly developed for widest use and that there are satisfactory safeguards against unreasonable royalties and repressive

practices, the invention may be assigned to a competent organization for development and administration for the term of the patent or such lesser period as may be deemed necessary.

3. If he finds that the interest of another contributing Government agency is paramount to the interest of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, or when otherwise legally required or in the public interest, the invention may be left for disposition by that agency in accordance with its own policy.

4. In all other cases, he shall require that all domestic rights in the invention shall be assigned to the United States unless he determines that the invention is of such doubtful importance or the Government's equity in the invention is so minor that protective measures, except as provided in the following paragraph, are not necessarily in the public interest.

Any arrangement or determination as to the disposition of rights in inventions, as stated above, shall require that there be reserved under any patent application or patent thereon, domestic or foreign, a nonexclusive, irrevocable, royalty-free license to the Government with power to sublicense for all governmental purposes.

In any case where it is determined that all domestic rights should be assigned to the Government, there shall be reserved to the Government, pursuant to Executive Order 9865 and Government-wide regulations issued thereunder, an option to require the assignment of all rights in the invention in all or in any specified foreign countries.

N. Copyrights

Any data, materials, or other information which may be developed or created in connection with the activity assisted by the grant shall be, during the term of this grant and thereafter, so long as it remains in the possession of the grantee, available for study and utilization by the Commissioner and such persons or organizations as the Commissioner may designate. Materials which are properly confidential shall be treated as such.

The grantee shall be free to publish the results of its work under the grant so long as copyrights protection is secured on any such data, materials, or other information that is copyrightable prior to or upon publication or so long as the Commissioner has first approved in writing publication without claim to copyright protection: Provided, that the Government reserves the rights to require that any copyright obtained on any such data, materials, or other information be assigned to the Government or any other designee of the Commissioner.

There shall be reserved to the Government, and to its officers, agents, and employees, acting within the scope of their duties, a nonexclusive, irrevocable, royalty-free license throughout the world, to publish,

translate, reproduce, use, and dispose of (and to authorize others to do) all such data, materials, or other information which is copyrightable.

The grantee agrees to report promptly to the Office of Education the publication of any such data, materials, or other information, including the place, date, and manner of publication.

The grantee agrees to report to the Commissioner promptly and in reasonable written detail any notice or claim of copyright infringement received by the grantee with respect to any data, materials, or other information which may be developed or created under the grant.

O. Safety Precautions

As Office of Education grants are made to provide financial support to grantees in their program undertakings, the Office cannot assume any liability with respect to accidents, illnesses, or claims arising out of any work undertaken with the assistance of the grant. The grantee is advised to take such steps to insure or protect itself as may be deemed desirable.

P. Other Conditions

The Commissioner may with respect to any grant award impose additional conditions prior to or at the time of any award when in his judgment such conditions are necessary to assure or protect advancement of the approved program, the interests of education, or the conservation of grant funds.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O—774-278

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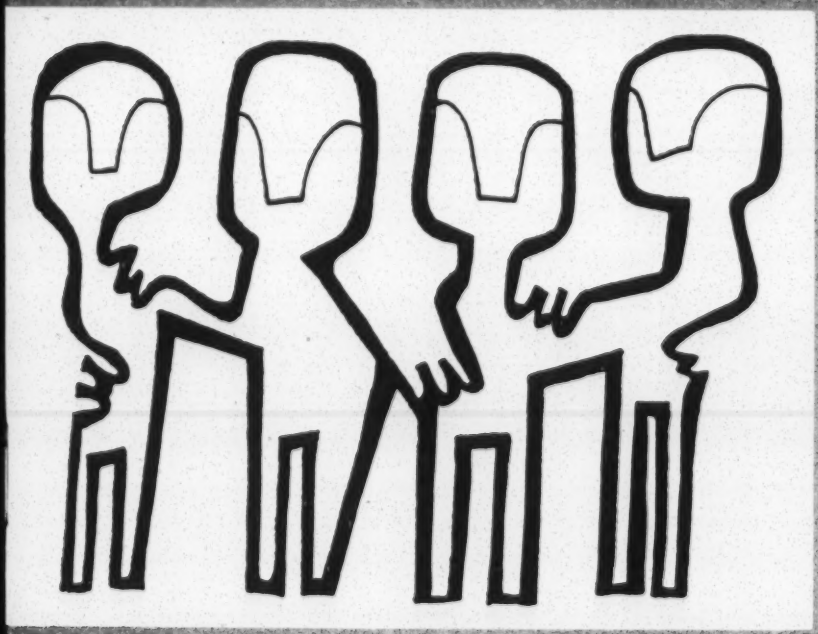
UPLAND INSTITUTE

A PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT



Bulletin 1965

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

History and Purpose

The Upland Institute has been organized to help meet the urgent need for trained leadership required by social welfare, government agencies, social action, peace and civil rights groups.

The program of the Institute rests upon three concepts: (1) social change is inevitable in our complex society, (2) such change can be achieved without reliance upon violence, (3) the intellectual capacities and resources rooted in man's secular and religious heritage can be utilized in training men and women for leadership in nonviolent social change.

The objective of the Institute is to prepare its students to meet the challenge of change in their own communities and in the world community. Its educational plan offers an experiential approach to training directed to these ends.

The Upland Institute is co-educational and open to students without regard to race or creed. It welcomes men and women willing to work hard and deeply interested in exploring the field of social change and social conflict, with serious intention of giving some time to professional or volunteer service in some area of social change. Since all courses will be presented on a graduate level, an A.B. degree is desirable but not a requirement for admission. The Institute is prepared to evaluate the education and experience of any applicant, to determine his readiness to undertake the Institute's intensive course of study and training. Significant experience in some area of social conflict is desirable.

Early experiments in curriculum and field work by the staff of the New York Friends Group have been reviewed and tested with representatives of religious, educational, civil rights, community and peace agencies. Experimental seminars have been held over a two-year period in New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco.

As a result of this consultation and experimentation, decisions were made to seek a permanent graduate educational setting for the further development of this program. In December 1964, agreements were reached with the Crozer Foundation at Chester, Pennsylvania, to establish the Upland Institute and open classes in September 1965, using the campus and facilities of the Crozer Theological Seminary, one of a number of constituent institutions operating under the Crozer Foundation.

The Institute takes its name from historic Upland, one of the earliest settlements on the Delaware River, later renamed Chester, 13 miles south of Philadelphia. It is located on the 67 acre campus of the Crozer Foundation in the center of a heavily industrialized metropolitan area of five million people.

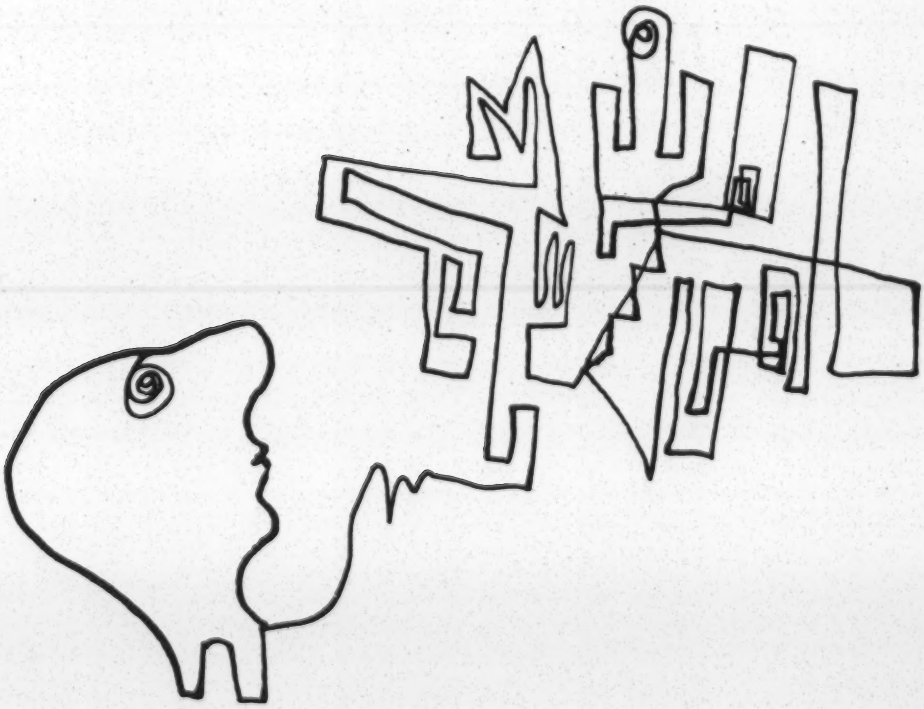
The Institute is one of three schools and a medical center, operating as constituent parts of the Crozer Foundation, a charitable, religious, scientific, and educational corporation organized for professional training and community service.

The Institute is under the immediate direction of a Council of Fellows selected for their experience and competence in areas of social change, academic achievement, and interest in the problems of training for conflict management. The Council, in consultation with the staff of the Institute, determines program, implements policy, sets standards, and nominates candidates for the faculty.

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE PROGRAM

The academic year from September to June will require full-time student participation. Upon satisfactory completion of the program, each student will be granted a Certificate of Accomplishment. As the program develops, an M.A. degree may be offered for further work.

An intensive study of the history and process of social change will be presented through seminars, individual projects, and reading programs. Extensive field work experience in areas of social conflict will permit each student to develop skills in his areas of special interest. Enrollment will be limited to fifteen students to provide full opportunity for individual instruction.



AREAS OF STUDY

Seminars and courses will be given on such topics as:

Structure and Change in Modern Society, a study of the characteristics of contemporary society, the problems inherent to this type of culture and the basic social processes, institutions and mechanisms of social change.

Movements of Social Protest, including the Freedom Movement, peace education and action, trade unionizing, etc. This will include a critical evaluation of the problems faced in these areas and the techniques used in attempting to solve these problems.

Organizing and Building Programs for Social Change in the local community with emphasis on the use of both voluntary and governmental organizations, (political parties, labor unions, human relations commissions, health and welfare councils, etc.) as well as methods of organizing and conducting nonviolent protest movements. This would include emphasis on practical work skills.

The Individual and the Changing Community, an exploration of the importance of personal attitudes, motivations, ethical and religious insights, and how these affect the individual's ability to work for constructive social change. Extensive use will be made of case histories.

Methods of Action Research, an attempt will be made to develop skills in surveying communities and observing agents of social change. It will emphasize the techniques of reducing biased and distorted understanding.

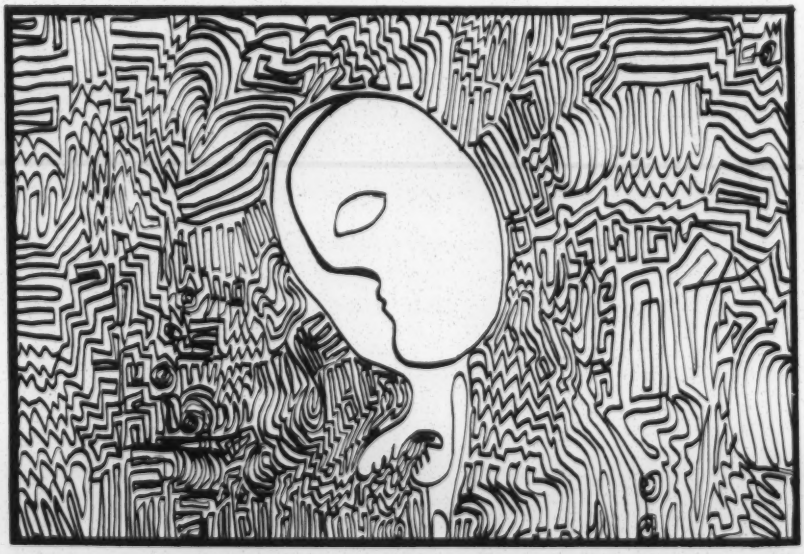
Concept and Practice of Nonviolence, a consideration of the theory and techniques of nonviolent action as a means of effecting constructive social change.

REFUSE TO
TORTURE
AND KILL

FIELD WORK PROGRAM

Each student will undertake a field work assignment with some social agency or action group actively involved in effecting social change. The student will spend an average of three days a week in field work. There will be opportunities to work with civil rights groups, peace organizations, and other social agencies in Chester and in the nearby cities of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore and Washington. The student is expected to participate fully in the work and program of the group to which he is assigned. Field work assignments will be guided by the Director of Field Work, who will confer regularly with each student. Participation in regularly scheduled field work seminars and written reports on their field experience will be required.

The objective of the field work program is to provide first-hand experience in social action; experience in organizational work; to develop particular skills and abilities in organizational work; and to experience the tension inevitably existing between the vision and the reality of any social action movement.



EXTENSION PROGRAM

In addition to the one-year program, provision will be made for short-term special training projects. In response to requests from local communities or organizations, the Institute will make provision for groups of selected leaders to come to the campus for short periods of intensive training in techniques of nonviolent social change.

The Upland Institute also plans to offer special short-term training courses to meet particular needs as they become evident. The Institute's teaching staff and facilities will be available to plan, develop, and conduct special training courses on or off campus, to help meet the needs for trained leadership of any social action group or of a particular community. Institute faculty members will be available to advise organizations on development of in-service training programs.

CERTIFICATE

Upon satisfactory completion of the full program of study and field work, each student will be granted a Certificate of Accomplishment. As the Institute's program develops, an M.A. degree may be offered, upon completion of a more extensive program of study and field training.

The Institute is not at present an accredited school, but preliminary steps have been taken toward accreditation.

FACULTY

JOHN W. THOMAS, *Director of Studies*

Dr. Thomas has had a long history of concern for and involvement in social change. This dates back to the evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the west coast during World War II, when he represented the American Baptist Convention in the relocation of evacuees and was chairman of the National Student Relocation Council. For five years he served as Executive Secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention and for six years was chairman of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. He is now a member of the Council's Commission on Religion and Race and is active in the Civil Rights Movement.

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY, *Director of Field Training*

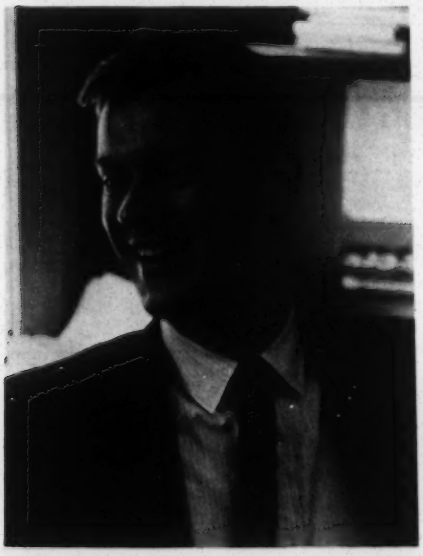
Dr. Willoughby has been actively involved in problems of social change since graduation from Iowa University. He was associated for 10 years with the American Friends Service Committee in developing community service and peace education programs on the community level. He directed a national counseling service for conscientious objectors for six years. In recent years, he has been involved in the study of nonviolent action, organization of and participation in nonviolent direct action projects.

KENNETH LEE SMITH

Dr. Smith is Professor of Christian Ethics at the Crozer Theological Seminary. He has a long record of activity in community action programs. For six years he served as a commissioner of the Delaware County Housing Authority and has been active in Delaware County politics. He has been active in civil rights movements in Chester and participated, in the spring of 1964, in the demonstrations protesting school segregation in Chester. He also serves as chairman of the Inter-faith Committee of the Greater Chester Movement.

GEORGE R. LAKEY

Mr. Lakey served for two years as Executive Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee. He has participated in a work camp in France; led a travel seminar in East and West Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia; and directed a week-end Institutional Service Unit at the Embreeville (Pa.) State Hospital, for the American Friends Service Committee. Mr. Lakey is the author of several articles, of a Pendle Hill Pamphlet, *Non-Violent Action; How It Works*, and is co-author of a book published by Quadrangle Books, *A Manual for Direct Action.*



J. RICHARD FLOWERS, JR.

Mr. Flowers has been involved in the Clinical Training Movement for many years and has served in both general and mental hospitals as a chaplain. He has spent an intern year at the Institute of Religion, Houston, Texas, as a chaplain and also worked in the Marriage Counseling Center. While completing his Masters degree at Texas Christian University he also was employed as the chaplain of the Tarrant County Jail by the Texas Council of Churches. He has spent this past year as a resident in Clinical Supervision at Crozer Theological Seminary. This included Acting Professor of Christian Practice, out-patient counseling and two semesters of supervising seminarians in the hospital setting.

VISITING LECTURERS

The Institute faculty will be enriched and strengthened each year by visiting lecturers selected from outstanding leaders in the civil rights movement, the peace effort, labor, urban development, and other areas of social change. Visiting lecturers will be invited to spend a few days on campus to share their ideas and rich experience with the students. This opportunity to share with those actively engaged in conflict situations and students of social change, can contribute greatly to the student's understanding and knowledge of social change.

Among those who will serve in this capacity are:

RONALD V. WELLS

Dr. Wells is at present President and Professor of Pastoral Theology, Crozer Theological Seminary. He has served as Chairman of the Department of Religious Education, Iowa State University; Executive Director of the Division of Christian Education of the American Baptist Convention. He has been active in various community action programs and is at present a member of the Steering Committee of the Greater Chester Movement, and chairman of the Citizen's Council for Urban Renewal.

ROBERT WALLACE GILMORE

Dr. Gilmore is Executive Director of Turn Toward Peace, Inc.; Chairman of Projects, New York Friends Group; Treasurer, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Member of National Committee, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty; Trustee, Friends Seminary of the New York Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Formerly taught and engaged in research at Kenyon College, University of Pittsburgh, Yale University; Post-doctoral Fellow, National Institute of Mental Health, Institute for Research in Human Relations. A founder of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, Council for Correspondence. New York City Secretary, American Friends Service Committee for eight years; a CORE organizer; U. S. Army Air Corps, 1942-1946.

KENNETH E. BOULDING

Dr. Boulding is Professor of Economics, University of Michigan, and Director of the Center for Conflict Resolution, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

JOSEPH GITLER

Dr. Gitler is Dean of Faculty at Queensboro Community College and Professor of Sociology at the Graduate School of Education of Yeshiva University, New York City.

GEORGE DEWITT HEATON

Dr. Heaton, whose home is in Charlotte, N.C., is widely known as a consultant in personnel problems. He is at present related to 24 different companies for whom he conducts training sessions in human relations; and counsels with higher management personnel and employee groups.

NORMAN HILL

Mr. Hill is Staff Representative, Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. He was formerly a staff member of CORE.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Mr. Rustin is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and advisor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He has long been active in peace and civil rights movements.

HAROLD TAYLOR

Dr. Taylor, a noted author and lecturer, was president of Sarah Lawrence College from 1945 to 1959. He is chairman of the National Research Council on Peace Strategy.

For admission write to:

John W. Thomas, Director of Studies
The Upland Institute of the Crozer Foundation
Upland Avenue
Chester, Pennsylvania

COSTS

The fixed fees per academic year for an unmarried student are: tuition, $400; dormitory room $150; board, $320. The student should expect to meet additional expenses for books, clothing, laundry, meals on Sundays, and personal incidentals, totaling approximately $500.00.

Married students living in housekeeping apartments pay per academic year: tuition, $400; rent $300 or $400, depending on size and location of the apartment; plus food and personal expenses.

No qualified student should hesitate to apply because of financial problems. The Institute will make every attempt to provide necessary financial assistance to qualified students.

ACCOMMODATIONS

The Institute is located on the Crozer Foundation campus and will use existing classrooms, dormitory and dining facilities of Crozer Theological Seminary. The concentrated nature of the program requires that students live on campus or nearby.

The Seminary is making available East Gate House to serve as the center for the Institute. Classrooms and dormitory for single students will be provided in this building. The Institute will share library and dining facilities with the Seminary. A limited amount of housing for married students will be available on campus, until new facilities can be built.

CALENDAR

1965-66

First Semester

September 20-24	Orientation and Registration
September 27	Classes Begin
November 25-26	Thanksgiving Recess
December 17	Christmas Recess begins 4 P.M.
January 3	Classes Resume
January 28	Classes End

Second Semester

February 7	Classes Begin
April 1	Spring Recess begins 4 P.M.
April 11	Classes Resume
June 3	Classes End
June 6	Commencement

Reprinted from THE NEW LEADER JUNE 3, 1968

Education in a Changing Society

By Bayard Rustin

WE FIND OURSELVES in perilous and rapidly changing times, which demand that we re-examine and even give up some of our old, obsolete rigidities. But far more important, these are times that test the seriousness of our attachment to those values which are indispensable to the survival of a civilized and democratic tradition.

We are neither the first people nor the first generation to be so confronted—although it is the habit of most generations to see themselves in crisis, to imagine that their experience is without precedent in history. I am reminded, for example, of mid-19th century Europe—its traditional certainties shattering in the face of revolutionary discoveries and ideologies in science, industry, religion, and politics. In England Matthew Arnold, like John Dewey an educational theorist and man of letters, viewed the crisis of his old order as "a darkling plain, swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by night."

Today we can afford to hold Arnold's poetry in higher regard than his "aristocratic" premonitions of doom. For though he was considered a humanist and liberal thinker of his time, by the standards of our time he was a conservative. He would certainly have collapsed at the thought of a trade union movement existing in England. His sympathies remained closer to the genteel agonies of the classes than to the dreadful problems of the masses. Like some of the strange liberals of our own day, too, he could attack with equal passion both the excesses of his country's colonial administrators in the West Indies and the passage of the 1867 Reform Bill at home.

Nor can we share the distress Arnold felt at the advance of new styles of thought and belief upon his tradition-bound society. For many of those ideological innovations have since nourished the growth of a radical humanism and made possible a greater measure of social justice and progress in our own time.

But if we cannot sympathize with the politics of Arnold's judgment, neither can we ignore the quality of his anguish. The connection he felt to values of his time was perhaps as close as the connection we feel to some of ours. The visions he entertained of "ignorant armies clashing by night," are precisely the fears that are racking our society today. I think, however, that *our* fears are more real and more justified—because the values for whose survival we are now concerned spring from a more democratic tradition; a tradition which, though imperfect, we cannot afford to scrap; a tradition much closer to the egalitarian sentiments of John Dewey than to the qualified and genteel liberalism of Matthew Arnold.

Leaving aside those differences, one thing both Arnold and Dewey would agree upon is the importance of the role teachers play in insuring the survival of the more attractive traditions of their society. And I cannot overestimate the seriousness of the challenge now

BAYARD RUSTIN *is the Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. This article has been adapted from his speech in acceptance of the 1968 John Dewey Award, presented to him by the United Federation of Teachers.*

faced by our schools not only to preserve democratic education, but also to fertilize the growth of democratic citizenship among all Americans. It is a challenge that arises out of racial, political, technological, economic, and social demands more serious than any Dewey was ever asked to contemplate. Yet we can seek and perhaps find guidance in his example; for he was a tireless experimenter, a man who was neither rigid in his determinations nor determined to be rigid.

The chief task now, it seems to me, is for teachers and educationists to insure quality education, to foster the ideal of communication and compassion among all the young people of our society, and to view the teaching process as an integral part of the effort to bring about social change and social justice. This can be done only when the educational community is prepared, like Dewey, to innovate, to be flexible, to be imaginative in the application of educational philosophy.

MORE CONCRETELY, I would like to touch upon a few realities and strategies that must be of serious concern to teachers and teachers unions if they are to help keep Arnold's "ignorant armies" apart, and if they are to be more responsive and relevant to the complex demands of our society at the present time.

1. The teachers union is more than simply an instrument for seeking and obtaining redress of professional grievances. It happens also to belong to the American labor movement, and therefore it becomes a part of that tradition in America which has historically been committed to the cause of social justice and equal economic opportunity.

I would be the first to admit that, as in every American institution, discrimination continues to exist in the trade union movement. Nevertheless, it has made outstanding contributions to the economic advancement of millions of blacks and whites in this country. The trade union movement was an indispensable part of the coalition that helped shape and achieve the New Deal—transforming this nation at an earlier period, and assuring the continued right of both blue and white collar workers to organize. In spite of vestiges of injustice, the trade union movement is more integrated than our schools, our churches, and American industry. It was one of the vital elements of the civil rights coalition of the early 1960s, the most vigorous lobbyist in behalf of civil rights and voting rights legislation. And even now it is the only mass institution in our society that is making the social and economic demands which, if enacted, will eradicate poverty.

Thus no arm of the trade union movement, whether it be teachers or office workers, can disassociate itself from that tradition of social concern or from the activities being carried out to win new objectives. What are some of these new objectives? We need a $2 minimum wage, a guaranteed income, public works for socially urgent institutions, free medical care, destruction of slums, creation of new towns, increased Federal aid, and reorganization of the school system. These are basic demands of the trade union movement, and no religious group, no business group—in fact, no other group in the society—is as dedicated to this program.

Moreover, there is a direct relationship between our social and economic problems and the inability of our teachers to teach or to achieve the best results. Therefore, teachers cannot avoid the struggle to establish more decent communities, better housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, and a generally more humane environment. It is only when these problems are solved—or begin to appear soluble—that teachers will be able to realize their full effectiveness and their full potential as professionals.

BAYARD RUSTIN

2. Across this nation, in every city and state, teachers are underpaid; the educational bureaucracy is cumbersome; classes are too large; parents are complaining; children are not learning as well as they should; and their teachers are being reduced to clerks, baby sitters and cops. While these problems arise out of the social and economic nature of the society, they are exacerbated by the sterile bureaucracy of Boards of Education as well as the refusal of the state and Federal governments to appropriate enough money, or provide adequate facilities, for the school systems. All of this illustrates how adept the educational bureaucracy is at applying the strategy of "divide and rule."

In a situation where children are not learning, parents and teachers enter into a very unfortunate vendetta. Yet they are precisely the ones who should form a

powerful coalition against the educational bureaucracy to demand the facilities they need. This, then, is a new imperative: No effort should be spared to create a coalition between teachers, trade unions, and parent groups to make the educational authorities more accountable and responsive to the needs of students, the demands of parents, and the problems of teachers.

3. I am aware, of course, that there are limits to what coalitions can do in the struggle to bring about integrated education and a better school system. At those limits teachers unions must introduce certain revolutionary strategies in their collective bargaining arrangements in order to literally wrest concessions from the dead hands of the authorities.

Let me try to illustrate. In 1964, a coalition of Negro and Puerto Rican parents, along with a number of liberal groups, made a strong and bold demand for quality integrated education for their children. The first dramatic expression of that demand came in the form of the 1964 school boycott, which the Reverend Milton Galamison and I organized. Half a million children stayed home, shutting down the New York City school system. A few months later, the Reverend Galamison led another boycott, and some 40 per cent of the children stayed out of school. Subsequently, the NAACP, CORE and other civil rights organizations sponsored a march on City Hall in which, once again, the demand was for quality integrated education.

Well, what did we get? Nothing, really. Only a series of meaningless plans and statements from the Board of Education aimed simply at catching and deceiving public attention. In addition, we also got spectacular sounding proposals for bussing, pairing, 4-4-4, etc. But all of this did nothing. The inadequacies of the school system remained fundamentally unmet and unchanged. Classes were still overcrowded. Teachers were still overburdened and, in many instances, untrained and unprepared. The curricula were still defective and inappropriate to the needs of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children. We were, in fact, no closer to quality integrated education than we were when the great civil rights effort began.

The lessons—at least, to me—were clear. Public protest alone would not get us anywhere. We needed a silent partner in this effort—the teachers union. And the teachers union's role in that partnership would be of mutual benefit to parents, children, and the teachers themselves. What would the union do? Just this: Make the issue of quality educational facilities one of the major bargaining points at contract negotiations. In other words, get the demands written into their contracts.

I made exactly that point in 1966 when I addressed the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, so I was glad when the United Federation of Teachers, the largest affiliate of the AFT, achieved a significant measure of success in this direction during their negotiations with the New York Board of Education last year. All teachers unions should now move to incorporate demands for quality educational facilities into their basic negotiating strategies.

4. I spoke earlier of the need for flexibility and imagination; of the courage to give up rigid postures which, though they might be comforting, are no longer attractive, creative or feasible. Indeed, they now merely hinder rather than advance progress. At the same time, I spoke of the courage to defend and maintain those principles which are indispensable to the survival of civility and a democratic texture in our relationships.

THERE ARE a number of demands being made on teachers today that challenge both their courage to be flexible and their courage to remain faithful to high ideals. I will try to deal with just two of these demands. The first one is flexibility. It asks recognition of the fact that Negro children in this society—and white children also—are being taught biased, edited, and ultimately racist versions of American history and culture. It is not enough to pay lip service to the idea of racial harmony and equality: The Negro must refuse any longer to accept the distorted view of his roots and his past in this country.

As taught in our textbooks, this history reinforces in white children the notion that they are superior and the only creators of this country; and it reinforces in black children the notion that they are inferior and have made no contributions. It may be true that most blacks came here as slaves, but the first of them were here as free men, and gave their lives in the struggle to win independence for this nation. They fought as well as anyone else during the Civil War; they played their part in the opening of the American West; they helped plan and lay out some of our major American cities; they developed the only indigenous form of American music; they made notable contributions to scientific research; they are to be found in the growth and development of the American musical and dramatic stage; and the best of their writing ranks with the best that has been done in America. This is by no means all, but then I am by no means an historian. In any case, the question is not whether they should have done more. The miracle is that they did so much in the circumstances of their history.

It is because of racism, it is because the dominant value judgments in this society are white, and it is because a consistently poor estimate has been placed on the quality and extent of Negro effort—for all these reasons the true story of the Negro in America is not told in our history books. And for all these reasons historians continue to tell lies, continue to avert their eyes, continue to retard the progress of civility, decency, and human dignity in our society. It is time to give up that old rigid

stance. However comforting it may be to some, it is a delusion, and it is a violation of the right of all young minds to know the truth and to be free.

Organized teachers can play a major role in the effort to liberate American history books. They can join those who are making an effort to bring truth into the schools through a total revision of the textbooks. Where good texts are not in existence, teachers must bring in supplementary material to their classes. They themselves can make studies of Negro history and culture.

The second great demand now being made by both white and black extremists is that we surrender our time-honored dedication to the idea of integration and substitute various forms of separation. I do not have to detail the reasons for this demand: It is being made in the name of community participation, in the name of community control, in the name of quality education, and in the name of several other interests. But ultimately, whether the groups mean it or not, the demand is being made in the name of segregation.

Regardless of some of the good arguments in favor of decentralization, that concept cannot be discussed independently of the implications it has for institutionalizing one of the worst evils in the history of this society—segregation. While I am prepared to recognize that some measure of decentralization is feasible and perhaps desirable, I would proceed very carefully, because we may end up creating and worsening more problems than we solve.

Some of the positive aspects of the proposal to decentralize are: (1) it reflects a concern for the present state of education in our public schools; (2) it promises to bring parents in closer touch with the process of education; (3) it could foster closer unity between teachers and parents in some communities, and enable them together to affect educational programs and policies; and (4) it could make teachers more responsive to some of the special needs and special problems of certain communities.

But there are also some real dangers. First, the proposal seems concerned more with political self-determination in education than with quality in education. Second, it is meaningless to promise communities control without also promising them the funds to make this control effective. If political control is not complemented by financial control, it may ultimately lead merely to an increase in community frustrations. Third, there is a real danger of community school boards being taken over by extremist groups—black and white, on the Right and on the Left—who are less interested in education than in racial and community politics. The education of children is much too important to be subverted to such interests. Fourth, after all the years of our struggle, we are now being asked to accept the idea that segregated education is in fact a perfectly respectable, perfectly desirable, and perfectly viable way of life in a democratic society.

Needless to say, I do not accept this. Therefore, I support a measure of decentralization in which the school districts would be sufficiently broad to include as wide a degree of quality integrated education as possible. In other words: Integration Within Decentralization.

I know that taking such a position leaves me open to harsh criticism from segregationists, both black and white. To the extent that the UFT holds similar views, it will come in for similar criticism.

IT IS AT this point, however, that the second kind of courage I spoke of comes into play: the courage to remain faithful to those ideals which are good, and which are indispensable to the kind of society we want to create. Teachers must stand firmly on the principle that America is a democratic pluralist society. Teachers must reject all forms of educational separatism and elitism. Teachers must become militant integrationists.

In conclusion, let me quote from the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,* one of the most serious pronouncements ever made on the state of American society. On the question of public education, the *Report* states:

"We have cited the extent of racial isolation in our urban schools. It is great and it is growing. It will not easily be overcome. Nonetheless, we believe school integration to be vital to the well-being of this country. We have seen in this last summer's disorders the consequences of racial isolation, at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between races be expanded. The problems of this society will not be solved unless and until our children are brought into a common encounter and encouraged to forge a new and more viable design for life."

The problems in our schools and the problems in our society will ultimately be solved through political action. Teachers have no choice but to organize and join the coalition of forces necessary to get programs and money out of Congress. Teachers are uniquely qualified to be part of this coalition, because they know the problems as well as any other group in our society, and better than most.

This means that teachers must play something other than a 9:00-3:00 role: They must have empathy with the problems and conditions of the communities in which they serve. Finally, if they have faith in the ability of children to learn, then those children, whatever their background and circumstance, will in fact learn. This calls for the willingness to be compassionate, to innovate, to experiment, and to be imaginative. It is a willingness that John Dewey, were he among us today, would have welcomed as an endorsement and an enlargement of the pragmatic and democratic educational philosophy he espoused.

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A. Philip Randolph Institute

217 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y. 10027
(212) 666-9510

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July, 1968

Dear Friend,

Enclosed are three articles I thought you might find interesting -- additional copies, should you require them, are available from the Randolph Institute. I think they touch upon such vitally important issues as anti-semitism in the Negro community, education, and the political vaccum caused by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Institute has two other pamphlets available: the first is a Spanish-English edition of our pamphlet, "Right to Work" Laws -- A Trap for America's Minorities. This edition has been co-authored by Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers, and it pays particular attention to the problems of Mexican-Americans and farm workers. We can let you have a large number of free copies if you pay postage. The second is a very interesting pamphlet by Sandra Feldman on the controversial and important problem of decentralization of the New York City schools. It is called Decentralization and the City Schools. It is available at no cost and in limited quantities.

We wish you a pleasant summer and it is just possible that we'll be in touch with you again before the fall.

Best wishes,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin,
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enc:

FLORIDA'S MIGRANT VEGETABLE WORKERS

'We Got Nothin' To Show For A Life Of Work'

THE CASE FOR THE DOMESTIC FARM WORKER

Letters to The Tribune

Decades of Labor Exploitation?

TAMPA—For several weeks stories have been appearing in this paper about the difficulty of citrus growers in obtaining adequate labor under [illegible] minimum wage ruling of the De[illegible] of Labor. These stories appear [illegible] tell the laborers' side very inad[illegible] and it is this imbalance which I would like [illegible]

End of Cheap Farm Labor

[illegible] Wirtz sharply reflected the ex- [illegible] Congress when he told importu- [illegible] expect Government authorities [illegible] farmers that they could never again [illegible] import [illegible] crops. [illegible] substantial increase in the wages that have for so many years made migratory farm laborers the country's most exploited workers. Their average earnings have never come to much more than [illegible] third of the level President Johnson [illegible]

Labor Undersecretary Backs Boss on Citrus Harvesters

By EARL WELLS
Tribune Staff Writer

LAKELAND (By Staff Writer) —Undersecretary of Labor John F. Henning said yesterday Florida's citrus losses are not due to lack of off-shore picking labor and refused to lend encouragement to the industry's current harvest plight.

Immediately, Florida [illegible] Mutual Executive Vi[illegible] dent Robert W. [illegible] back at the [illegible] Labor Se[illegible]

He refused to comment on the future of 13,800 foreign workers currently in the state on [illegible] tract that ex[illegible] that nu[illegible] emp[illegible]

largest crop since the big freeze in 1962. They [illegible]

Fruit Picking Is Certainly No Picnic

BROOKSVILLE—I want to show you that a fraudulently perpetrated editorial your paper published on picking oranges in Florida.

I was a fruit-picker, and this is the way the fruit-packers work. You have to be on the job at 8 in the morning, and they will not tell you where you are going. You wind up about 85 miles from your starting [illegible] stores, no w[illegible] own).

When you [illegible] may have to [illegible] half [illegible]

--Arthur Dubinsky

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

For the children of the migrant worker, a life of insecurity.

INTRODUCTION

This last decade has witnessed steady increases in mechanized agriculture and in concentrated farm ownership. Small family farmers, forced off their land, have joined a rising unemployed and underemployed farm labor force, swollen to even larger proportions by the presence of an almost unlimited supply of foreign contract farm workers.

Recognizing the deleterious effects of these foreign workers on the employment opportunities, wages, and working conditions of domestic farm workers, Congress voted, in December of 1963, to terminate Public Law 78 (the Mexican contract farm labor program) on December 31, 1964, thus providing employers of braceros with a year in which to develop plans for recruiting domestic workers.

Three months have elapsed since the termination of Public Law 78 and since the adoption, by the United States Department of Labor, of standards regulating the wages and working conditions of all farm workers hired by would-be employers of foreign contract labor under Public Law 414 (the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952). It is under this Act that Japanese and Filipinos have been contracted for seasonal employment in California, Canadians in a few New England states, and from 10 to 14 thousand British West Indians annually in Florida and other east coast states.

These standards were adopted to provide farm employment, under improved wages and working conditions, for a vast number of unemployed domestic workers. Given these improved conditions, the Administration felt that domestic workers would be available in sufficient numbers to preclude the necessity for importing foreign workers. And to further ensure an adequate supply of seasonal workers, a massive domestic recruitment program was undertaken by the Department of Labor.

Many large growers in several states, notably California and Florida, vigorously opposing both the edict of Congress and the standards established by the Department of Labor, have used every device short of outright refusal to accept domestic workers in an effort to discredit the Labor Department's recruitment efforts. Americans, they allege, have not responded in sufficient numbers to meet their needs; those recruited are unable or unwilling to do the work and

do not remain on the job; labor shortages exist everywhere, and crop losses are enormous.

Typifying this attitude is a recent publication of Florida Citrus Mutual, "A Case History of Failure & Losses to Florida Agriculture," which purports to prove "that the indiscriminate recruiting of the Labor Department cannot solve our problems . . . or theirs."

Evidence refuting the claims of Florida Citrus Mutual comes from many sources. Domestic farm workers and on-the-scene observers report systematic discouragement of workers who respond to recruitment efforts, and absolute refusal, on the part of many growers, to comply with prescribed wages and working conditions.

Labor Secretary Wirtz, returning from a four-day, on-the-spot investigation of California's farms, observed that "the most serious reports of labor turnover came from farm operations where conditions were bad, and the fewest complaints from places that obviously were well operated." His words were echoed by a prominent Florida farmer who has never used offshore workers: "I've never had a labor problem. Maybe that's because labor comes first here. I try and put up a good product but not at the expense of the poverty, misery and suffering of my workers."

This brief report presents facts in answer to the allegations of many corporate growers. Though confined to the situation in Florida, the evidence is equally applicable to other states where foreign labor has been in widespread use.

The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor has prepared this report in the public interest, with the belief that when all the facts are known the American people will act to protect domestic farm workers. Further, we believe the facts show that no labor shortages will exist, and no crops spoil, when growers in this country finally face up to their own responsibility for meeting their labor needs in a competitive market, and to the need for substantial improvements in the wages and working conditions of America's most deprived workers, our hired farm laborers.

April 15, 1965

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary
NACFL

"... CONSTANTLY IMPROVING WAGES, WORKING CONDITIONS ..."

(states Florida Citrus Mutual on behalf of the Florida agricultural industry)

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

More Than a Decade of Depressed Wages

... Average hourly farm wages for the state of Florida as a whole rose, between 1951 and 1961, from 63 cents to 86 cents. In contrast, the country-wide hourly farm labor average rose from 77 cents in 1951 to 99 cents in 1961.

... During the same 10-year period wages paid by the major Florida users of foreign agricultural labor increased from 50 cents an hour to 60 cents an hour.

... Basic piece rates for citrus harvest work in 1961 were substantially the same as rates which prevailed in 1951 (for users of foreign labor).

... Between 1962 and 1963 a comparison of the trend in average hourly farm rates of the eight major user states of foreign labor showed:

The 8-state combined average rose 2.9¢ (a 3.9% increase);

In FLORIDA the rate fell 2.6¢ (a 3.5% decrease).

These Background Facts are also Relevant

... During 1962 and 1963 the U. S. Department of Labor, following public field hearings, set adverse effect wage rates in all states using foreign contract labor (a total of 28 states). The Florida rate was established, late in 1962, at 95¢ an hour.

... While growers in all other states accepted the adverse effect wage rates, opposition from Florida growers succeeded in delaying application (by the Labor Department) of this 95¢ rate until July, 1963.

...In October, 1963, following a refusal by Florida growers to guarantee the 95¢ rate, and the application of political pressure, the wage rate was suspended by the USDL. In November of that year a second public hearing was held in Florida to review the facts.

...On the evidence submitted at this second hearing, the 95¢ rate was restored in April, 1964--that is, after the peak period of seasonal labor had already passed.

...During the period from October, 1963 to April, 1964 (the suspension period), wages reverted to their previous level of 60-70¢ an hour.

The Present Wage Picture

...According to the Florida State Employment Service the going rate for potato pickers is six cents a crate. Crates hold 70 to 72 pounds, so to earn a dollar a worker would have to pick 16 crates--slightly more than half a ton of potatoes.

...The U. S. Department of Agriculture has set a wage of $1.15 an hour for unskilled sugar cane field work in Florida. Yet, cane cutters in South Bay were recently found to be receiving piece-rate pay per row, and averaging three to five dollars a day.

This was one of a number of grievances which came to light following a riot, early in March, by Jamaican sugar cane cutters at Okeelanta Camp, where they were housed.

..."A skilled tomato picker can make $15 a day or more....It depends on whether he wants to work."
The Miami Herald - 2/3/65

These were the words of the vice president and general manager of Pearce Produce Company, large-scale growers of tomatoes. Compare them with:

...'I picked my way to fame and fortune in a Krome Avenue tomato field.... The fortune is a little slip of paper...with some numbers scrawled on it. I could have cashed the slip...for $1.20. That was my pay for picking 10 hampers of tomatoes.... 'How many you pick in a good day?' I asked the... man next to me [an experienced picker]. 'Oh, 50, 60, maybe 75 on a real day. But not in a field like this. Frost hit this field. This is poor pickins.'"

The Miami Herald - 2/11/65

These were the words of a Herald reporter who had taken temporary employment in a tomato field "to test the growing controversy over importing foreign laborers."

It takes only elementary arithmetic to show that in order to earn $15 a day at 12 cents a hamper the most skilled worker would have to pick 125 hampers. On the very best of days 75 hampers a day appear to be the maximum possible - with total earnings of $9.00.

...'I was a fruit picker...and I was far better than average, always in the top three in some darn good and large crews. Many times I have picked 100 boxes and over per day....I have made $37.50 per day. Once!! And I have made $4 to $6 per day quite a few times."

letter in The Tampa Tribune - 3/9/65

...'I was a fruit-picker, and this is the way fruit-pickers work. You have to be on the job at 8 in the morning.... You wind up 85 miles from your starting point.... When you get to your destination you may have to hang around an hour and a half until the dew is off the oranges. That would be about noon. Then when you start picking, they know that they have you way-out, so they tell you they are paying 30 cents a box.... You have to travel back to the plant which is another 2 1/2 hours, and you don't get one red cent for travel time. They are telling you they are paying 95 cents an hour...."

letter in The Tampa Tribune - 2/14/65

..."Florida offers... employment in the sunshine. The minimum wage of $1.10 has been fixed. You cannot say it is not adequate compensation...."

Congressman Cramer of Florida -
from a House speech 2/18/65.

(Editorial note: The adverse effect wage is now $1.15.)

..."When I read of the plight of citrusmen pleading for fruit pickers... while plenty of able bodied men were available and refusing to work... I was thoroughly disgusted.... But... I've made an about face, being convinced that much of the labor shortage is caused by abuse of pickers. The swill they serve at meals is like the menu of a concentration camp .... The whole setup smells of slave labor...."

letter in The Tampa Tribune - 2/28/65

Cultivating tomatoes in Ruskin, Florida, for $1.00 an hour.

"... CONSTANTLY IMPROVING HOUSING CONDITIONS ..."

(states Florida Citrus Mutual on behalf of the Florida agricultural industry)

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

..."In Hastings, Fla., I bunked for two days in a near collapsed, insect-infested shanty for which I was compelled to pay $1.50 a night. Next door in an even more dilapidated hovel lived a married couple whose 2-month old baby had been born there. They paid $10 a week."

Dale Wright - "The Forgotten People"
October, 1961

..."...Somewhere along a 30-mile stretch north of Fort Lauderdale, you turn off onto dirt roads... and run into one of the 90 clusters of shacks in the tall grass where 35,000 migrant workers work during the winter....Mildred Mason - not her real name - and her husband [and two children] live in a one-room shack. There are no windows, only hinged boards. Fleas and flies are so thick nobody troubles to brush them off any more. The only source of heat and cooking is an open fire outside their doorway. Water comes from a pump that serves 11 other shacks...."

Ben H. Bagdikian - "The Invisible Americans"
December, 1963

..."A Belle Glade migrant housing owner said... 'there's a lot of talk about migrants running around and drinking and not staying home, but what kind of homes have they got to stay in?'"

Peter Kramer - St. Petersburg Times
March, 1965

..."There are no camps in Dade County with indoor plumbing for each cabin. The electrical outlet provides a bare bulb for light....Sometimes burlap is the only privacy between rooms. The floors and walls are generally bare, unpainted planks. Families with 10 and 12 children can live in one two-room shack for $8 to $10 a week. The children

are bedded down on the floor.... 'A new camp would have to live up to the letter of the law,' says Sanitation Inspector George Folliard. 'That's why there are so few new camps.'"

Clarence Jones - The Miami Herald
March, 1965

..."In the Osceola migrant worker camp...where living conditions were better and less costly than elsewhere, a 67-year old white woman...told a tale.... 'When I came here in 1944...housing (one room, sheet tin shacks without water or bathroom) only cost $1.75 a week.... Now we pay $4.50 a week rent for them tin shelters. They's the same houses we was payin' $1 for 20 years ago except they's older and in worse shape.'" (emphasis added)

Peter Kramer - St. Petersburg Times
March, 1965

Migrant Housing in Southern Florida - March, 1965.

"...THIS POSITIVE RECRUITMENT PROGRAM..."

"The Florida Agricultural Industry has made intensive effort to find domestic labor for harvesting work." (states Florida Citrus Mutual)

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

...Despite widespread rural unemployment in surrounding states, the Bureau of Employment Security reports that from 1951 through 1962 clearance orders in Florida remained unfilled because of the unavailability of workers willing to work at the wage rates offered.

Florida, during this period annually employed thousands of British West Indians; peak employment of these off-shore workers, in all but one season, preceded peak domestic employment by one to four months, clearly indicating that they had become the regular work force rather than supplementary labor for periods of domestic shortage.

...Minimum rates on Clearance orders filed with the U.S. Employment Service by the principal employers of foreign agricultural labor rose from 50 cents an hour in 1951 to 65 cents in 1962.

...Congressman Herlong of Florida stated (on the House Floor, 2/18/65): "... [Florida] growers in that area [lower east coast] have largely depended on supplemental foreign workers to efficiently produce and harvest their crops. But when these...growers sought this year to obtain ...foreign workers...they were turned down again and again. I believe that they have a right to expect the Department of Labor to supply qualified and willing workers...."

In no other industry has an employer looked to the Labor Department to solve his manpower problems by supplying him with large numbers of workers, domestic or imported.

He has competed in an open market, and offered the wages and working conditions necessary to assure him of an adequate labor force.

...A foreman for Okeelanta Sugar Company had this to say: "They could get plenty of domestic cutters if they'd pay enough. These Jamaicans and other islanders are no better man for man than our own people.... The owners keep bringing them in to keep the wages down."

St. Petersburg Times - 3/17/65

...Southern Field Representatives for the National Sharecroppers Fund, looking for work opportunities for unemployed farm workers from their areas found:

"I was able to line up several hundred experienced workers who were willing to go to Florida for farm work. On March 17th I went to the local Farm Placement Office and was told that there were no requests from Florida growers for additional workers. Rural people are used to heavy work; many of these men chopped cotton for years. They want farm work, but can't find any."

the Mississippi Field Representative

"... [on March 19th] I got in touch with our Employment Security Commission and talked with the assistant to the Farm Placement Supervisor. He told me that they had already sent 1300 men and women from South Carolina to Florida, to help pick oranges and other fruits and vegetables, and he has sent an additional 800 men to pick tomatoes. He claims that he has had word from Florida that they are pretty well taken care of with migrant workers. We still have thousands who are willing and able to do farm work."

the South Carolina Field Representative

"... THERE IS AN INSUFFICIENT SUPPLY OF DOMESTIC FARM LABOR."

(states Florida Citrus Mutual on behalf of the Florida agricultural industry)

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

In an effort to determine whether or not there was a real labor shortage during February and March, the field representative of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor interviewed a number of south Florida individuals familiar with the area and conditions:

..."There is no shortage of vegetable workers. The two migrant camps in Belle Glade are filled almost to capacity, a total of nearly 3,000. The other small, scattered housing units are nearly all filled. Some of the vegetable workers have been getting only two and three days a week. Many of them have been coming in early from the fields--no more work that day.... There is no shortage in the field or in the packing houses...."

--an active member of the Migrant Ministry, Palm Beach County

..."There are plenty of workers in the groves, in vegetables, and in the packing houses....I would say there has been a great publicity campaign across the country on the so-called shortage of agricultural labor. Most of the big growers did not get ready for the end of Public Law 78 and the cut-off of foreign farm workers. They had always pressured the government into a continuance. They believed they could do it again."

--an active member of the Migrant Ministry, South Dade County

..."I can't see any problem here. Our work is mostly in vegetables. There is no shortage in the fields and packing houses....Most of our people are here seven to eight months and things are just about normal."

--a school principal, Collier County

...."This week some of our crews were short. They should average 15 men, but a few had only 5 men. We have 600 men picking this week; of these only 30 are off-shore. Most of our workers are...day-haul, come by bus each day."

--the general manager of a large citrus company, south central Florida

..."I have talked to a number of crew leaders. They feel there is an occasional shortage, but not enough to hurt anything.... Work was good early in the season, then it fell off. People would work three or four days and then be off for several days. It isn't steady, that's the trouble...."

--a Negro minister, Highlands County

..."There is some shortage of cane cutters, but the growers are in part responsible. Hand cutting of cane in this area is a hard, mean, dirty job. The pay scale is about the same for cane cutting as for vegetable workers. If I came into this area to cut cane and found that vegetable workers were making the same money working on a celery machine I wouldn't be satisfied to keep cutting cane."

--statement of a South Florida public official

..."I was a migrant, but I live here all the time now. I get work about eight months.... I do the hoeing and thinning the lettuce.... At night I can be home with my kids.... Lots of people not getting full time. Work some and off some.... I believe there is a shortage of cane cutters, but that is terrible work. They must pay more money for harder work."

--a woman farm worker, Belle Glade

"...A LOSS IN UNHARVESTED FRUIT... DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO INSUFFICIENT PICKERS."

(states Florida Citrus Mutual)

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

...'I am advised that harvest of the record large sugar cane crop continues uninterrupted from Florida....I have available data on fresh vegetables for processing, and fresh fruits and vegetables for marketing generally, including the acreage, estimated production, and intentions to plant in the future as a basis for what might happen in the rest of 1965....Our people say that there has not been any dislocation of severe magnitude that could directly or uniquely be attributed to a shortage of labor....I specifically asked...if they knew of any instances in which there had been a drop...failure to harvest and process in the normal fashion that could be pinned directly to labor. Their answer repeatedly was no." (Emphasis added.)

--George L. Mehren, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture & Forestry, 1/16/65

...'Prophecies of disaster flow daily from many growers, though none of the prophecies has yet been fulfilled. Despite loud alarums at the first of the year, lettuce growers in California's Imperial Valley harvested their entire crop. The early and midseason harvesting of Florida citrus will be completed by next week with little more than the usual 5-percent loss; Florida found enough workers to replace British West Indians to harvest 5,500,000 boxes of citrus the last week in January, the largest harvest in a week in three years." (Emphasis added.)

--The National Observer - 2/15/65

...'That week there had been a heavy rain one day and violent winds two days later. I asked the guide if the wind had blown off much of the grapefruit. He said, 'Yes, quite a bit. Good thing, too.

There's too much grapefruit and the market is off.'"
--an on-the-scene report from a visitor to a Florida citrus grove - 2/26/65

..."...One claim that has been recently made is that crops...are rotting on the ground, unharvested because domestic labor cannot be found to do the job....Thanks to a reporter for the St. Petersburg Times, Peter Kramer, this spurious claim has been exposed as a half-truth, to put it gently. The facts are, as Mr. Kramer learned while working in the groves himself, that exceptional weather conditions caused the fruit to drop early." (Emphasis added.)
--Congressman Gonzalez, on the House floor - 3/5/65

..."Undersecretary of Labor John F. Henning said yesterday Florida's citrus losses are not due to lack of offshore picking labor....Reports of heavy losses by citrus men because of inadequate labor are not substantiated by information he has received from the USDA....Climatic conditions were responsible for much of the state's claimed citrus losses, and not a shortage of harvesting personnel." (Emphasis added.)
--The Tampa Tribune - 3/13/65

A Valencia orange grove one month before picking time. Droppage was caused by climatic conditions.

A SHORTAGE OF LABOR OR A SURPLUS OF PRODUCE?

"The immediate and long-range needs of Florida agriculture are for increased numbers of harvesting workers..." (states Florida Citrus Mutual on behalf of the Florida agricultural industry).

There is a considerable body of evidence indicating that the supply of Florida produce already exceeds the demand. There is also evidence indicating present and projected increases in production have been deliberately planned to justify complaints of a labor shortage and demands for increased numbers of workers.

...."Today there is twice as much fruits and vegetables planted in Florida, Texas, Arizona, and California that is needed.... Most of the acreage was planted with the thought in mind of showing Washington there would not be enough labor to harvest the crops planted...."

--excerpt from a letter by an Arizona grower to his Congressman - 1/8/65

..."You know, do you not, that the sugar cane crop in Florida is very greatly increased over what it was last year? You know, too, do you not, that the orange, the grapefruit, and the tangerine crops also are sizably increased over last year, particularly the orange crops?... Those increases run all the way from 40 percent in oranges down to 17 percent in tangerines.... Assuming the correctness of those figures, it is quite obvious that a much greater labor force is going to be required in Florida for the handling of the citrus crop this year." (Emphasis added.)

--excerpts from statements made by Senator Holland at Hearings of the Senate Agriculture Committee - 1/15/65

..."After the Castro take-over in Cuba there has been a great expansion in sugar cane in this area. Some of the boys planted too much. They haven't

planned well.... Before Castro there were two sugar mills in Glades. Now there are ten. There is too much cane and not enough cutters...."

--excerpt from a statement by a public official in South Florida

..."More than $1 million in Florida Citrus Commission emergency orange reserve funds yesterday were pledged to bolster what leading industry officials term a sagging market for citrus products.... [Area canners] swore under oath... that a 'serious economic emergency exists.'"

--The Tampa Tribune - 3/11/65

Yet, despite a "sagging market," Florida citrus growers have estimated a production increase from 90 million boxes in 1963 to 230 million boxes by 1975!

--figures from Florida Citrus Mutual

Domestic workers in a string bean packing shed.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

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The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor is a voluntary, non-profit organization whose purpose is to gather and disseminate information about the conditions and problems of farm workers, and about farm labor practices and policies.

Through public education on a nationwide scale the Committee seeks to mobilize public opinion and to spark effective action by concerned groups and individuals.

Such action has been enhanced by a number of broadly representative state citizens' committees on farm labor, organized with the help of NACFL. These committees have played an active role in proposing much-needed reforms in state and local farm labor conditions, and have introduced and developed support for both state and federal legislation. To extend these vital activities additional state committees will be formed.

You may write to the NACFL for more information on this subject, for a list of other literature available, and for names and addresses of other groups concerned with this issue.

FLORIDA'S MIGRANT VEGETABLE WORKERS

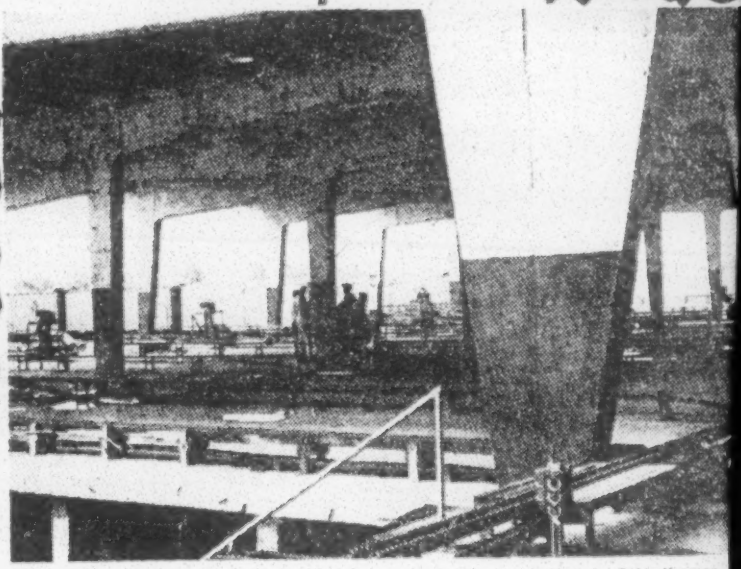
Growers: A Persecution Complex

By PETER KRAMER
Of The Times Staff

Offer a sympathetic ear and [illegible] farmers display

Beginning to flex its growth muscles, in keeping with the missile age, after years of "horse and buggy" operation, the citrus industry's tentacles extend into every facet of the state's political, economic and social life.

Headed by Executive Vice President Robert W. Rutledge, Mutual has as its motto, "If It's Good for the Grower, Let's Do It," and has a broad range of programs working the year-round for its membership.



—Photo by Peter Kramer

Packing Plant: No Work, But Growers Say More Workers Needed

Abuse of Pickers Brings Pinch

NEW PORT RICHEY—When I read of the plight of citrusmen pleading for fruit pickers as the fruit was lying on the ground and rotting on the trees while plenty of able bodied men were available and refusing to work because they were receiving welfare money and free groceries, I was thoroughly disgusted, and wondered why such conditions should exist. But after reading the experiences of some pickers I've made an about face, being convinced that much of the labor shortage is caused by abuse of pickers.

The swill they serve at meals is like the menu of a concentration camp. While one would not expect steaks or chops at $1.75 per day, it would seem that they could be given an occasional stew, eggs or pancakes. The water they must carry to the grove would be anything but refreshing after being in a truck several

The whole setup smells of slave labor. The di[illegible] and disillusioned "victims" [illegible] broadcast their expe- are m[illegible] few [illegible] rienc[illegible] pick[illegible] mor[illegible] the[illegible]

st[illegible] at[illegible] cl[illegible] t[illegible]

at the [illegible] moting friendship, etc. [illegible] paper publicity could offset mu[illegible]

JOSEPH H. POWERS

Orange Crop Estimate Tops 119 Million Boxes

By TOM HARMON
Tribune Staff Writer

LAKELAND—Government crop estimators yesterday added another 1.5 million boxes to Florida's early and mid-season orange crop and 100,000 to Temples.

This brings the total citrus crop to an estimated 119.1 million boxes.

Orange Reserve Funds Voted To Bolster Sagging Market

LAKELAND (By Staff Writer) —More than $1 million in Florida Citrus Commission emer-

His objections were in rebuttal to sworn testimony by W. F. Edwards, Pasco Packing Co. [illegible] Weeks Savant, Flor-

cuts in frozen concentrated orange juice and there is trade pressure for more."

"If further cuts in price should

Edwards [illegible] pose" of [illegible] to "increa[illegible] per cent [illegible]

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

CCR Special Publication—Number 4

August 1965

"In our system, the first right and most vital of all our rights is the right to vote. Jefferson described the elective franchise as 'the ark of our safety.' It is from the exercise of this right that the guarantee of all our other rights flows.

"Unless the right to vote be secured and undenied, all other rights are insecure and subject to denial for all our citizens. The challenge of this right is a challenge to America itself. We must meet this challenge as decisively as we would meet a challenge mounted against our land from enemies abroad."

President Lyndon B. Johnson
Message to Congress
March 15, 1965

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

signed by the
President of the United States
on August 6, 1965

- Suspends literacy tests and other devices (found to be discriminatory) as qualifications for voting in any Federal, State, local, general or primary election in the States of Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and at least 26 counties in North Carolina.

- Provides for the assignment of Federal examiners to conduct registration and observe voting in States and/or counties covered by the Act.

- Directs the U.S. Attorney General to initiate suits immediately to test the constitutionality of poll taxes because the U.S. Congress found that the payment of such tax has been used in some areas to abridge the right to vote.

- Extends civil and criminal protection to qualified persons seeking to vote and to those who urge or aid others to vote.

This publication is issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights as part of its clearinghouse function. It discusses the coverage, administration and other subjects covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act is printed on page 10.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is the fourth bill to be enacted by the U.S. Congress since 1957 that attempts to safeguard the right of every citizen to vote, regardless of his race or color. The previous three legislative measures attempted to secure the right to vote through court cases initiated largely on a case-by-case, county-by-county basis. These cases, brought either by the U.S. Attorney General or an individual, did not adequately meet the dimensions of the problems of racial discrimination in voting.

The 1965 Act provides new tools to assure the right to vote and supplements the previous authority granted by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964. It is intended primarily to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which provides in Section 1:

> "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The law has two central features:

1. Provision for suspending a variety of tests and devices that have been used to deny citizens the right to vote because of their race or color.
2. Provision for the appointment of Federal examiners to list voters in those areas where tests and devices have been suspended.

In this Act, the term "voting" includes all action necessary—from the time of registration to the actual counting of the votes—to make a vote for public or party office effective.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS OUTLAWED BY THIS ACT

No State or political subdivision (counties, municipalities and parishes) covered by the Voting Rights Act may require the use of any test or device as a prerequisite for registration or voting.

Tests or devices included in this Act are those which require:

1. A demonstration of the ability to read, write, understand or interpret any given material.
2. A demonstration of any educational achievement or knowledge of any particular subject.
3. Proof of good moral character.
4. Proof of qualifications through a procedure in which another person (such as an individual already registered) must vouch for the prospective voter.

COVERAGE

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 states that no person shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State or local election (including primaries) for failure to pass a test if he lives in a State or political subdivision which:

1. Maintained a test or device as a prerequisite to registration or voting as of November 1, 1964

and

2. Had a total voting age population of which less than 50 percent were registered or actually voted in the 1964 Presidential election.

If the above two factors are present, the State or political subdivision is automatically covered by the 1965 Act. If an entire State meets these qualifications, all of its counties come under the provisions of the Act. If only one county in a State meets them, the single county is subject to the requirements of the law.

States covered by the Act include Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, and approximately 26 counties in North Carolina.

Cessation of Coverage

A State or political subdivision may be removed from coverage by filing a suit in a three-judge District Court for the District of Columbia. The State or political subdivision must convince the court that no test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying the right to vote because of race or color during the five years preceding the filing of the suit.

However, if there has been a previous court judgment against a State or political subdivision determining that tests or devices have been used to deny the right to vote, the State or political subdivision must wait five years before it can obtain an order from the District Court for the District of Columbia removing it from the coverage of the Act.

A judgment may be obtained more quickly if the Attorney General advises the court that he believes that the tests have not been used to discriminate on the basis of race or color during the five years preceding the filing of the action. He may also ask the court to reconsider its decision anytime within five years after judgment.

Changes in Voting Laws

When a State or political subdivision covered by the Act seeks to change its voting qualifications or procedures from those in effect on November 1, 1964, it must either obtain the approval of the U.S. Attorney General or initiate a Federal Court suit. If the Attorney General objects to these changes, or if they have not been submitted to him for his approval, the new laws may not be enforced until the District Court for the District of Columbia rules that the changes will not have the purpose or the effect of denying the right to vote because of the race or color of any person.

FEDERAL EXAMINERS

Once it is determined that a political subdivision is covered by the Act, the U.S. Attorney General may direct the U.S. Civil Service Commission to appoint Federal examiners to list voters if:

1. He has received twenty meritorious written complaints alleging voter discrimination, *or*
2. He believes that the appointment of examiners is necessary to enforce the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The times, places and procedures for listing will be established by the Civil Service Commission.

Authority of the Examiners

The Federal examiners will list (that is, declare eligible and entitled to vote) those who satisfy state qualifications that have not been suspended by the Voting Rights Act. Examples of valid qualifications would be those of age and residence.

The examiners will prepare a list of qualified voters and send the list each month to State authorities who must register them—that is, place their names in the official voting records. This list must be available for public inspection. Each person on the examiner's list will be issued a certificate by the examiners as evidence of eligibility to vote in any Federal, State or local election.

No person listed by the examiner will be entitled to vote in any election unless his name has been sent to local election officials at least 45 days before that election thereby allowing the State election machinery to run without complication.

Enforcement of Action by Federal Examiners

At the request of the Attorney General the Civil Service Commission may appoint poll watchers in counties where Federal Examiners are already serving to observe whether all eligible persons are allowed to vote and whether all ballots are accurately tabulated.

If anyone who is properly listed or registered is not permitted to vote in any political subdivision where examiners are serving, a complaint may be made to the examiners of this denial within 48 hours after the polls close. If the examiner believes that the complaint has merit, he must inform the Attorney General immediately. The Attorney General may seek a district court order that provides for the casting of the ballot and suspends the election results until the vote is included in the final count.

Challenge of Listed Persons

A formal objection challenging the qualifications of a person listed by the Federal examiner may be filed (at a place to be designated by the Civil Service Commission) within ten days after the list of qualified voters has been made public and must be supported by at least two affidavits. The validity of the challenge will be determined within fifteen days after filing by a hearing officer appointed by the Civil Service Commission. The U.S. Court of Appeals may review decisions of the hearing officer.

Until the final court review is completed, any person listed by the examiner is still eligible and must be permitted to vote. If a challenge is successful, the name of the registrant will be removed from the examiner's list.

Withdrawal of Federal Examiners

Examiners may be withdrawn from a political subdivision when the names of all persons listed by the examiners have been placed in the official records and when there is no reason to believe that persons in the subdivision will be prevented from voting.

The removal may be accomplished by action of:

1. The Civil Service Commission after it receives notification from the U.S. Attorney General, *or*
2. The District Court for the District of Columbia in a suit brought by a political subdivision after the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 percent of the nonwhite voting age population in the subdivision is registered to vote.

A political subdivision may petition the U.S. Attorney General to end listing procedures and to request that the Director of the Census conduct a survey to determine whether more than 50 percent of the nonwhite voting age population is registered.

POLL TAXES

The Act contains a Congressional finding that the right to vote has been denied or abridged by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a condition to voting.

The U.S. Attorney General is directed to institute suits against Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia which require the payment of poll taxes in order to determine if such taxes violate the Constitution. While a suit is pending, or upon a finding that the poll tax is constitutional, persons registered or listed for the first time in areas covered by the Act need only pay the tax for the current year. The poll tax may be paid up to 45 days prior to an election regardless of the timeliness of the payment under State law.

VOTING SUITS

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 gives new enforcement powers to the courts in voting cases. When the court finds that there has been a denial of the right to vote in a suit brought by the U.S. Attorney General, the court must:

1. Authorize the appointment of examiners by the Civil Service Commission unless denials of the right to vote have been few in number, they have been corrected by State or local action, and there is no probability that they will reoccur.
2. Suspend the use of tests or devices in an area where it has been proved that at least one such requirement has been utilized to deny the right to vote because of race or color.

When examiners have been authorized by court order, they may be removed by an order of the authorizing court.

LANGUAGE LITERACY

If a person residing in a State where tests or devices have not been suspended has completed at least six grades in an "American-flag" school (a school in the United States or its territories), his inability to speak the English language shall not be the basis for denying him the right to vote. For example, a person who completed six grades of school in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico but who now resides on the mainland of the United States would satisfy literacy requirements.

CRIMINAL AND CIVIL PENALTIES

Public officials or private individuals who deny persons the right to vote guaranteed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 or anyone who attempts to or intimidates, threatens, or coerces a person from voting are subject to criminal penalties. It is also made a crime to attempt to or to intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone who urges or aids any person to vote. Criminal penalties are provided for applicants who give false information about their eligibility to vote or who accept payment to register or vote in a Federal election. The U.S. Attorney General is also authorized to bring action for injunctive relief to restrain violations of the Act.

For Further Information Contact:

U.S. Civil Service Commission
1900 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20415

or

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Public Law 89-110
89th Congress, S. 1564
August 6, 1965

An Act

To enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965"

Voting Rights Act of 1965.

SEC. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

Judicial remedies.

SEC. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission in accordance with section 6 to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment (1) as part of any interlocutory order if the court determines that the appointment of such examiners is necessary to enforce such guarantees or (2) as part of any final judgment if the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred in such State or subdivision: *Provided*, That the court need not authorize the appointment of examiners if any incidents of denial or abridgement of the right to vote on account of race or color (1) have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

(b) If in a proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color, it shall suspend the use of tests and devices in such State or political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate and for such period as it deems necessary.

(c) If in any proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred within the territory of such State or political subdivision. the court, in addition to such relief as it may grant, shall retain jurisdiction for such period as it may deem appropriate and during such period no voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect at the time the proceeding was commenced shall be enforced unless and until the court finds that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such

79 STAT. 437.
79 STAT. 438.

submission, except that neither the court's finding nor the Attorney General's failure to object shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure.

Use of tests or devices prohibited. Declaratory judgment proceedings.

SEC. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: *Provided*, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff.

An action pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. The court shall retain jurisdiction of any action pursuant to this subsection for five years after judgment and shall reopen the action upon motion of the Attorney General alleging that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.

62 Stat. 968.

If the Attorney General determines that he has no reason to believe that any such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, he shall consent to the entry of such judgment.

(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to which (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 per centum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964.

Publication in Federal Register.

A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.

"Test or device."

(c) The phrase "test or device" shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class.

79 STAT. 438.
79 STAT. 439.

(d) For purposes of this section no State or political subdivision shall be determined to have engaged in the use of tests or devices for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color if (1) incidents of such use have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

(e)(1) Congress hereby declares that to secure the rights under the fourteenth amendment of persons educated in American-flag schools in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, it is necessary to prohibit the States from conditioning the right to vote of such persons on ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language.

(2) No person who demonstrates that he has successfully completed the sixth primary grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his inability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language, except that in States in which State law provides that a different level of education is presumptive of literacy, he shall demonstrate that he has successfully completed an equivalent level of education in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English.

SEC. 5. Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to which the prohibitions set forth in section 4(a) are in effect shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced without such proceeding if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the Attorney General's failure to object nor a declaratory judgment entered under this section shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Any action under this section shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

62 Stat. 968.

SEC. 6. Whenever (a) a court has authorized the appointment of examiners pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a), or (b) unless a declaratory judgment has been rendered under section 4(a), the

Appointment of examiners.

Attorney General certifies with respect to any political subdivision named in, or included within the scope of, determinations made under section 4(b) that (1) he has received complaints in writing from twenty or more residents of such political subdivision alleging that they have been denied the right to vote under color of law on account of race or color, and that he believes such complaints to be meritorious, or (2) that in his judgment (considering, among other factors, whether the ratio of nonwhite persons to white persons registered to vote within such subdivision appears to him to be reasonably attributable to violations of the fifteenth amendment or whether substantial evidence exists that bona fide efforts are being made within such subdivision to comply with the fifteenth amendment), the appointment of examiners is otherwise necessary to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment, the Civil Service Commission shall appoint as many examiners for such subdivision as it may deem appropriate to prepare and maintain lists of persons eligible to vote in Federal, State, and local elections. Such examiners, hearing officers provided for in section 9(a), and other persons deemed necessary by the Commission to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act shall be appointed, compensated, and separated without regard to the provisions of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, and service under this Act shall not be considered employment for the purposes of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, except the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (5 U.S.C. 118i), prohibiting partisan political activity: *Provided*, That the Commission is authorized, after consulting the head of the appropriate department or agency, to designate suitable persons in the official service of the United States, with their consent, to serve in these positions. Examiners and hearing officers shall have the power to administer oaths.

53 Stat. 1148; 64 Stat. 475.

Duties of examiners.

SEC. 7. (a) The examiners for each political subdivision shall, at such places as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, examine applicants concerning their qualifications for voting. An application to an examiner shall be in such form as the Commission may require and shall contain allegations that the applicant is not otherwise registered to vote.

List of eligible voters.

(b) Any person whom the examiner finds, in accordance with instructions received under section 9(b), to have the qualifications prescribed by State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States shall promptly be placed on a list of eligible voters. A challenge to such listing may be made in accordance with section 9(a) and shall not be the basis for a prosecution under section 12 of this Act. The examiner shall certify and transmit such list, and any supplements as appropriate, at least once a month, to the offices of the appropriate election officials, with copies to the Attorney General and the attorney general of the State, and any such lists and supplements thereto transmitted during the month shall be available for public inspection on the last business day of the month and in any event not later than the forty-fifth day prior to any election. The appropriate State or local election official shall place such names on the official voting list. Any person whose name appears on the examiner's list shall be entitled and allowed to vote in the election district of his residence unless and until the appropriate election officials shall have been notified that such person has been removed from such list in accordance with subsection (d): *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to vote in any election by virtue of this Act

unless his name shall have been certified and transmitted on such a list to the offices of the appropriate election officials at least forty-five days prior to such election.

(c) The examiner shall issue to each person whose name appears on such a list a certificate evidencing his eligibility to vote.

(d) A person whose name appears on such a list shall be removed therefrom by an examiner if (1) such person has been successfully challenged in accordance with the procedure prescribed in section 9, or (2) he has been determined by an examiner to have lost his eligibility to vote under State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Observers at elections.

SEC. 8. Whenever an examiner is serving under this Act in any political subdivision, the Civil Service Commission may assign, at the request of the Attorney General, one or more persons, who may be officers of the United States, (1) to enter and attend at any place for holding an election in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether persons who are entitled to vote are being permitted to vote, and (2) to enter and attend at any place for tabulating the votes cast at any election held in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether votes cast by persons entitled to vote are being properly tabulated. Such persons so assigned shall report to an examiner appointed for such political subdivision, to the Attorney General, and if the appointment of examiners has been authorized pursuant to section 3(a), to the court.

Challenges to eligibility listings, hearings.

SEC. 9. (a) Any challenge to a listing on an eligibility list prepared by an examiner shall be heard and determined by a hearing officer appointed by and responsible to the Civil Service Commission and under such rules as the Commission shall by regulation prescribe. Such challenge shall be entertained only if filed at such office within the State as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, and within ten days after the listing of the challenged person is made available for public inspection, and if suported by (1) the affidavits of at least two persons having personal knowledge of the facts constituting grounds for the challenge, and (2) a certification that a copy of the challenge and affidavits have been served by mail or in person upon the person challenged at his place of residence set out in the application. Such challenge shall be determined within fifteen days after it has been filed. A petition for review of the decision of the hearing officer may be filed in the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the person challenged resides within fifteen days after service of such decision by mail on the person petitioning for review but no decision of a hearing officer shall be reversed unless clearly erroneous. Any person listed shall be entitled and allowed to vote pending final determination by the hearing officer and by the court.

Procedural regulations.

(b) The times, places, procedures, and form for application and listing pursuant to this Act and removals from the eligibility lists shall be prescribed by regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission and the Commission shall, after consultation with the Attorney General, instruct examiners concerning applicable State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States with respect to (1) the qualifications required for listing, and (2) loss of eligibility to vote.

Subpena power.

(c) Upon the request of the applicant or the challenger or on its own motion the Civil Service Commission shall have the power to require by subpena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the

production of documentary evidence relating to any matter pending before it under the authority of this section. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a hearing officer, there to produce pertinent, relevant, and nonprivileged documentary evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.

Poll tax.

SEC. 10. (a) The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (i) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (ii) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (iii) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting.

(b) In the exercise of the powers of Congress under section 5 of the fourteenth amendment and section 2 of the fifteenth amendment, the Attorney General is authorized and directed to institute forthwith in the name of the United States such actions, including actions against States or political subdivisions, for declaratory judgment or injunctive relief against the enforcement of any requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting, or substitute therefor enacted after November 1, 1964, as will be necessary to implement the declaration of subsection (a) and the purposes of this section.

(c) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of such actions which shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of the judges designated to hear the case to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

62 Stat. 968.

(d) During the pendency of such actions, and thereafter if the courts, notwithstanding this action by the Congress, should declare the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to be constitutional, no citizen of the United States who is a resident of a State or political subdivision with respect to which determinations have been made under subsection 4(b) and a declaratory judgment has not been entered under subsection 4(a), during the first year he becomes otherwise entitled to vote by reason of registration by State or local officials or listing by an examiner, shall be denied the right to vote

for failure to pay a poll tax if he tenders payment of such tax for the current year to an examiner or to the appropriate State or local official at least forty-five days prior to election, whether or not such tender would be timely or adequate under State law. An examiner shall have authority to accept such payment from any person authorized by this Act to make an application for listing, and shall issue a receipt for such payment. The examiner shall transmit promptly any such poll tax payment to the office of the State or local official authorized to receive such payment under State law, together with the name and address of the applicant.

Prohibitions.

SEC. 11. (a) No person acting under color of law shall fail or refuse to permit any person to vote who is entitled to vote under any provision of this Act or is otherwise qualified to vote, or willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote.

(b) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for urging or aiding any person to vote or attempt to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for exercising any powers or duties under section 3(a), 6, 8, 9, 10, or 12(e).

Penalty.

(c) Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, or period of residence in the voting district for the purpose of establishing his eligibility to register or vote, or conspires with another individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration to vote or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts payment either for registration to vote or for voting shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both:

Applicability.

Provided, however, That this provision shall be applicable only to general, special, or primary elections held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the United States Senate, Member of the United States House of Representatives, or Delegates or Commissioners from the territories or possessions, or Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

(d) Whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of an examiner or hearing officer knowingly and willfully falsifies or conceals a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 12. (a) Whoever shall deprive or attempt to deprive any person of any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, or 10 or shall violate section 11 (a) or (b), shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever, within a year following an election in a political subdivision in which an examiner has been appointed (1) destroys, defaces, mutilates, or otherwise alters the marking of a paper ballot which has been cast in such election, or (2) alters any official record of voting in such election tabulated from a voting machine or otherwise, shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(c) Whoever conspires to violate the provisions of subsection (a) or (b) of this section, or interferes with any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, or 11 (a) or (b) shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Injunctions, etc.

(d) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, or subsection (b) of this section, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, an action for preventive relief, including an application for a temporary or permanent injunction, restraining order, or other order, and including an order directed to the State and State or local election officials to require them (1) to permit persons listed under this Act to vote and (2) to count such votes.

(e) Whenever in any political subdivision in which there are examiners appointed pursuant to this Act any persons allege to such an examiner within forty-eight hours after the closing of the polls that notwithstanding (1) their listing under this Act or registration by an appropriate election official and (2) their eligibility to vote, they have not been permitted to vote in such election, the examiner shall forthwith notify the Attorney General if such allegations in his opinion appear to be well founded. Upon receipt of such notification, the Attorney General may forthwith file with the district court an application for an order providing for the marking, casting, and counting of the ballots of such persons and requiring the inclusion of their votes in the total vote before the results of such election shall be deemed final and any force or effect given thereto. The district court shall hear and determine such matters immediately after the filing of such application. The remedy provided in this subsection shall not preclude any remedy available under State or Federal law.

(f) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether a person asserting rights under the provisions of this Act shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Listing procedures, termination.

SEC. 13. Listing procedures shall be terminated in any political subdivision of any State (a) with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to clause (b) of section 6 whenever the Attorney General notifies the Civil Service Commission, or whenever the District Court for the District of Columbia determines in an action for declaratory judgment brought by any political subdivision with respect to which the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 per centum of the nonwhite persons of voting age residing therein are registered to vote, (1) that all persons listed by an examiner for such subdivision have been placed on the appropriate voting registration roll, and (2) that there is no longer reasonable cause to believe that persons will be deprived of or denied the right to vote on account of race or color in such subdivision, and (b), with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to section 3(a), upon order of the authorizing court. A political subdivision may petition the Attorney General for the termination of listing procedures under clause (a) of this section, and may petition the Attorney General to request the Director of the Census to take such survey or census as may be appropriate for the making of the determination provided for in this section. The District Court for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction to require such

survey or census to be made by the Director of the Census and it shall require him to do so if it deems the Attorney General's refusal to request such survey or census to be arbitrary or unreasonable.

Criminal contempt proceedings.

SEC. 14. (a) All cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this Act shall be governed by section 151 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1995).

71 Stat. 638.

(b) No court other than the District Court for the District of Columbia or a court of appeals in any proceeding under section 9 shall have jurisdiction to issue any declaratory judgment pursuant to section 4 or section 5 or any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction against the execution or enforcement of any provision of this Act or any action of any Federal officer or employee pursuant hereto.

"Vote" or "voting."

(c) (1) The terms "vote" or "voting" shall include all action necessary to make a vote effective in any primary, special, or general election, including, but not limited to, registration, listing pursuant to this Act, or other action required by law prerequisite to voting, casting a ballot, and having such ballot counted properly and included in the appropriate totals of votes cast with respect to candidates for public or party office and propositions for which votes are received in an election.

"Political subdivision."

(2) The term "political subdivision" shall mean any county or parish, except that where registration for voting is not conducted under the supervision of a county or parish, the term shall include any other subdivision of a State which conducts registration for voting.

Subpenas.

(d) In any action for a declaratory judgment brought pursuant to section 4 or section 5 of this Act, subpenas for witnesses who are required to attend the District Court for the District of Columbia may be served in any judicial district of the United States: *Provided*, That no writ of subpena shall issue for witnesses without the District of Columbia at a greater distance than one hundred miles from the place of holding court without the permission of the District Court for the District of Columbia being first had upon proper application and cause shown.

SEC. 15. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), and as further amended by section 101 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 241), is further amended as follows:

(a) Delete the word "Federal" wherever it appears in subsections (a) and (c);

Repeal.

(b) Repeal subsection (f) and designate the present subsections (g) and (h) as (f) and (g), respectively.

Armed Forces, voting rights study.

SEC. 16. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense, jointly, shall make a full and complete study to determine whether, under the laws or practices of any State or States, there are preconditions to voting, which might tend to result in discrimination against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States seeking to vote. Such officials shall, jointly, make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1966, containing the results of such study, together with a list of any States in which such preconditions exist, and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation as they deem advisable to prevent discrimination in voting against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Report to Congress.

SEC. 17. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise adversely affect the right to vote of any person registered to vote under the law of any State or political subdivision.

Appropriation.

SEC. 18. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 19. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Approved August 6, 1965.

OTHER CCR SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

Number 1—CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL PROGRAMS: A detailed explanation of Title VI regulations, particularly relating to compliance reports, periodic field reviews and investigations, enforcement proceedings, termination of Federal funds.

Number 2—EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOSPITALS AND HEALTH FACILITIES: An examination of civil rights policies affecting the Hill-Burton and other Federal programs, including admittance of patients, access to facilities, staff privileges.

Number 3—EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN FARM PROGRAMS: Excerpts from an appraisal of services rendered by four agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

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☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O - 202-503(32)

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
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TEAMWORK
For
TODAY'S OPPORTUNITIES --
The
CHALLENGE
For
COLLEGES AND INDUSTRY

PLANS FOR PROGRESS

National College Relations Conference

November 1-4, 1965

Dinkler Plaza Hotel...Atlanta, Georgia

PRESS CONTACTS

OField DUKES - room 412
MACK WISE - " 723
Bob CUNNINGHAM - G.M.

Ja 4-2461
Entitled Player

PROGRAM

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1

6:00 - 9:00 p.m.	**Registration**	Main Lobby
7:00 - 9:00 p.m.	**Reception**	Dinkler Room

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.	**Registration**	Main Lobby
9:00 - 10:00 a.m.	**General Session**	Rainbow Roof

PRESS CONFAB
10:15 AM
SKY ROOM
DINKLER PLAZA
PARTICIPANTS

Introduction: *Harold McFarland*
Conference Chairman, and Director of Personnel Services, General Motors Corporation

Keynote: "Teamwork for Today's Opportunities - The Challenge for Colleges and Industry."

Charles Spahr
Chairman, Plans for Progress Advisory Council, and President, Standard Oil (Ohio)

Dr. Jerome Holland
President
Hampton Institute

10:00 - 10:30 a.m.	**Break and move to workshops**	
10:30 - 11:45 a.m.	**Workshops:** "What Are Our Problems - You Decide"	
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.	**Luncheon**	Dinkler Room

Welcome: *The Honorable Ivan Allen*
Mayor of Atlanta

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University

1:45 - 3:15 p.m.	**General Session**	Rainbow Roof

College Placement Council Activities
Louis A. Miller, University of Miami, Chairman, Governmental Affairs Committee, College Placement Council

College Placement Services, Inc.
John Brooks, North Texas State University, Vice President, College Placement Services, Inc.

Urban League Program
Adolph Holmes, Associate Director National Urban League

Counseling - Key to Effective Guidance

Dr. Howard Mitchell, Director of Human Resources, University of Pennsylvania

Dr. George Leonard, Professor, Educational Guidance and Counseling, Wayne State University

Hugh Gordon, Assistant to the Director of Industrial Relations, Lockheed-Georgia Company

3:30 - 5:00 p.m. **Group Discussions:** Implementing an Effective Counseling Program

6:00 - 7:00 p.m. **Reception** ..... Dinkler Room

7:00 p.m. **Dinner** ..... Dinkler Room

Master of Ceremonies:
Harold McFarland

Entertainment:
Morehouse College Glee Club

Speaker:
The Honorable John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman, United States Civil Service Commission

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 3

8:30 - 10:15 a.m. **General Session** ..... Rainbow Roof

PRESS CONFAB 10.15 AM IN DINKLER 'A'

The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation

Don M. Thomas, Plans for Progress Staff

Ramon S. Scruggs, American Telephone & Telegraph Company

Errold D. Collymore, Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corp.

Joseph P. Flemming, Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

*PARTICIPANTS

Expanding Co-op Opportunities at the Negro Colleges

Frank H. Jakes, Ford Motor Company

Dr. Rembert E. Stokes, President Wilberforce University

Dr. Roy L. Wooldridge, Dean Northeastern University

10:30 - 11:45 a.m. **Workshops:** Co-op Opportunities

12:00 - 1:45 p.m. **Luncheon** ..... Dinkler Room

Speakers:

Dr. Luther Holcomb, Vice Chairman Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Dr. Karl A. Hill, Dean, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration Dartmouth College

2:00 - 3:00 p.m. **Panel Discussion** ..... Dinkler Room

"Here Are The Problems - What Are The Answers?"

Moderator: *A. M. Doty,* Manager of Personnel Relations, Aluminum Company of America

Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Assistant to the Commissioner of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

P. B. Lewis, Administrative Director, Plans for Progress

Julius Thomas, Industrial Relations Consultant

Harold Mayfield, Director of Personnel Relations, Owens-Illinois Glass Company

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President, Clark College

3:15 - 5:00 p.m. **Workshops:** Topics Selected by Conference Participants

6:00 - 7:00 p.m. **Reception** ..... Dinkler Room

7:00 p.m. **Dinner** ..... Dinkler Room

Speaker: *Hobart Taylor, Jr.*
Director
Export-Import Bank of Washington

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4

Training Session for College Participants

8:30 - 9:15 a.m. **Opening Statements** - Workshop Leaders

9:30 - 10:20 a.m.
10:30 - 11:20 a.m.
11:30 - 12:20 p.m. Concurrent Workshop Sessions:

12:30 - 1:15 p.m. **LUNCHEON**

1:30 - 2:30 p.m. Workshop Sessions - Cont'd

Workshop A: **The Placement Office -- Organization, Staffing & Function**

Chairman:
Philip J. Winkfield
Fisk University

Industry Representatives:
Claude Foulkes, IBM
Don Cooke, RCA

Workshop B: **Student Preparation**

Chairman:
James Schneider, Tulane University

Industry Representatives:
Robert Alleman, duPont
Paul Brown, Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling Company

Workshop C: **Interviewing & Plant Visits**

Chairman:
Raymond E. Tew, North Carolina State

Industry Representatives:
Robert Becker, ALCOA
Percy LaBohne, Philco

Workshop D: **Resumes, Letter Writing & Follow-up**

Chairman:
Howard Lumsden, University of Tennessee

Industry Representatives:
Errold Collymore, Olin-Mathieson
Robert Brocksbank, Socony Mobil

WORKSHOP CO-CHAIRMEN

10:30-11:45 a.m., Tuesday, November 2
10:30-11:45 a.m., Wednesday, November 3
3:15- 5:00 p.m., Wednesday, November 3

Group No.

1. Room No. 322

   Delmer G. Anderson
   Supervisor - College Recruiting & Placement
   Federal-Mogul Corporation

   A. A. Branch
   Vice President
   Tougaloo College

2. Room No. 422

   James H. Burg
   Administrative Assistant
   Programs & Services (Personnel)
   International Business Machines Corp.

   Brailsford E. Brazeal
   Administrative Dean
   Morehouse College

3. Room No. 424

   Vernon D. Davis
   Coordinator, College Recruitment
   Union Carbide Corporation

   O. H. Brown
   Director, Public Relations & Field Services
   Albany State College

4. Room No. 520

   Naylor Fitzhugh
   Vice President
   Pepsi Cola Company

   Dr. King V. Cheek
   Administrative Dean
   Shaw University

5. Room No. 522

Robert M. Greene
Manager of Employment & Placement
J. C. Penny Co., Inc.

Harrison F. DeShields
College Registrar & Admission Officer
Bethune Cookman College

6. Room No. 524

Howard Lockwood
Management Development and Manpower Specialist
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation

Nelson Freeman
Dean of Students
Savannah State College

7. Room No. 354

Donald Lusk
Manager, Employee Relations
Western Union Telegraph Company

C. C. Gray
Dean of Men
Saint Augustine's College

8. Room No. 350

David Morgan
Director of College Relations
The Dow Chemical Company

B. S. Gupta
Assistant to the President
Wiley College

9. Room No. 450

Luke H. Noggle
Manager, Professional Employment
Westinghouse Electric Corp.

Samuel M. Hall
Director, Career Development Center
Langston University

10. Room No. 452

Vern Peak
Director of Personnel
Kaiser Industries Corporation

W. N. Jackson
Administrative Dean
Tennessee Agriculture & Industry University

11. Room No. 356

Richard Stevenson
Manager, Recruiting, Coordination
Proctor & Gamble Company

David H. Johnson
Dean of Students
Texas College

12. Room No. 370

W. E. Stohldrier
Manager, College Relations
General Foods Corporation

J. C. Jones
Dean of Students
Fayetteville State College

13. Plaza A (Main Floor)

Robert C. Thompson
Manager, Manpower Placement, Personnel
Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corp.

Richard A. Lewis
Director of Public Relations and
Development
Stillman College

14. Plaza B (Main Floor)

J. T. Watts
College Relations Staff Manager
Western Electric Company

James MacRae
Dean of Students
Lincoln University

15. Conference Room (Mezzanine)

David F. Waggoner
Director of Salaried Placement and
College Recruiting
General Motors Corporation

Charles W. McKinney
Assistant Director of Admissions
Lincoln University

16. The Roof (14th Floor)

Ray W. Walters
College Employment Supervisor
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

James H. Penn
Dean
Morris Brown College

17. Mirror Room (Mezzanine)

Edward L. Welch
Attorney
Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.

A. G. H. Sasser (Mrs.)
Director, Placement Service
A&I State University

18. Mahogany Room (Mezzanine)

Richard Wells
Labor Relations Specialist
North American Aviation, Inc.

Edward W. Whitlow
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Virginia State College

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EXPLANATION AND DIGEST
of the
1966 KENTUCKY CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
covering
EMPLOYMENT
and
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

ENACTED JANUARY 27, 1966

EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1966

INDEX

INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose of the Act 2

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY 2

Coverage 2

Equal Treatment Based on Individual Merit 3

Reasonable Provisions for Exemptions 3

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS PROVISIONS 3

IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT 4

Persuasion the Key to Compliance 4

Advantages of Commission Procedures 5

Protection of Employer's and Complainant's Rights 6

Avoidance of Record Keeping Burdens 7

Procedures for Subpoenas 7

LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS 8

MISCELLANEOUS 8

INTRODUCTION

Among the first considerations of the 1966 Kentucky General Assembly was a civil rights Act, with coverage in the areas of public accommodations and employment. This Act had the support of the Governor of Kentucky, the bi-partisan support of legislators around the State, the editorial support of leading Kentucky newspapers, and the support of individuals and groups recognizing the moral necessity for state civil rights legislation. This digest is written to help individual citizens become acquainted with the major facets of the civil rights Act.

The Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 emphasizes that its enforcement should be through state agencies which function under state laws compatible with the federal statute. When the state assumes its responsibility for the protection of the rights of its citizens, federal enforcement of the Civil Rights Act becomes unnecessary.

The Kentucky Civil Rights Act will meet the requirements of the Federal Law and will provide more sensitive, more efficient, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. This act uses as a model the Uniform State Civil Rights Act which is being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This group is composed of outstanding judges, lawyers, and law professors from all sections of the United States including the South.

While the heart of the bill is contained in the three articles covering public accommodations, fair employment practices, and enforcement; there are seven articles in the bill as follows:

1. Declaration of Purpose; Construction; Severability
2. General Definitions
3. Discrimination in Employment
4. Discrimination in Public Accommodations
5. Enforcement; Judicial Review
6. Miscellaneous
7. Local Human Rights Commissions

Purpose of the Act

The purpose of this Act is to safeguard all individuals within the state from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accommodations. Discrimination is a matter of state concern because it involves an individual's personal dignity and freedom from humiliation. Such discrimination deprives the state of the full productive capacities of individuals, foments strife and unrest, menaces the democratic institutions of the state, and damages the interests, rights, and privileges of all persons within the state.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Equal access to employment opportunities is the greatest need of minority persons today. Persons who are unemployed or under-utilized because of their race, color, religion, or national origin do not have the opportunity to contribute their full productive capacities toward a better life for themselves, their families, and for the whole society. Discrimination in employment practices is a continuing problem in Kentucky and is a problem which a Kentucky fair employment practices law can help remedy. Certainly, the continuation of Kentucky's business and industrial growth without racial friction is one reason for passage of the Act.

Coverage

Employment discrimination is covered by article three of the Act. Basically Sections 302 through 306 state that race, color, religion, and national origin are not lawful criteria for making employment decisions. Like the Federal Law, employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations will be covered by the Act. Employers hiring 8 or more employees within the State in each of twenty or more weeks in the calendar year will be covered. Thus, 80% of Kentucky's employees and 22% of employers will be covered.

The smaller employees of the state will not be covered by the Act. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will cover employers hiring 25 or more employees, to be fully effective in 1968. This would exclude most of Kentucky's employers (93%) and a very large percentage of Kentucky employees (40%). Kentucky should act to protect as many employees from discrimination as possible.

Equal Treatment Based on Individual Merit

It is made clear in the Act that an employer can use seniority and merit systems and can make employment decisions on the basis of professionally developed ability tests. One section makes its doubly clear that nothing in the Act requires preferential treatment for any person or group; all that is required is equality of treatment based on individual merit.

Reasonable Provisions for Exemptions

Religious institutions, including church related or supported educational institutions, will be able to exercise a religious preference in choosing their employees where religion is a reasonable occupational qualification. However, race, color, and national origin will not be considered valid qualifications in these cases.

Similar provisions allow the exercise of preferences based on religion or national origin for an employer, employment agency, or labor organization where such qualifications are reasonably necessary to the normal operation of the enterprise.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS PROVISIONS

The Kentucky Act will apply generally to places of public accommodation which serve the public. Its clear coverage will be fair to proprietors because it will apply equally to all businesses. This Uniform rule will help to eliminate anxiety and avoid incidents.

With certain exceptions it will cover places of public accommodation, including ". . . any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed which supplies goods or services to the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds."

In Title II of the Federal Act of 1964, services, places of active amusement and recreational facilities such as bowling alleys, skating rinks, and driving ranges are not all covered. Under the state Act, these loopholes will be eliminated.

Experience with state public accommodations laws has shown that it is best to word coverage provisions in general terms. Earlier laws contained detailed lists of the kinds of covered establishments. No list can possibly name all of the changing forms of enterprise created by American business ingenuity. As a result, the detailed coverage sections have required frequent amendments.

Chapter Four of the Kentucky Act covers discrimination in places of public accommodation. The places which are required not to discriminate are defined in Section 402 (a). Exceptions are made in Section 402 (a) for barber shops, beauty shops, owner occupied tourist homes of 5 rooms or less, and bona fide private clubs (where policies are actually determined by members and admission is limited to members and their guests). These exemptions are provided in the light of practical, political conditions in Kentucky today and are similar to those in the Federal Act.

IMPLEMENTATION AND EMFORCEMENT

Persuasion the Key to Compliance

The legislation will emphasize efforts at persuasion and conciliation by the Commission on Human Rights. Only where these methods failed will the Commission be required to hold hearings. The whole enforcement procedure in Article 5 is based on the best available methods followed by

other state agencies. Many of the procedures are taken from the Model State Administrative Procedure Act.

The duties and obligations of the Commission are spelled out in detail in Section 502. The procedure for complaint, investigation, and conciliation is covered in Section 503. Section 502 (a) states who may file a complaint and sets a limit of six months within which a complaint must be filed. Employment complaints have an even shorter time limit of 90 days.

Upon receiving a complaint, the Commission will conduct a preliminary investigation to determine if there is probable cause to believe that an unlawful discrimination has occurred. If probable cause is found, the Commission must proceed to encourage complaince by conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

Experience has shown that conciliation activities effectively settle nearly all cases. If these efforts fail, the Commission would serve a complaint upon the respondent (Section 504), hold a hearing, and subpoena witnesses and documents. All hearings are to be conducted in accordance with strict procedures specified by the Act.

Advantages of Commission Procedures

Based on experience in other states most of the Commission's work will continue to be devoted to educational efforts to encourage voluntary compliance. The Commission would facilitate smooth change by sharing with employers and proprietors the wide-spread experience of other Kentucky businessmen who have successfully desegregated. When complaints are filed, the preliminary investigations under the Act can help screen out baseless charges and protect businessmen from harassment, and from unjustified legal defenses. When the complaint is justified, a mandatory conference, conciliation

and persuasion procedure must be followed. The conciliation efforts are strictly confidential, and the vast majority of complaints are settled at this stage without publicity.

Kentuckians who are familiar with problems throughout the State make up the Commission. They have been working for five years to encourage voluntary equal treatment and have built up a large body of experience in these matters. Four Commission members, including the Chairman, are to be appointed by the Governor in 1966, and the bill provides new language to insure bi-partisan representation of employers, proprietors, trade unions, religious groups, human rights groups, and the general public.

Protection of Employer's and Complainant's Rights

A member of the Commission who filed a complaint or who endeavored to eliminate the alleged discrimination will be barred from participating in a hearing or subsequent deliberation in that case (Section 504 b). This separation between the investigative and hearing functions of the Commission will assure the fairness of the procedure. After hearing, the Commission could issue a cease and desist order upon a finding that the law had been violated. The final orders of the Commission could be reviewed and enforced in the local circuit courts.

If, on the other hand, the Commission staff determines after investigation that there was no probable cause, then the complaint will be dismissed (Section 503 b and c). The complainant has a right to appeal this decision to the full Commission and to appeal a decision of the Commission to the courts. Safeguards to protect the rights of employers and complainants from arbitrary action by the Commission at any stage of the process are included in Section 507. The availability of judicial review is an integral part of the process and is available to any party who feels that he has been aggrieved by a decision of the Commission.

Avoidance of Record Keeping Burdens

To avoid undue burdens on persons subject to the Act, Section 508 (e) provides that necessary information keeping will conform to similar records and reports already required by federal law and government contract regulations. For the purpose of uniformity and in the interest of multi-state employers, the state could adopt the regulations of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on this matter. A public hearing must precede adoption of such regulations. Under Section 508 (d) an employer who believed the provisions would result in "undue hardship" could ask the Commission for relief or bring an action in circuit court.

Procedures for Subpoenas

The Act provides subpoena procedures for the Commission in Section 502 (i) and upon application to parties to a Commission hearing in Section 509. Subpoenas are necessary to enable all parties to present their evidence. All the normal judicial safeguards surround this process. Careful limits on relevancy are written into the Act. Before a court would enforce a subpoena the Commission would have to prove that the witnesses or documents sought pertain to possible unlawful discriminatory practices. Thus, general fishing expeditions can not be made. In Kentucky, other state commissions which exercise similar functions, (such as the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the Department of Health), can issue subpoenas and they have proven necessary.

Article 6 makes retaliation and conspiracy to retaliate against anyone exercising rights guaranteed by this Act an unlawful practice punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment. The Act as a whole provides for civil remedies and this sanction is only for situations where a person is not otherwise covered.

LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS

All levels of government have an obligation to protect their citizens from the evils of discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and this Act provide for local implementation of non-discrimination policies where local agencies have sufficient enforcement power and staff for good faith implementation.

Enabling legislation for the highly desirable local efforts to eliminate discrimination is provided in Article 7. It will supplement the Act passed by the General Assembly in 1962 to encourage establishment of local human rights commissions and permit local governing bodies to give them additional duties. Counties will be authorized to create commissions and cities and counties could then legally cooperate to eliminate discriminatory practices. Cities and counties could pass ordinances which will be enforceable in circuit courts of the state. Before the Act, a city could only use criminal sanctions in police courts.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Act contains several features which experience in other states has shown to be significant. The employment section applies to "the State, any of its political or civil subdivisions or agencies;" (Section 201). Discriminatory advertising is prohibited in employment, (Section 306) and in public accommodations (Section 403). Commission members can initiate complaints under the provisions of Section 502 (h) and 503 (a). The Commission can provide by regulation for the posting of notices regarding coverage of the Act, Section 502 (n). Efforts to weaken the Act by requiring a trial de novo, and a showing of "intentional" discrimination were not successful.

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The 1960 General Assembly created the Commission and directed it, among its other powers and duties, to recommend ways of eliminating injustices occasioned by discrimination. On the basis of its five years of efforts to eliminate discrimination by voluntary methods, the Commission recommended the enactment of a public accommodations and employment law. This digest seeks to explain that law.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

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U. S. POSTAGE
2 7/8¢ PAID
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AGRIBUSINESS and its Workers

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor
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The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor acknowledges the valuable assistance of the following people in the preparation of this pamphlet:

GAIL HERSHBERGER, *Administrative Assistant, National Sharecroppers Fund*

SUE KEISKER, *former Research Associate, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor*

ROBIN MYERS, *Research Consultant, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor*

WALTER SIMCICH, *Research Economist, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO*

October, 1963

Introduction

Few problems in American society have persisted so stubbornly as those of the people who live on and from the land: working farmers, farm workers, and migrants. Poverty and endemic unemployment, with their attendant conditions of poor health and housing, child labor and meager education, have been discovered and publicized, but more lamented than changed. An estimated one hundred and fifty attempts in this century to improve these conditions by legislation and administrative action have resulted in scant progress.

This curious pattern was analyzed by the late Lloyd Fisher, one of the country's outstanding students of agricultural economics:

> **Reform is more frequently a problem of power than of knowledge. The unpleasant and even shocking facts of disease and malnutrition, the brutalizing effects of poverty, are well enough known to lie heavily on the conscience of large sections of the American public. One of the curious characteristics of this problem is that the facts are rediscovered every few years. It is testimony to the drama and eloquence of the facts that we have not yet become altogether accustomed to them and they still have power to awaken conscience and even guilt.**
>
> **But conscience can only put the issues; it is political power that resolves them. Therefore a hiatus has existed, a persistent hiatus between intent and accomplishment.[1]**

Farm workers have neither economic nor political power. They are unorganized and must rely on friends to speak for them. Most often they are disfranchised: by race, by lack of permanent residence, by poverty and ignorance.

But, in contrast, the financial giants who hire by far the greatest number of farm workers are, according to former Secretary of Labor Mitchell, the "toughest lobby" he ever faced. They have been able to keep their workers outside the protection and benefits of social legislation that other American workers have enjoyed for decades.

Such special interests have been forced to yield to a greater public good many times in our history. An informed public could insist that farm workers receive the same rights and benefits as other American workers. But the existence of these special interests in agriculture has not been sufficiently recognized or understood. The popular picture is still that of a hard-working, hard-pressed family farmer; and the corporations that control the farms where most farm workers are employed have hidden successfully behind this image. They have fostered the belief that nothing can be done to help farm workers without hurting the family farmer. So they have escaped footing a bill which they owe and can well afford to pay.

This pamphlet is an examination of American agriculture in an attempt to show who exploits farm workers, how this is done, and what remedies lie within the power of a concerned public.

Facts of Life for Farm Workers

"Forgotten Americans"

All the problems of farm workers are related to the fact that they have the lowest wage rates and total earnings and the highest unemployment rates of any group in the United States working force.

The average total income for all farm workers (excluding casual workers employed for less than 25 days) has varied little in the past three years. Their income from both farm and nonfarm work was $1,125 in 1960; in 1961 it had dropped to $1,054; and in 1962 it rose again to $1,164. The average earnings of migrants in 1962 were $874 from farm work, and $1,123 if nonfarm work is included.[2]

Unemployment and underemployment are increasing, due to agriculture's irregular and seasonal labor requirements, the spread of mechanization, and greater use of chemicals to control weed growth. The average number of days worked in agriculture by all farm workers in 1962 was 137, and by migrants, 116.[3] Much of this enforced idleness—waiting for a crop to ripen or for the rain to stop—takes place away from home where leisure cannot be put to productive or personal use.

Farm labor families are plagued by poor health, and by diseases related to poor diet and unsanitary living and working conditions.[4] Their work is frequently hazardous, and agriculture usually ranks as the third or fourth most dangerous occupation in terms of job-connected accidents.

Because of low family incomes, hundreds of thousands of children, many of them not yet teenagers, work in the fields, often on days when they should be in school.

. . . I saw families working — father, mother, older children, and youngsters who could not have been more than eight or nine. Hanging down from their belts and between their legs were open sacks into which they thrust

A grape picker's "residence" outside Fresno; packing boxes serve as beds. *Photo by George Ballis*

". . . lacks one or more of the conveniences . . ."

potatoes with unbelievable speed. The hands of the adults moved like machines, each hand seemingly guided by a separate force. Some moved so rapidly it was hard to follow them. The young children worked at a slower pace, and as the sacks grew heavy they found them more and more difficult to drag. . . . As I watched them work, my companion told me that several weeks earlier a baby had died in a prune orchard. Its parents had been picking and the baby, a six-weeks old infant, was lying on a blanket nearby. The coroner said death was from malnutrition and too much exposure to heat.[5]

The amount of time spent in travel and away from home cuts into school work, too. It is no wonder that the children of migrant workers are often years behind their normal grade. Thus they lose out on the education and training that could prepare them for other occupations and for a better livelihood than that of their parents. Farm workers are the only group whose educational achievements have not advanced in the past twenty years. The median of years of school completed by male farm laborers 18 years of age and over was 7.6 years in 1940 and only 7.7 years in 1959.[6]

Farm housing varies. But much of it lacks one or more of the conveniences long taken for granted in most American homes: electricity, heat, ventilation, hot and cold running water, sanitary facilities.

. . . In Hastings, Fla., the heart of the state's potato belt, I bunked for two days in a near-collapsed, insect-infested shanty for which I was compelled to pay $1.50 a night. Next door in an even more dilapidated hovel lived a married couple whose 2-month-old baby had been born there. They paid $10 a week.

The infant wailed endlessly from dawn to darkness in its makeshift crib, a cardboard cabbage carton, as flies and potato bugs crawled in and out of its mouth and nostrils. A ragged burlap potato sack served as the baby's blanket.

But Florida has no corner on squalor. Near Hightstown, N.J., less than 20 miles from Trenton, the state capital, I found seven men and women tomato pickers — none of them related — living in filth in a 10-foot square tarpaper shack for which they were charged $10 a week for rent.[7]

Some of the states that pride themselves on their fine new housing for farm workers — notably California — have built it all, barracks-like, for single men, with no provision for families.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of farm workers' deprivation is the deliberate way in which they have been excluded from the legal protections that Americans have agreed other workers need: a minimum wage; a ban on child labor; a guarantee of the right

to organize in unions and bargain collectively; disability insurance (in all but one state); and compulsory workmen's compensation (in all but a few).

Why Do They Stay?

Given such conditions, why does anyone apply for farm work? The answer is often lack of any alternative means of earning a living. Some farm workers are born to it, disadvantaged as children, and lacking the elementary training to move into other work. Some are forced into it: the dustbowl tragedy moved many Anglos off dead land and after crops wherever they might be; and as the agricultural revolution liquidates sharecropping and as marginal small farmers go under, they try to stick to the work they know.

Some have additional disadvantages which aggravate their poverty and ignorance. It is no coincidence that most migrants and seasonal workers in agriculture today are either Negroes or Mexican-Americans. Other minorities, including American Indians, are also well represented. Seasonal workers in agriculture tend to be the poorest and most defenseless of the work force: people with limited access to other occupations, with little education or opportunity for education; people handicapped by race, language, and cultural differences.

To be sure, some people working in agriculture prefer farm work to other jobs. They like working out-of-doors, prefer country to city, find dealing with growing plants creative, and love the soil. For most of these, their dream is a farm of their own — their more practical hope, a year-round farm job.

But few like the conditions of life and work, and most find less and less work available to them in agriculture. Migrants from the south often remain in northern areas after the season. But north or south, unskilled and semiskilled jobs which they might fill are disappearing from the urban economy, as farms are disappearing from the rural scene. The prospect of getting out of farm work must seem as dismal to them as the prospect of staying in.

In seeking governmental approval for importation of foreign workers, farm employers have protested that domestic workers will not do "stoop labor" or that there are not enough domestics. The actual situation is just the reverse: there is not enough work to go around. Moreover, the American economy embraces many trades that are just as hot, just as dirty, just as backbreaking as farm labor, and all are plied by American workers. But no work is so ill-rewarded.

Agribusiness vs. the Family Farm

Two patterns of agriculture have existed in this country almost from the beginning: the family farm, which became the national ideal, and the plantation, its very antithesis.

As late as 1910, one out of every three Americans lived on a farm which he or his family owned. Until about fifty years ago this family farm produced mainly for home consumption, marketing any surplus to buy necessities which the farm itself could not supply.

When more labor than their own was needed, farmers called upon neighboring families whom they would help out in turn. When help was needed over a longer period of time, a hired man was employed, usually on a year-round basis. He might well be the son of a neighbor, earning money to set up for himself. If single, he was apt to live in the farmer's home and take his meals at the family table. If married, he and his wife might be provided with a house and a plot of ground to grow their own vegetables. Farmer and hired man had similar social background and outlook, and worked as equals.

The plantation economy presented a very different picture. Huge enterprises, growing cash crops for sale in distant markets, were worked not by the owner and his family but by large numbers of landless workers with no rights and no prospects of becoming farm owners. Emancipation did not change the basic economy. Former slaves became sharecroppers, and gradually some became tenant farmers. Many of their descendants who remained in rural areas have become day-haul farm workers or migrants. Relatively few have succeeded as independent farm owners.

As farming was changed by mechanization into a business requiring greater capital investment than most individual farmers could afford, labor relationships changed further and absentee ownership grew. An apt description of the change was given by

Wells A. Sherman, former chief marketing specialist of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

> **. . . Mass production has thus brought about what may be called the mechanization of the human element in the industry. The harvesting gangs are called in when wanted just as the tractor and the gang plow are brought out of the shed when needed.[8]**

This new kind of farming, aptly called "agribusiness," is really an extension and elaboration of the old plantation system. Spreading into other sections of the country, and often into areas which had previously been characterized by family farming, it combined the new feature of heavy capital investment in machinery with the old reliance on a large supply of cheap labor. Sometimes this new pattern in agriculture is openly discussed by agribusinessmen. A 1961 series, "Trends in California Agriculture," printed in the *Los Angeles Times,* noted:

> **. . . Farming in California today is a far cry from the pastoral scene of haystacks and horse-drawn plows. The farmer who isn't prepared to invest thousands of dollars in heavy equipment, or to contract for services he can't perform himself, simply isn't going to do much more than perhaps feed his own family.**
>
> **In the words of one observer, farming here "is usually an intensive, specialized, commercial undertaking conducted for the purpose of obtaining income from the employment of labor, managerial ability and capital."**
>
> * * *
>
> **"Agribusiness" is the term used to describe the new look in California farming today, and its meaning is fairly self evident. If he is not a multimillionaire entrepreneur with offices in Los Angeles or San Francisco, the farmer must at least be a competent businessman capable of making large capital outlays and directing his operations in the fashion of a corporate executive. . . .[9]**

On other occasions, this trend is carefully ignored or obscured. The identification of the agribusinessman with the working farmer is most often substituted for fact when agribusiness faces an attempt to extend fair labor practices to agricultural employment. The outgoing president of the Western Growers Association, E. B. (Swede) Antonell, has said:

> **Legislators of the past, in their wisdom recognized the need of an unfettered and unregulated agricultural industry — unregulated in so far as wages, hours and unionism were concerned but regulated to the point where both farmer and public would benefit.**
>
> **Because the farmer is at the mercy of the elements, where he could be burned out one day, frozen out the next, flooded the following day and could conceivably lose his entire crop, the legislators have exempted him**

> **from many of the regulations which govern staple manufacturing.**
>
> **The farmer's day begin [sic] before sunup and ends when his work is done, be it 7 p.m. or 12 p.m., and most farmers admit generally to working two normal shifts every 24 hours. . . .[10]**

Such a farmer is apt to regard himself, in the words of Lloyd Fisher, as

> **. . . a natural agent of the forces of freedom, which he is more likely to define as freedom to raise, harvest, and market his crop than as freedom of speech and assembly for those whose stake in society is less than his own.[11]**

The *Los Angeles Times* of February 16, 1961, has provided an appropriate footnote on freedom:

> **Cocking anxious eyes at the explosive farm labor dispute in Imperial Valley, city councilmen in this farming community [Fountain Valley] have passed laws which they admit are designed to avert union demonstrations, including picketing. . . .**
>
> **Mayor Kanno said the laws, while new to the comparatively new city of Fountain Valley, are similar to others in effect in most of the older Orange County communities.**

The Agricultural Revolution

The transformation of agriculture has been largely unnoticed by the average citizen who lives in an urban environment and has little direct contact with rural America. But in the country it is impossible not to see the change to fewer and larger farms and the increasing crop specialization. Along with this has come the displacement of some two million farm operators and their families within a decade, and the seasonal arrival and departure of large numbers of nonlocal laborers. Farms are mortgaged, stores sold, churches and schools closed, as families move off the land.

Technological developments have accelerated the pace. Rapid transportation, refrigeration, and new techniques of food preservation enable today's farmer to specialize in crops best fitted for the soil and climatic conditions of his particular farm. The pattern of fairly even labor requirements stretching over most of the year has changed into one of concentrated need at planting and harvest times.

Labor-saving machinery, improved fertilizers, crop-dusters, and other technical advances have resulted in a dramatic increase of farm goods produced with less physical effort than ever before. In 1910, a farm worker produced enough food and fiber for seven

A Factory in the Field

persons. By 1960, despite a substantial increase in per capita consumption, each farm worker produced enough goods to meet the needs of 24 people. Between 1950 and 1960 alone, farm output rose nearly 85 per cent.[12]

In the same decade, the number of farms in the United States dropped from 5.4 million to 3.7 million.[13] In other words, nearly a third of the people engaged in farming twelve years ago no longer make their living as farm operators, and most of those still trying are in serious financial trouble.

In October, 1962, the Department of Agriculture estimated that gross sales of $13,400 annually were required to return an income of only $2,500 to the farm family, and $26,800 to return $5,000,[14] which more nearly approaches an adequate income. This is a considerable rise since the 1959 census of agriculture, when $10,000 would return $2,500; yet only 21.5 per cent of the farms sold that much.

Clearly, many more farmers, and still more of their children, will have to leave the land – whether they want to or not – in order to earn a decent living. Their problem is often compounded by lack of resources, education, and alternative skills, so that they must choose between low-paid and sporadic employment in agriculture and the diminishing number of unskilled nonfarm jobs.

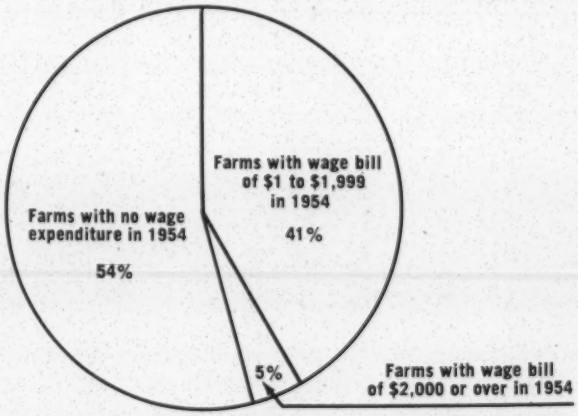
Modern agriculture's remarkable achievements in production have thus brought with them increasing difficulties for people.

Photo by Grant E. Averill

Who Hires Farm Labor?

The public image of family-farm agriculture is so strong that it is family farmers who are widely assumed to benefit by freedom from social legislation. Hiding behind this powerful image are the giant agribusiness corporations.

Less than 9 per cent of all the nation's farmers own nearly 40 per cent of all farm land. They account for more than 30 per cent of all cropland harvested and nearly 50 per cent of farm sales. *And they pay more than two-thirds of the total farm wage bill.*[15]



U.S. Department of Labor: Hired Farm Workers in the United States, June, 1961; p. 6.

These are the farms that employ the vast majority of hired farm workers. These are the farm employers that are still pressing for the importation of foreign workers. These are the employers who would have to pay a minimum wage if farm workers were treated like other workers under the law.

A few of these farms are so fabulous as to defy imagination. One such enterprise – it can hardly be called a farm – is the Kern

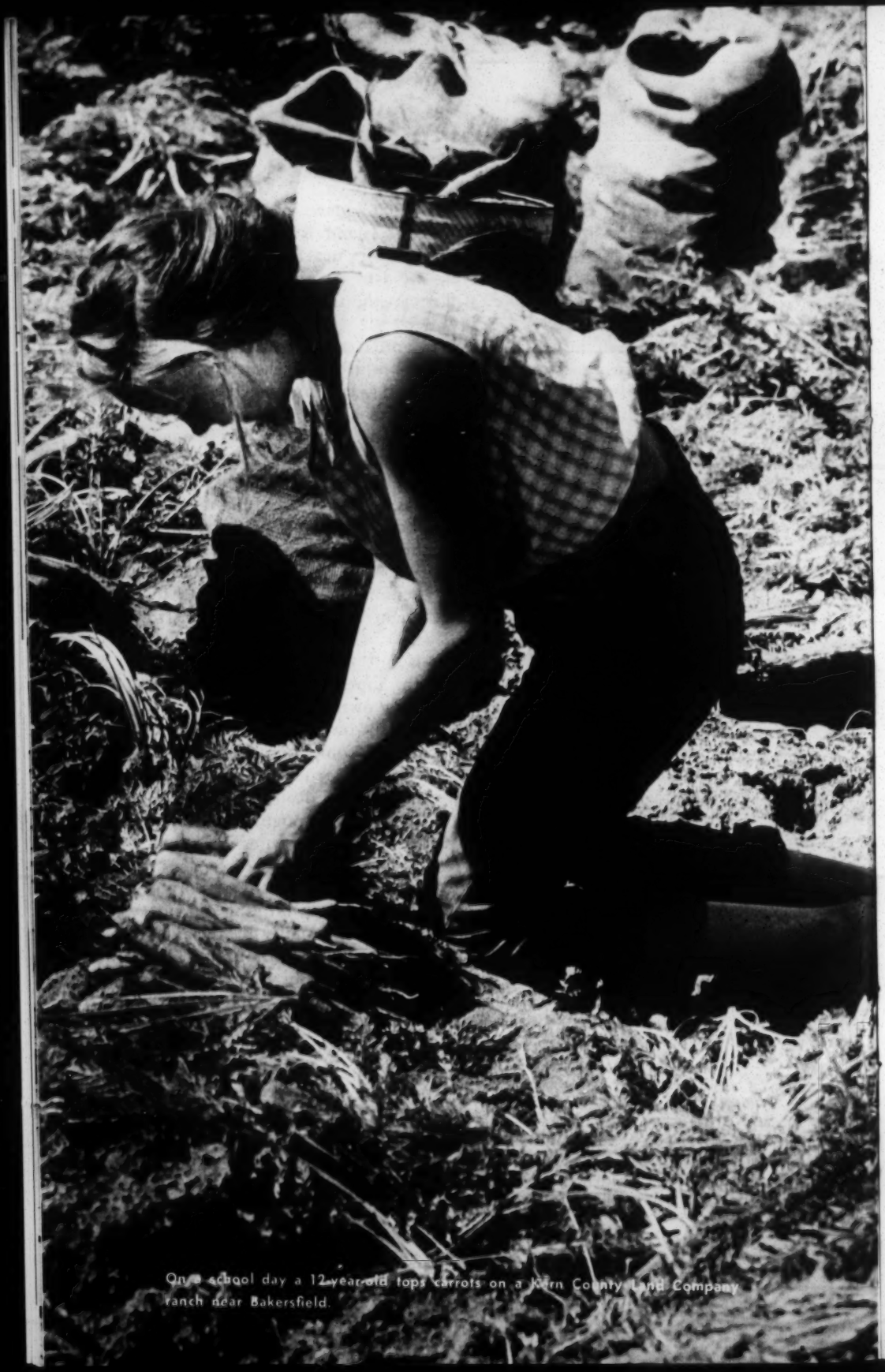
County Land Company. It owns 2,800 square miles of land, an area twice the size of the state of Rhode Island. KCLC owns land in 14 states. Its cattle division alone occupies nearly a million and a half acres in Arizona and New Mexico. At the very least, the company owns nearly 350,000 acres in the Central Valley of California.[16]

KCLC itself farms 11,000 acres and it leases another 116,000. The company has some 250 tenants who are technically sharecroppers, since they pay rent in kind – for instance, in cotton. But, according to *Fortune,* "the tenants look less like sharecroppers than like 'agribusinessmen.' " Many of them work through partnerships or corporations, and about four-fifths of them farm other land in addition to their KCLC leaseholds. Several own as many as 10,000 acres; these holdings, together with their leased lands, make them bigger farm producers than KCLC itself. A number of tenants are KCLC stockholders. Several (including the family of W. B. Camp, treasurer of the United States Chamber of Commerce) have private planes. Tenant operations are heavily mechanized, and the capital investment of some tenants runs to $250,000.[17]

Kern County Land Company is not unique, although it is probably the largest of its kind. In Southern California, large landownerships predominate, and the owners are often far removed from agriculture. Standard Oil owns 218,485.48 acres, 5.5 per cent of the total, and other oil companies account for 264,678.64 acres, or 6.6 per cent. Southern Pacific Railroad owns 201,851.75 acres, or 5.1 per cent; the Tejon Ranch, 168,531.07 acres, or 4.2 per cent. These are the largest, but roughly two-thirds of Southern California land is in the hands of owners of more than 1,000 acres apiece.[18]

Agriculture in Arizona is even more the product of corporate investment than it is in California. Specialty-crop farming did not begin there until water was made available, usually by reclamation projects financed largely or entirely by federal funds. The completion of Roosevelt Dam in 1911, followed by the expanded markets opened to United States farmers in World War I, marked the beginning.

The average Arizona grower-shipper, according to the 1962 *Yearbook* of the *Western Grower and Shipper,* invests about $600,000 annually in growing, harvesting, and packing his crop. The 1959 Census of Agriculture reported that the total vegetable crop sales for the state that year amounted to $37.5 million, of which all but $1.5 million went to 180 farms, or only 2.5 per cent of the state's farms.



On a school day a 12-year-old tops carrots on a Kern County Land Company ranch near Bakersfield.

Photo by George Ballis

Since the inception of the industry in Arizona, control has been concentrated in, and profits have redounded to, a few large companies located for the most part outside the state. For example:

> **In the early 1930s, three firms — Gerrard, AFG [American Fruit Growers, which succeeded Crutchfield and Woolfolk] and Stanley [The Stanley Fruit Company, apparently local] — controlled about half of the total cantaloupe and honeydew melon acreages; and five, including those three and Sawdey & Hent [of Los Angeles and Imperial Valley] and Western Vegetable Distributors [owned by two Denver men] had from 40 to 50 per cent of the total lettuce each year.[19]**

Photo by George Ballis

County Closeups

Because agriculture varies widely from one section of the country to another, the picture for the nation as a whole cannot be gained in any one locale. The three brief closeups which follow are of particular interest because of the large number of farm workers hired in these counties and because gross farm income in the counties is considerably higher than the national average.

Fresno County

Fresno County, California, has for some years had the distinction of being the richest farm county in the nation. About 23 per cent of the farms had wage bills of $5,000 or more, and these paid an estimated 82 per cent of the total county farm wage bill. Seventeen per cent of all farms in Fresno reported no hired labor, and another 25 per cent reported annual labor costs of less than $1,000.

An unusual amount of information about the hired farm working force in the county is available because of a survey conducted by the Fresno Community Council in 1959. The survey found that wages on the large "West Side" farms generally ran from 75 to 95 cents an hour. Wages on the smaller farms on the east side of the Valley averaged a dollar an hour or more. A large majority (73 per cent) of the families estimated that their financial status was at the same level as or below that of their parents.[20]

Some of the less fortunate farm workers of Fresno were described in a report in *The New York Times,* July 30, 1961:

> **Baking in the 110-degree heat on the west side of California's lush Central Valley forty miles from Fresno lies a fetid cluster of fifty shacks. Here, in the heart of the nation's richest farm country, 400 members of farm labor families are sweating out the harvest season in eighteenth-century conditions. Most of the one-room shacks have eight to ten occupants. One spigot supplies water for the entire camp. . . .**

TABLE I—WHO GETS WHAT

Fresno County, California

Farms reporting: 8,293; total value of farm products sold: $276,005,040; average sales per farm: $33,254

	Range of Sales	*Number of Farms Reporting*	*Per cent of Farms Reporting*	*Estimated Average Sales*	*Estimated Total Sales*	*Estimated Per cent of County Sales*
Class I	**$40,000 or more**	**1,142**	**13.7**	**$168,611.24**	**$192,554,040**	**69.7**
Class II	**$20,000 — $39,999**	**1,299**	**15.6**	**30,000.00**	**38,970,000**	**14.1**
Class III	**$10,000 — $19,999**	**1,845**	**22.2**	**15,000.00**	**27,675,000**	**10.0**
Class IV	**$5,000 —$9,999**	**1,516**	**18.2**	**7,500.00**	**11,370,000**	**4.1**
Class V	**$2,500 — $4,999**	**913**	**11.9**	**3,750.00**	**3,423,750**	**1.2**
Class VI	**$50 — $2,499**	**1,578**	**18.9**	**1,275.00**	**2,012,250**	**.7**

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 48, p. 189; 4,007 farms, or 49% of farms reporting, have sales below the $10,000 minimum level estimated by the USDA as the level of sales needed in 1959 to return net farm incomes of $2,500. An estimated two-thirds of Class II farms have sales below the county average. This would mean the total number of farms selling less than the county average amounts to about 81.2% of farms in the county.

Note on procedure: Total sales for each group of farms are estimated by assuming the midpoint of its range of sales to be the average. Since the total county sales are reported in the Census, the total sales for farms selling $40,000 or more was obtained by subtracting the totals for the other sub-groups from the known county total.

WHO CONTROLS THE LAND

Total acres of cropland harvested: 910,508; 249 farms (2.9% of county total) are reported to be 1,000 acres or larger. These farms account for 509,095 acres, or 55.9% of all cropland harvested. The 137 farms (1.8% of county total) reported to be 2,000 acres or larger account for 406,759 acres, or 44.6% of all cropland harvested. Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 48, p. 175.

TABLE II—WHO HIRES FARM LABOR

Fresno County, California

Total number of farms: 8,345; total farm wage bill: $51,360,482

Farm Labor Expenditures	*Number of Farms Reporting*	*Per cent of Farms Reporting*	*Estimated Average Wage Bill*	*Estimated Total Wage Bill*	*Estimated Per cent of County Wage Bill*
None	**1,424**	**17.0**	.....	.....	.....
Under $1,000	**2,059**	**24.6**	**$ 500.00**	**$ 1,029,500**	**2.0**
$1,000 — $2,499	**1,543**	**18.4**	**1,750.00**	**2,695,250**	**5.2**
$2,500 — $4,999	**1,432**	**17.1**	**3,750.00**	**5,370,000**	**10.4**
$5,000 and up	**1,887**	**22.6**	**22,398.00**	**42,265,732**	**82.2**

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol 1, Part 48.

Note on procedure: County data in the Census of Agriculture are not as refined as state and national data. Many items are reported for counties only in terms of intervals rather than absolute figures, and it is therefore necessary to make estimates.

Total hired farm labor expenditures for each group are estimated by assuming the midpoint of its range of farm labor expenditures to be the average. Since the total expenditure for the county is given and the number of farms reporting hired labor is given by intervals, the estimate of total expenditures for farms paying $5,000 or more in wages was obtained by subtracting the estimated totals for the other subgroups from the total county farm wage bill.

The shacks at Three Rocks, in the words of the camp operator Raymond Minnite, "aren't worth a dime and aren't fit to live in or sleep in." Yet he charges $15 a month rent for each unit. . . .

Imperial County

Contrasts between large and small farmers in Imperial County, California, the nation's fifth richest farm county, are even more startling. Imperial County lies just north of the Mexican border. Sixty years ago the area was a worthless desert. Now some of the largest agribusiness corporations in the nation have farms and packing facilities there. Much as in Arizona, farming operations are largely dependent upon a water supply from projects built and financed by American taxpayers.

Twenty-five per cent of all the Valley farms use no hired labor, and 15 per cent more use little or none. At the other end of the scale, nearly 43 per cent of the farms pay an estimated 97 per cent of the county farm wage bill. Annual sales per farm for the county as a whole average $141,802. Yet 40 per cent of the farms sell less than the $10,000 required in 1959 for an annual income of $2,500; thus it is the sales of the others, well into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, which bring the average up so high.

A vivid description of agribusiness in the Imperial Valley was given on March 20, 1961, in the *Los Angeles Times,* a newspaper owned by a family which also has large ranch holdings:

Herb Lee, the personable young vice president of Brock Ranches, can look out the big window of his modern new office and, without moving, watch the asparagus that helps pay his salary go from ground to packing crate. Set in the midst of cropland a few miles southwest of El Centro, the seat of California's Imperial County, the quarter-million dollar packing shed of which Lee's office is a part exemplifies agribusiness at its best.

It symbolizes the complete merging of traditional farming, mechanized packing and managerial skill. It also points up the meticulous attention given by California grower-shippers these days to marketing attractive products. If they don't, they can't hope to compete on the eastern market with farmers in other regions whose fixed costs are considerably lower.

The big shed, which houses facilities for the packing of 6,000 ready-to-be-shipped crates of asparagus a day, most of all typifies the extent of industrialization among Imperial Valley farms.

* * *

TABLE III—WHO GETS WHAT

Imperial County, California

Farms reporting: 1,202; total value of farm products sold: $170,445,999; average sales per farm: $141,802

	Range of Sales	*Number of Farms Reporting*	*Per cent of Farms Reporting*	*Estimated Average Sales*	*Estimated Total Sales*	*Estimated Per cent of County Sales*
Class I	$4000 or more	519	43.1	$312,700.00	$162,291,474	95.2
Class II	$20,000 — $39,999	156	12.9	30,000.00	4,680,000	2.7
Class III	$10,000 — $19,999	132	10.9	15,000.00	1,980,000	1.1
Class IV	$5,000 — $9,999	123	10.2	7,500.00	922,500	.5
Class V	$2,500 — $4,999	91	7.5	3,750.00	341,250	.2
Class VI	$50 — $2,499	181	15.0	1,275.00	230,775	.1

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 48, p. 189; 683 of the 1,202 farms reporting, or 56.8%, have sales below the county average; 520 farms, or 39.8% of farms reporting, have sales below the $10,000 estimated by USDA as the level of sales needed in 1959 to return net farm income of $2,500.

See *Note on procedure,* Table I.

WHO CONTROLS THE LAND

Total acres of cropland harvested: 391,189; 120 farms (9.2% of county total) are reported to be 1,000 acres or larger. These farms account for 200,225 acres, or 51.2%, of all cropland harvested. Thirty-six farms, or 2.6%, report 2,000 or more acres. These farms account for 100,561 acres, or 25.7%, of all cropland harvested. Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 48, p. 175.

TABLE IV—WHO HIRES FARM LABOR

Imperial County, California

Total number of farms: 1,306; total farm wage bill: $22,028,564

Farm Labor Expenditures	*Number of Farms Reporting*	*Per cent of Farms Reporting*	*Estimated Average Wage Bill*	*Estimated Total Wage Bill*	*Estimated Per cent of County Wage Bill*
None	325	24.7	.....	.....	.....
Under $1,000	191	14.1	$ 500.00	$ 95,500	.4
$1,000 — $2,499	121	9.2	1,750.00	211,750	.9
$2,500 — $4,999	112	8.5	3,750.00	420,000	1.9
$5,000 and up	557	42.6	38,242.93	21,301,314	96.6

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 48, p. 200.

See *Note on procedure,* Table II.

A typically mechanized operation in the Imperial Valley is conducted by the Joe Maggio Co., whose carrot acreage there and near King City (some 400 miles north) produces 90 per cent of the commercial bunch carrots in the United States.

* * *

Although the firm's huge packing shed is used primarily for its own products, Maggio — and most similar operators — makes the most of his facility by contracting with smaller farms for the packing and shipping of their vegetables. Brock and Maggio illustrate the tendency among large growers to extend their operations into shipping and in a few cases, even processing and marketing. . . .

Another side of the picture was reported at March, 1963, hearings before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture. A minister who watched the trek of workers through California said, "We have been talking in terms of dollars and cents but what about the human values involved in all of this?"

My church sits on Highway 66. I have been told that it is the only church on Highway 66 for some 600 miles and I have 10 and 12 and 20 people a week coming to the door wanting help. I kept a record for a while. A third of them were migrant workers, either coming to California or leaving California, coming to California because they had heard how good the wages were out there for the farmworkers, and leaving because they found that the jobs were being taken by the braceros too often for them to earn a living for their families. . . .

Mention was made of the slums of New York. We have slums in Los Angeles too. But our slum dweller when he gets hungry can find something to eat and he can get a relief check and get some help, but the migrant worker too often has no help available, no place to go. He knocks on the door of my church and what can I tell him? There is no work? We have such a stream we can't feed you?[21]

Mississippi County

Mississippi County, Arkansas, the third illustrative county, is an area of great wealth and stark poverty. Arkansas is not usually considered a wealthy state. But the large cotton plantations in the Mississippi Delta occupy some of the richest soil in the nation.

Mississippi County is a leading cotton producer. Annual sales per farm average just under $20,000, but more than two-thirds of the farms fall below the average and nearly 60 per cent fail to sell $10,000 worth of farm goods. At the top, 13.6 per cent of the farms account for about 63 per cent of the total sales, with an estimated average of just under $90,000.

TABLE V—WHO GETS WHAT

Mississippi County, Arkansas

Farms reporting: 2,863; total value of farm products sold: $56,393,817; average sales per farm: $19,697

	Range of Sales	Number of Farms Reporting	Per cent of Farms Reporting	Estimated Average Sales	Estimated Total Sales	Estimated Per cent of County Sales
Class I	$40,000 or more	395	13.8	$ 88,640.04	$ 35,012,817	62.0
Class II	$20,000 — $39,999	267	9.3	30,000.00	8,010,000	14.2
Class III	$10,000 — $19,999	465	16.2	15,000.00	6,975,000	12.3
Class IV	$5,000 — $9,999	425	14.8	7,500.00	3,187,500	5.6
Class V	$2,500 — $4,999	621	21.6	3,750.00	2,328,750	4.1
Class VI	$50 — $2,499	1,578	1.89	1,275.00	879,750	1.5

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 34, p. 167; 1,736 farms, or 60.5% of farms reporting, have sales below the $10,000 estimated by the USDA as the level of sales needed in 1959 to return a net farm income of $2,500. An estimated 400 of the 465 Class III farms have sales below the county average of $19,697. This would mean that approximately 2,136 farms, or 74.6% of farms reporting, fall below the average sales per farm in this county.

See *Note on procedure,* Table I.

WHO CONTROLS THE LAND

Total acres of cropland harvested: 464,681; 103 farms (3.5% of county total) are reported to be 1,000 acres or larger. These farms account for 151,078 acres, or 32.5%, of all cropland harvested. The 23 farms of 2,000 acres or more account for 62,622 acres, or 13.3%, of all cropland harvested in the county. Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, Part 34, p. 147.

TABLE VI—WHO HIRES FARM LABOR

Mississippi County, Arkansas

Total number of farms: 2,904; total farm wage bill: $12,870,695

Farm Labor Expenditures	Number of Farms Reporting	Per cent of Farms Reporting	Estimated Average Wage Bill	Estimated Total Wage Bill	Estimated Per cent of County Wage Bill
None	791	27.7	.....	.....	.....
Under $1,000	871	29.9	$ 500.00	$ 435,500	3.3
$1,000 — $2,499	392	13.4	1,750.00	686,000	5.3
$2,500 — $4,999	265	9.1	3,750.00	993,750	7.7
$5,000 and up	585	20.1	18,385.37	10,755,445	84.2

Data taken from 1959 Census of Agriculture, Vol. Part 34, p. 179.

See *Note on procedure,* Table II.

More than one-fourth of the farms in the county hire no labor, and an additional 30 per cent have annual labor costs of less than $1,000. At the other end, 20 per cent of the farms pay an estimated 83.6 per cent of the total county farm wage bill.

These large cotton plantations in the Delta have for years paid the lowest wages in the nation. In 1961 a number of large plantations were reportedly paying 30 cents an hour or $3 for a 10-hour day (not counting travel time, although many of the workers came across the river from Memphis). The harvest rate itself remained $2.85 per hundred pounds for the entire period from 1950 to 1960.[22] Human labor was cheaper than machinery, and the present mechanization in the area is the employers' answer to attempts to raise the substandard wages of exploited workers. The Employment and Wage Supplement of the August, 1963, issue of *Farm Labor Market Developments* still showed areas in Arkansas with a 35-cent an hour wage rate, and other areas with only 40- and 50-cent hourly rates.

The poverty of the people who live here is hard for the average American to comprehend. In Mississippi County 40 per cent of the population (27,000 people) receive federal surplus food. Eligibility for this is, for a single person, an earned income of less than $900 a year; the cutoff point for families is $1,500.

The United States Representative from this district, E. C. Gathings, revealed why people can be persuaded to work for 30 cents an hour when he reported, "So they took that 17,000 [of the 27,000] off the rolls and said to them 'until such time as you get out there to help us harvest our crops, you cannot receive these foods.' "[23] (Gathings is a leading member of the House Agriculture Committee and is chairman of the subcommittee to which the Mexican labor importation program has been referred.)

Nor is Mississippi County unique in this practice. In nearby St. Francis County, at the same time as Gathings made his statement, 14,000 of the 19,000 on the food rolls were dropped. The headline in a local paper read: "County Judge Slashes Surplus Food List to Provide Local Labor for Cotton Harvest."[24]

Workers from Abroad

The kind of economic pressure described in the section on Mississippi County is one reason for the lowest wages in the nation. But it is not the whole explanation. In 1948 the average wage for picking cotton in Arkansas was $3.25 per hundred pounds, and some pickers earned as much as $4.00.[25] In the fall of 1949, Mexican contract workers were introduced, and by 1950 wages had dropped to $2.85, a rate that prevailed for a decade. Such a wage freeze, while wages in other industries were rising, will take years to overcome even after the Mexican program has been terminated.

One of the consequences has been to drive domestic workers away. A *New York Times* article of February 26, 1961, reported some examples. A middle-aged farmer named Glen Horn, from the Clay City area, said that he and his wife and children had been forced by economic necessity to migrate five times to the state of Washington to work in the orchards there. Washington is nearly 2,500 miles from this man's home. Just three counties away in his home state he could have chopped cotton at the time for forty cents an hour. Small wonder that the growers reported a labor shortage in the area and obtained 6,000 Mexican contract workers! Another migrant, Calvin Stone, was quoted in the same article: "Wish we could all find something so we didn't have to go. I don't believe there's anybody around these parts who wouldn't work right here if they had a chance."

But widespread employment of foreign workers and a rapid increase in mechanization have combined to produce a high rate of rural unemployment. Since 1959, displacement through mechanization of the cotton harvest alone has added up to man hours equivalent to the labor of at least a quarter of a million workers.[26]

More than 70% of the U.S.A. cotton crop in 1963 picked by machine.

The Mexican Contract Labor Program

Despite the concerted efforts of many civic, labor, and religious organizations to prevent an extension of the Mexican contract labor program beyond its expiration date of December 31, 1963, the United States Senate, on July 15, 1963, passed a one-year extension bill. And although the House of Representatives had earlier rejected a proposal to extend the program for two years, the one-year extension may well gain approval. The new Senate bill does contain several stipulations which would provide domestic farm workers with some of the same protections currently given the Mexicans – namely, workmen's compensation or occupational insurance, housing and transportation expenses, and a guaranteed minimum amount of work. While these protections, if accepted in the House and enacted into law, will serve to narrow the existing differential between the working conditions of domestic and Mexican workers, many of the adverse effects of the program will, nevertheless, continue even beyond its termination. Therefore, a brief analysis of the program and its effects is indicated.

The depressing effect on wage rates cited in respect to the Arkansas harvest could be duplicated wherever braceros are used. At the March, 1963, Congressional Committee hearings on bills to extend Public Law 78 (the Mexican contract labor program), these figures were presented:

> **In California's desert and border counties, San Diego, Imperial and East Riverside, a composite farm wage index using 1952 as 100, shows more than a 3-percent decline by 1959. In the Imperial Valley an hourly wage rate of 70 cents stood unchanged until 1960. Agricultural wages in this same area, as a percentage of manufacturing wages in San Diego County, show a decline from 41.5 percent in 1952 to 28.6 percent in 1959.[27]**

The picture is even worse for individual crops such as tomatoes, where braceros were used to such an extent that domestic workers were driven out. Even though the law states that braceros may not be used where their employment will adversely affect domestic workers, a simple axiom of economics has held true: scarcity raises the value of a commodity; surplus lowers the value. The very establishment of machinery for securing a potentially endless supply of workers from across the Mexican border lowered the value of domestic labor.

Conditions of work and of living also worsened as the result of the program. The braceros were single men or left their families in Mexico. As a consequence, housing for family groups was replaced, over the years, by barracks or worse. The Mexicans came into a strange country; knowing neither the customs nor the language, they were unable to take advantage of their rights under the international agreement. It was easy for employers to introduce "speed-up" systems and to drop humane practices such as a ten-minute rest break, and providing drinking water in the field.

Public Law 78, under which the Mexican program is still operating, was passed as an emergency measure during the Korean War. Thus for more than a decade farm labor standards have been deteriorating and wages falling behind gains made by workers in other parts of the economy. The termination of the Mexican program might prevent further retrogression; a one-year extension, with amendments to protect domestic workers, might counteract some of the adverse effect resulting from the use of Mexican workers; but neither would, of itself, recover what has been lost.

Other Imported Workers

Although the vast majority of imported workers in the agricultural labor force are Mexicans brought in under contract, they are

by no means the only outside group to find employment in the United States, nor are they the only Mexicans.

Mexican workers enter the United States in two other ways that must be given particular attention when the present labor importation program is ended. The first is often given as an argument for continuation of the contract program. Its supporters claim that farm workers will enter illegally (as wetbacks) in great numbers, without any of the protections of Public Law 78, if they are not allowed to enter legally. This is a problem of law enforcement, not of labor standards. Wetbacks once entered in the hundreds of thousands; this influx was stopped and its renewal can be forestalled by adequate border patrol and inspection.

Another importation device not covered by Public Law 78 is the use of legal immigration to secure farm workers. Under an agreement between the Department of Labor and the Department of State, such immigrants, called "green carders," must present job orders which have been endorsed by the local office of the U. S. Employment Service to determine whether the immigrant's entry would adversely affect the wages and working conditions of domestic workers. Legal immigration for purposes of permanent settlement is one thing. But any attempt by employers to circumvent present regulations for protection of domestic workers by use of immigration procedures must be guarded against. Adequate enforcement machinery can do so.

The same areas (west and southwest) which now use most of the Mexicans have opened two other labor sources which employers may attempt to utilize in the event that the Mexican program is terminated. These are arrangements for the importation of Japanese and Filipino workers. Thus far no attempt has been made to increase their use beyond a few thousand workers, probably because the comparative cost of securing Mexicans has been considerably less. It is difficult to see how any justification can be made for bringing workers across the Pacific to work in American agriculture unless it is acknowledged that this is a "stand-by" program. Nevertheless, all the machinery is ready and these programs could be stepped up to replace the Mexican program, thus assuring an endless cheap-labor supply to compete with domestic workers. These programs, too, should be terminated.

In the northeast a number of Canadians enter annually to work on farms. Last year nearly 9,000 were brought in, mainly to harvest potatoes in Maine. However, their average employment period was less than one month, and has not constituted a serious threat to domestic farm workers.

A far more serious problem lies in the program for importation

of workers from the British West Indies. Following exposure in the late fifties of the terrible conditions under which these workers lived and worked, and because of the rising pressure of domestic unemployment, the number of British West Indians imported began to decline. States along the eastern seaboard from the Middle Atlantic down to Virginia, which once were large users, had nearly eliminated the importation of British West Indians. But in the past four years the number of British West Indians has risen again, largely in the Florida sugar industry, which has rapidly expanded since the Cuban revolution. This new development in agriculture should have opened up new jobs for domestics, especially since Florida is surrounded by labor-surplus areas from which farm workers migrate north. Instead sugar growers turned to importation for the workers they needed. However, it is interesting to note that of the 7,500 employed in Florida last winter, nearly half were working not in sugar, but in citrus.[28] Here is one of the dangers of any importation program. Ostensibly needed for one type of work, the workers are found replacing domestics in other fields as well, once the program is under way.

In a different category are Puerto Rican workers who can, of course, enter the country without restriction. The Puerto Rican government has encouraged them to do so through a contract program which has been far better than that available to domestics or foreign workers, and therefore has had some influence in raising standards elsewhere (for instance, by demonstrating the feasibility of work guarantees). The peak number of workers in 1962 was 13,000, half of whom worked in New Jersey vegetable crops.[29] Enforcement of standards for Puerto Ricans is also, by and large, more adequate than that for other contract workers in the United States. But it is estimated that an equal number of Puerto Ricans enter without the benefit of the contract and many of these are subjected to severe exploitation. Like domestic workers, they can be protected only by legislation establishing minimum standards for agricultural workers.

Legislation for Farm Workers

A number of legislative proposals to ameliorate the conditions of domestic farm workers have been introduced into Congress, both in the past and in the first session of the 88th Congress. These proposals make no demands upon farm employers that other employers have not been meeting for decades, and some require nothing of the employers at all.

These legislative proposals are of two kinds: those necessitated by the special problems of migrants and farm workers; and others which would extend to farm workers the protection and benefits of social legislation already enjoyed by most other American workers.

The 87th Congress passed the Migrant Health Act; and an additional health proposal, a sanitation assistance program, is now before the 88th Congress. The assistance provided for construction or renovation of sanitary facilities would not only aid migrants, but would be a protective measure for nearby communities and for consumers of the products harvested by the migrants.

Three measures would aid the children of farm workers. One would assist the states in meeting the costs of educating migrant children (and would include pilot projects in the education of adult migrants). A second would provide matching grants to states to establish and operate day-care centers for migrant children. Since all adults in a migrant family work, children may either be taken into the fields with them or left in the care of older children in the camp. The centers would provide much-needed care and prevent tragedies that now may occur through unavoidable neglect.

Limitation of the work of children in agriculture is the third of these measures. Children are usually found working both because the family income is so low that no contributor to it can be spared, and because there is nothing else for them to do away from home. The education and child-care measures solve part of the problem,

and parents are usually eager, despite their poverty, for their children to have all possible advantages. The presently proposed measure would not prevent children from working for their parents on a home farm. It would permit a child to work outside of school hours if he is 14 years of age or older, or if he is between 12 and 14 and commutes daily from his permanent residence and has the written consent of his parent, or if his parent is employed on the same farm.

Several miscellaneous proposals would tackle various aspects of the migrant worker situation. One proposal is to set up a fifteen-member National Advisory Council to advise the President and Congress about the functioning of laws, regulations, programs, and policies concerned with migrant workers. Another would provide for registration of crew leaders, who serve virtually as employers of migrants; this would help to check frequent exploitation and misuse of workers who are dependent upon the crew leaders. A Voluntary Farm Employment Service Act would help to stabilize the supply of domestic workers by providing fuller employment, assured transportation, and other services. Still another bill would assist in the provision of housing for domestic farm labor by offering additional loans and loan insurance for housing construction, improvements, and repairs, and by offering direct financial assistance for the establishment of low-rent housing for domestic farm workers.

All of these measures are important, but the most essential proposals, without which the others cannot be really effective, are those which would help to raise the wages and working conditions of farm workers.

Neither federal nor state laws presently provide for collective bargaining for agricultural workers, a denial of basic rights afforded other Americans for thirty years. Pending legislation would amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural employees. Despite the absence of legal coverage, efforts to organize farm workers have been made over the years and are continuing, particularly in California. The seasonal and mobile nature of agricultural labor has created unusual difficulties. Farm workers' strikes have been broken time and again by imported braceros. Local ordinances have been used in some areas to destroy elementary civil liberties in the effort to block unionization. But the attempt to organize farm workers continues and deserves protection under the law.

The most fundamental legislation of all is the extension of minimum wage coverage (which most other workers have enjoyed for twenty-five years) to agricultural workers. As a result of their

exclusion from the Fair Labor Standards Act, farm workers' wages are not only below the industrial minimum, but also, in many areas, below a subsistence level as well. Poor health, inadequate housing, widespread child labor — all are inextricably tied to the income the farm worker can earn. The soundest way to relieve these conditions is to start by raising his basic wage.

The idea of a minimum wage has come under the sharpest attack by farm employers, although the proposals made to Congress have been modest and hedged around with precautions. *Only three-fifths of one per cent of all farms would be affected by the minimum wage bill:* that is, farms using more than 560 man-days in a calendar quarter. The giant corporations discussed earlier would be covered by it, but few others.

Nor has it been proposed to give farm workers the same minimum wage as other workers immediately. Instead, the suggestion is for a 75-cent an hour minimum the first year, 85 cents the second, $1.00 the third, and the industrial minimum of $1.25 in the fourth.

"Agriculture is Different"

The standard argument of agribusiness in opposing farm worker legislation has been that "agriculture is different." At hearings, in all the forums of public opinion, and in their own press, agricultural employers appear to be raising five objections:

1) farm wages are increasing rapidly in a period in which farm income is declining;
2) farmers alone have no control over their expenses – they deal with fixed costs;
3) farmers alone have no control over the prices they receive for their commodities;
4) any increase in farm wages would burden small farmers more than large farmers;
5) the inferior position of farm workers is due to the fact that they are inferior people.

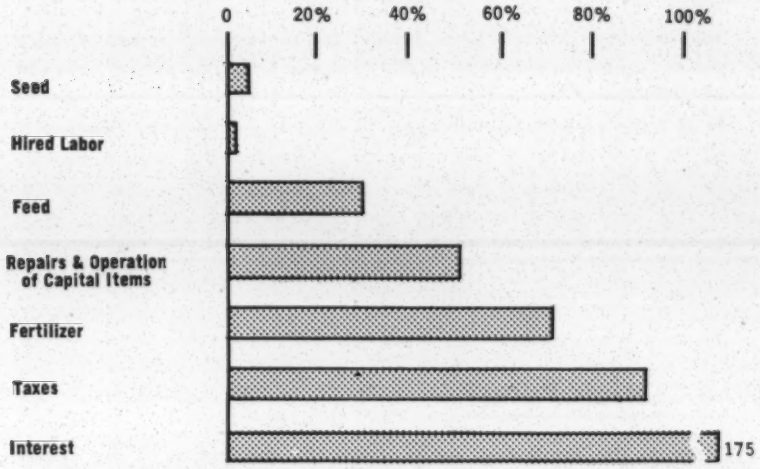
Wages and Income

The assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation has stated:

> **Farm wages may not be increasing as fast as some people think they should, but they are increasing rapidly, and during a period in which farm incomes have declined; they are the most rapidly increasing cost element, ratewise, contributing to the farm cost-price squeeze.**[30]

This contention is untrue. The relative increase and importance of various production costs for farms as a whole are shown in Table VII. Labor costs have risen less than any other item. It is capital equipment costs that have been going up. In 1950 wages made up 14 per cent of total farm expenditure; in 1959, 11 per cent. During the same period the cost of operation and depreciation of capital equipment rose from 29 to 31 per cent.[31] As the

Table VII
Per cent Change in Aggregate Production Costs of All Farm Operators, 1947-49 to 1960



U.S. Department of Labor: Hired Farm Workers in the United States, June, 1961; p. 5.

tempo of mechanization continues to increase, this trend will be accentuated.

Moreover, since most farmers hire little or no labor, labor costs are not a significant proportion of their production costs. On the contrary, the income of many farmers is driven down by competition with the cheap labor of the corporation farms.

Who Controls Costs?

"Farmers have no control over their costs." This view, frequently expressed by farm employers, has been well summed up by a writer sympathetic to them:

> **. . . farm employers consider themselves to be the residual receivers of income derived from the sale of agricultural products, meaning that everyone who deals with farmers, from the implement and fertilizer dealers to the truckers, commission merchants and processors gets his take or profit**

on an absolute basis — and the farmers must be content with what's left over. . . .

The commercial farmer argues that because he is a victim of oligopoly, buying the goods and services he needs in an administered price market, any additional cost for "labor, fringes, and accessories," as one of them put it, "cannot be passed on to the consumer under the present structure of agriculture."[32]

It is hard to follow — or even to find — the logic of this argument. Is the cost of a tractor or of a mechanical cotton picker more "fixed" than the cost of a truck or a crane? Is the cost of seed and fertilizer more rigid than that of steel or textile? Are rent, taxes, and interest rates "administered" for the farmer and not for the industrialist? Yet the argument has been believed, and reiterated, and found effective.

Who Controls Prices?

Here is the argument again, from the testimony of the president of the Dade County Farm Bureau:

We feel that Congress in passing the fair labor standards bill in 1938 recognized that agricultural wages should be and should seek their own level rather than including them in a minimum wage.

I am sure you realize that agriculture is a unique industry in that it has no control of the prices we receive for our commodities. You can set your wages on any other type of industry and they can control the price they charge the consumer. If you raise the wage, they can pass that on to the consumer. We, in agriculture, are entirely operating on the law of supply and demand, and, as such, have no control over the price we receive for our commodities. Therefore, we feel that in setting a minimum wage for agriculture, you are doing an injustice to the grower.[33]

The notion that farmers cannot influence the price they receive for their crops might have more validity if the demand for them had to be created by advertising and other marketing techniques, as with many industrial products. But this is less true of fruits and vegetables (crops that use much seasonal hired labor) than of almost any other consumer product.

Actually, the giant grower who is a large labor user has considerable opportunity to influence price and demand through marketing cooperatives, associations, agreements, and quotas. For example, in 1962, California peach growers forced prices up by reducing the supply by about 30 per cent, a tactic which they have employed

in the past and will no doubt employ again.[34]

Part of the reason that growers' organizations often do not bargain effectively on the price of their product is that the same people sit on both sides of the bargaining table. An agribusinessman is involved in the processing and distributing as much as in the raising of his product. His profit comes from the total operation, and he can take it wherever it works out best for him.

Total net income to the integrated (field-to-market) producer depends on his volume of production. Low farm wages help make it possible for him to dispose of the final product at a lower price (wages are the easiest cost to cut when workers are unorganized and unprotected). A lower "break-even" point encourages an expansion of production until market prices decline and volume must be increased again to compensate for this. The integrated producer can add to his profits from his processing and distributing activities in this cycle; but the drop in farm prices is ruinous to the farmer who functions entirely as a producer and depends primarily on his own labor.

"The Small Farmer's Burden"

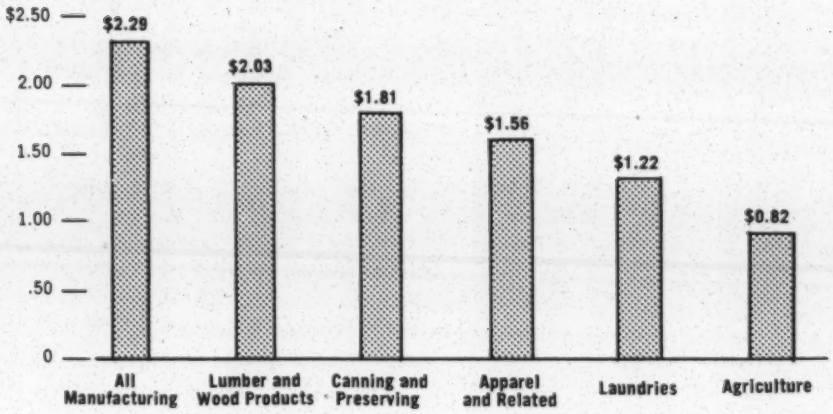
The farm employer, alone among employers, is still in the position of fixing his own labor costs while other employers are either negotiating with their workers or competing in the labor market with employers who do negotiate wages. He has looked to the federal government for an ample supply of workers, and it has cooperated, even to the extent of allowing him to import them on contract from abroad. Furthermore, his powerful political influence has, thus far, prevented the passage of legislation which would provide farm workers with collective bargaining rights and with national standards for wages, hours, and working conditions.

Wage-fixing by farm employers is widespread. *The California Tomato Grower* in its July-August issues of 1960, 1961, 1962, and 1963 has announced the scales of pay for picking tomatoes in the state each year. (The magazine is published by the California Tomato Growers Association, Inc., in Stockton.) Records of the wage-fixing of raisin, grape, cotton, and other crop growers go back for decades.[35]

Thus, opposition to the national minimum wage comes from employers who are accustomed to wage-fixing among themselves, without reference either to the workers or to the public interest.

Organizations of family farmers have pointed out that the

Table VIII
Average Hourly Earnings in Agriculture and Other Selected Industries, 1960



U.S. Department of Labor: Hired Farm Workers in the United States, June, 1961; p. 22.

Table IX
Percentage Increases in Average Hourly Earnings in Selected Industries, 1947-49 to 1960

U.S. Department of Labor: Hired Farm Workers in the United States, June, 1961; p. 23.

effect of low wages is to place a ceiling on what farm operators earn per hour for their labor.

> **It is our belief that because small farmers are not likely to use Mexican workers, the Mexican farm labor program has had a detrimental impact on the traditional family type American farm. Family type farms rely largely on labor sources within the operator's family to carry on their productive activities. Most of the income of family farms comes from their own family labor on their own crops. Large-scale farm operators, employing low-cost Mexican farm labor, flood the market with crops that compete directly with the output of the family farmer's own labor. The depressed market prices which result, while providing an adequate return for volume production on large-scale farms, has the effect of giving the family farm operator a wage income comparable to that of the Mexican workers.**[36]

Testimony given by the National Farmers Union at hearings on Public Law 78 in March, 1963, showed what has been happening. California doubled its production of strawberries with the use of cheap foreign labor in the last decade, and prices dropped. But in the second largest strawberry producing state, Tennessee, production dropped 14 per cent in the same decade because American labor was undercut by foreign labor. Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, all of which use domestic labor for strawberries, were similarly affected.[37]

Of the largest lettuce producing states, California and Arizona depend largely on foreign labor; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia on domestic labor. Over a six-year period, production in the west rose 25 per cent while production in the east dropped 75 per cent. Price fluctuates considerably, but there has been a marked downward trend led by the west.[38]

Of course there are variants. For farmers raising labor-intensive crops, whether they are large or small farmers, the wage bill will be more of a factor in production costs than for other farmers. But this does not mean that an increase in wages will affect large and small farmers equally or that small farmers will be affected adversely. Many family farm operators themselves believe that higher wages benefit them; they know that low wages have hurt them.

"Farm Workers are Inferior"

The final argument of farm employers — if indeed it can be dignified as such — against betterment of the conditions of farm workers is to blame those conditions on the workers themselves:

> **. . . happy-go-lucky and irresponsible, can work hard if the notion strikes**

> them, or if they have a desire for some immediate cash, but will rarely work if they think conditions are not just right, or if the day is a good one for fishing. Their pleasures are of the more primitive variety; they have little ambition for economic betterment, although they may want to outdress their neighbors. Living only for today, they do little to protect themselves against the proverbial rainy day, hence many of them find themselves without funds when periodic freezes or rains halt the harvest. . . .[39]

This opinion from Florida is echoed in California:

> The average person thinks that the migrant farm worker is abused by the farmer, is underpaid and exploited. There is no question that farm wages are lower than industrial wages for many tasks, but the record shows that too many of the domestic workers are so nonproductive that the farmer cannot pay more. The herd of winos in California is a good example. They are poor unfortunates who for one reason or another have become derelicts . . . and believe me they are not reliable.[40]

Employers speak of an "ideal worker," too, but apparently he existed only in the past. He did not strive, with ambition and energy, to better his condition; rather, he was content with his lot:

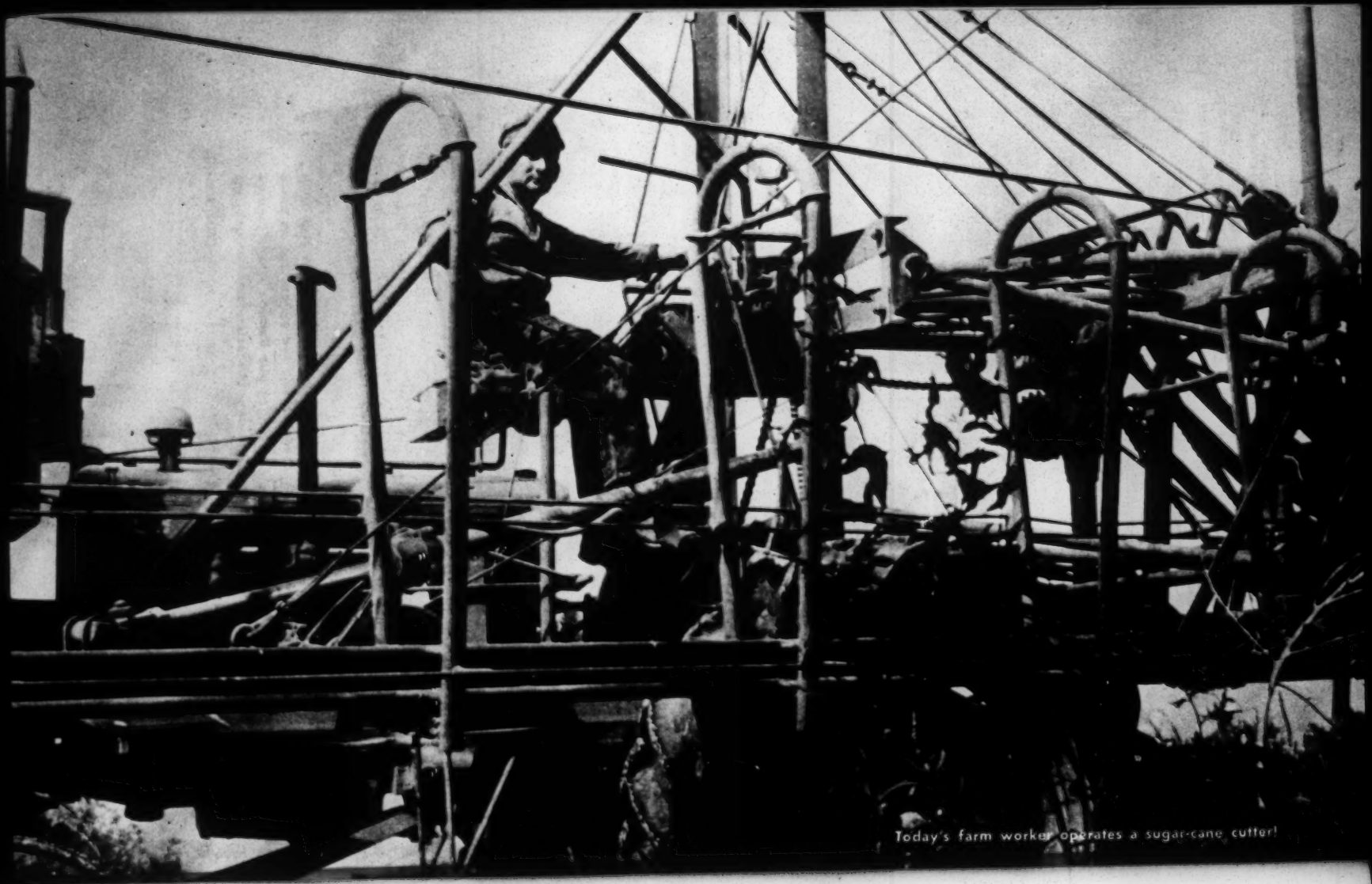
> When I first came to California in 1919, practically all the type of labor we are discussing was performed by Mexicans. . . . Some of them did not know whether they were citizens or not. But they started in the Imperial Valley in the spring and worked through the harvest, planting, capping, thinning, weeding cantalopes and fruits of other kinds, and as the harvest season progressed up the state, and they moved to the northern end of the State. . . . They came and followed the crop from one end of the State to the other. . . . They took care of themselves. They presented no relief load to California in those days. They were very thrifty and their wants were few and simple. Some of them had tents and that is what they wanted. That was their way of life and they were used to it. Who am I to say they should live in this kind of house or that?[41]

A California farm worker has commented on such views:

> . . . They call us tramps, yeah, they call us tramps, winos, anything else. But if it wasn't for us tramps, that they call us, you would not have no clothes, no food, no sugar, not nothing. We have to go out and make it, thin it, pick it, gather it. . . . If it wasn't for us tramps the city people would be in one awful fix.[42]

The record is clear that farm workers have often sought to better their conditions, despite handicaps of race, language, ignorance, and poverty. They have tried to organize unions and have met bitter hostility. They have appeared at legislative hearings to refute charges with facts. They have left the migrant stream wherever they have found a chance to settle down.

When they have been offered decent conditions they have



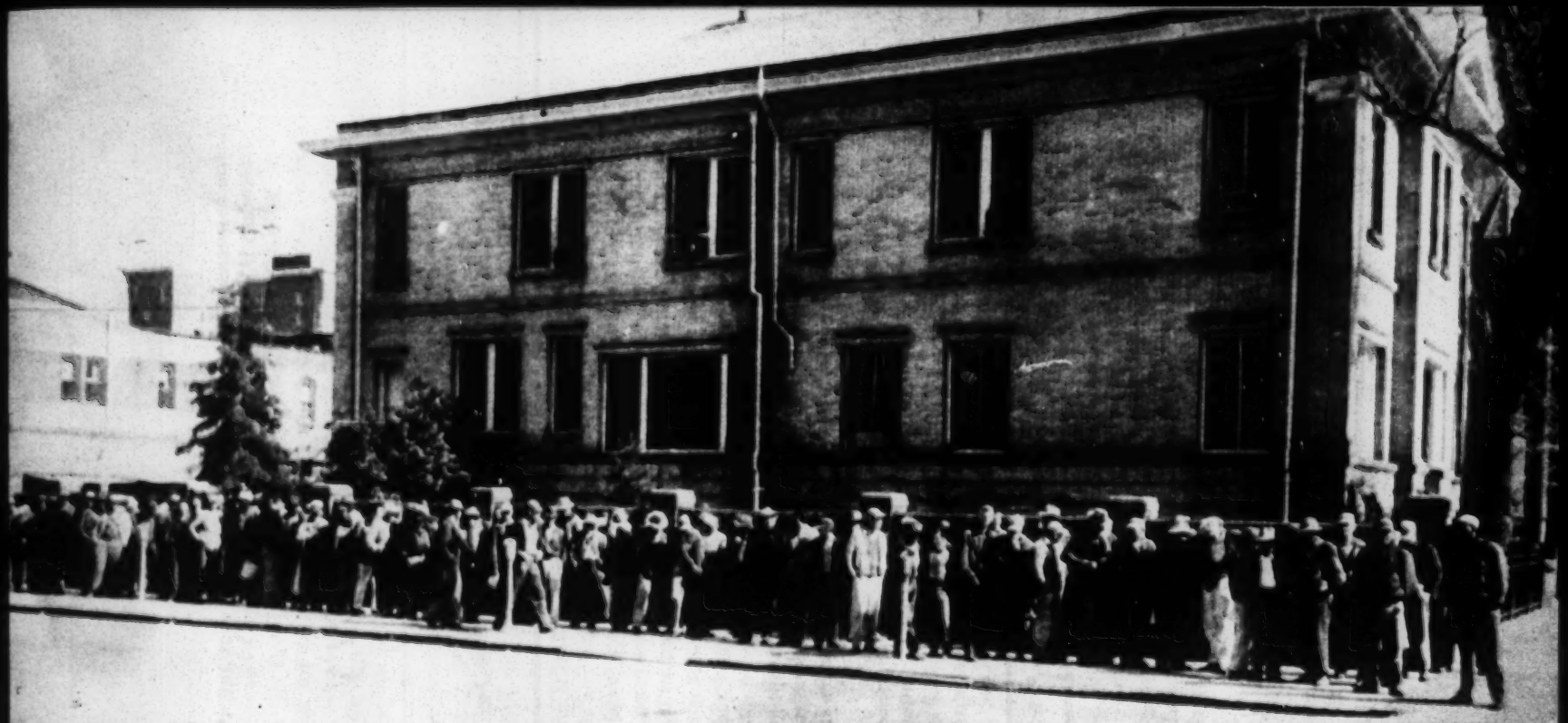
Today's farm worker operates a sugar-cane cutter!

shown responsibility. A farm placement officer has reported:

> **An Idaho representative was there with $17,000 in cash. . . . In addition to offering family housing and $1.25 per hour, he was passing out the long green on the spot to pay the transportation in advance to Idaho. He says those that will take the money and then not report are nil.[43]**

Finally, it should be pointed out that as agriculture has changed into a complex, mechanized industry, the skills and abilities demanded of hired farm workers have greatly increased. When asked, the workers have responded. When the machines appeared, they handled machinery. When packing was moved into the field, they became packers. Trucks and tractors arrived, and they became drivers. Processing was added next door, and they became factory hands. If the vast majority are still untrained and unskilled, it is a question not of "character" but of opportunity.

Photo by Harvey Richards



Bread line of unemployed California farm workers

Photo by Harvey Richards

Summary

Illusions in Agriculture

The belief that American agriculture today is made up of family farms is an illusion – one that is used to shield giant corporations from their responsibilities to their workers and to the public. This illusion can and must be shattered. The facts themselves belie the three major myths fostered by agribusiness:

1. **Agriculture is different.** Facts and figures show that the segment of agriculture which hires by far the largest share of farm labor is precisely that which most nearly resembles industry, with corporate control and absentee ownership; great capital investment and mechanization; and concentration of the entire process from the farm to the consumer in the same hands.
2. **The family farm is threatened if farm workers are included in social legislation.** The fact of the matter is that the interests of the family farmer are inextricably linked with those of the farm worker. Both are threatened by competition with low-wage labor employed by the large farm corporations, and by the resulting low consumer prices; the less hired labor costs on the large farm, the less the family farmer's is worth.
3. **Farm workers are responsible for their own miserable conditions.** On the contrary, they are made powerless by their poverty and their lack of political and economic organization. To implement their desire for a better standard of living they must have the right to organize into trade unions and the other minimum protections of law afforded to other workers.

Beyond a Minimum

Justice demands a living wage and other basic protections for our farm workers. This is the minimum, the immediate goal. But beyond this lie the long-term problems of our agricultural econ-

omy. We cannot halt the increasing mechanization of many of our crops, nor some of its inevitable consequences, such as the absorption of smaller farming units into larger ones, and a reduction in the demand for farm labor. But we can stimulate programs and legislation which will reduce the economic inequities which now abound. We can develop the education and skills necessary for better living on the farms today. Further, we can educate and retrain the numbers who no longer can or wish to remain in farming so that they can acquire the skills necessary for their absorption into industry.

Government programs of loans, of training, and of assistance do exist. But they must be vastly extended if they are to do more than scratch the surface. And they must be geared to the special needs of the minority groups which comprise a large proportion of our farm workers.

It would take more than one pamphlet of this nature to spell out the possibilities which American resources, imaginatively applied, could bring to fruition. But the needs and possibilities must be indicated here or the picture of farm workers and their problems would be incomplete. All that has been suggested here is not only possible, but also necessary and long overdue. The way is open and calls to mind an old proverb: "The longest journey begins with one short step."

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be accused of treason; some would be jailed because they had the courage to match human rights against property rights."

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The National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor is a fact-finding, reporting agency. It provides information regarding the problem of farm workers to aid concerned persons in taking effective action. You may write to the NACFL for more information on this subject, for a list of other literature available, and for names and addresses of other groups concerned with this issue.

ASSISTANCE
ON
SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS
OCCASIONED BY
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Equal Educational Opportunities Program

Authorized By
Title IV, Public Law 88-352
The Civil Rights Act of 1964

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education

Purpose of the Program

The Equal Educational Opportunities Program is designed to provide various kinds of specialized assistance to help public school systems and school personnel cope with problems related to school desegregation. The U.S. Office of Education has been authorized by Congress to carry out the program under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P. L. 88-352).

Types of Assistance

Title IV provides assistance that may take the form of informational materials, specialists to act as consultants to school systems, and training for school personnel. The assistance is made available in three ways: *technical assistance, grants to school boards, and training institutes.*

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Section 403 of Title IV authorizes the Commissioner to render technical assistance in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public elementary and secondary schools to any governmental unit legally responsible for operating these schools. This technical assistance may include, among other activities, information regarding effective methods and personnel especially equipped to assist in coping with special educational problems occasioned by school desegregation.

Special educational problems on which technical assistance might be given include:

--The determination of new ways of organizing the school and classroom to improve the quality of instruction in desegregated school situations.

--The development of new curriculum materials, content, and approaches helpful in meeting educational problems involved in school desegregation.

--The organization of guidance and counseling programs to give adequate attention to individual student needs within the desegregated school environment.

--The establishment of training programs to improve the ability of school personnel to deal with problems related to school desegregation.

--The resolution of problems of school administration related to desegregation, such as the elimination of racial attendance areas, the development of teacher assignment policies, etc.

Technical assistance through consultative services and informational materials will be provided as follows;

Consultative services: Consultants with special knowledge relative to the problems involved, or with experience in situations comparable to that of the applicant, will be selected from the field or from the staff of the Office of Education and their services made available to applicants. In all instances consultants will be assigned by mutual consent between the applicant and the Office of Education. Expenses for consultative services will be borne by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program.

Informational materials: With respect to specifically defined problems, pertinent materials, such as publications, research reports and studies, films, and recordings, may be provided by the Office of Education. In addition, materials bearing on significant problems or programs related to school desegregation will be made available for general distribution. A bibliography of currently available items may be obtained from the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office.

Any school system may request technical assistance by letter or by a telephone call followed by a confirming letter. Original or confirming letters should state the nature of the problem occasioned by desegregation and the type of assistance needed.

GRANTS TO SCHOOL BOARDS

Under Section 405 of Title IV, the Commissioner is authorized to make grants to school boards to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of:
(1) giving teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation; and (2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

Grants to public school boards will be made on the basis of evaluations of program proposals submitted by the school boards with regard to school desegregation problems in their own communities. A policies and procedures manual that provides instructions for filing grant proposals is available upon request.

School officials may wish to contact nearby institutions of higher education to discuss possible mutual planning of school-system inservice training programs and training institutes conducted by the institutions.

To aid in the development of grant proposals, school boards may request assistance from the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office.

TRAINING INSTITUTES

The Commissioner is authorized under Section 404 of Title IV to arrange with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or

regular session institutes for special training to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by school desegregation.

Grants and contracts for training institutes will be based upon evaluations of program proposals submitted by institutions of higher education. The proposals may relate to any type or combination of school desegregation problem. The format for institute proposals is contained in a policies and procedures manual that is available upon request.

Institutions planning to conduct training institutes are encouraged to consult with superintendents and other appropriate public school personnel in school systems facing present or anticipated school desegregation problems. The training institutes and inservice programs conducted by school systems will often complement each other for greater effectiveness.

Institutes of varying length may be offered in the summer or during the school year. Lists of scheduled institutes will be available continuously from the Equal Educational Opportunities Program office.

Individuals who attend an institute as full-time participants will be paid stipends at the rate of $75 per week for the period of their attendance, in addition to allowances for travel necessary to attend the institute. All institute instructional costs are paid by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program. Applications of individuals who want to attend an institute should be sent to the sponsoring institution, not to the Office of Education.

Eligibility

Applications for assistance under any of the Title IV programs must pertain to problems occasioned by or incident to the assignment of students to or within public schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin. Applications designed to deal with problems uniquely related to the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance are not eligible for consideration.

Requests for technical assistance and proposals for grants for the employment of advisory specialists or for inservice training programs will be accepted from any school board or governmental unit legally responsible for operating a public elementary or secondary school.

Any approved institution of higher education, public or private, may submit proposals for the operation of short-term or regular session special training institutes.

The eligibility of individuals for attendance at institutes supported under this Program will be evaluated by the sponsoring institution in accordance with selection criteria approved by the Commissioner.

For application instructions for grants or institutes, or for additional information on the Equal Educational Opportunities Program, write, telephone, or complete and mail the enclosed card to:

Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Telephone Area Code: 202

GPO 884-658

Summer Institutes for School Desegregation

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

Summer Institutes for School Desegregation

INSTITUTES FOR: Teachers
Counselors
Supervisors
Principals
Superintendents
Other public school personnel

DESIGNED TO: Improve the ability of school personnel to deal with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation.

SUPPORTED BY: Equal Educational Opportunities Program, U.S. Office of Education, under authority of Title IV, Section 404, P.L. 88-352, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Institute programs vary to meet the most crucial administrative, curricular, and instructional problems facing school systems which have desegregated or are in the process of desegregating.

All participants will receive stipends of $15 a day, or $75 a week, plus allowance for travel.

See the listing below for locations of institutes, dates, qualifications of participants, and directors' names.

Participants for all institute programs will be selected without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin.

Inquiries concerning credit should be directed to the institution concerned.

For application forms and further information, write directly to the institute director. Do *not* write to the Equal Educational Opportunities Program.

AUBURN UNIVERSITY, *Auburn, Alabama*

Director: John T. Lovell, Professsor of Education
Dates: June 14 - August 21
Participants: 50 elementary and secondary administrators and teachers from Alabama and Georgia systems
Content: Intergroup relations, teaching culturally disadvantaged children in specific subject areas

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE, *Daytona Beach, Florida*

Director: Arsenia Cabotaje, Professor of English
Dates: June 14 - July 23
Participants: 30 elementary school teachers from ten Florida counties
Content: Language arts in the desegregated school

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE, *Daytona Beach, Florida*

Director: Thurman W. Stanback, Chairman, Division of Humanities
Dates: June 14 - July 23
Participants: 30 elementary and junior high school teachers and supervisors from ten Florida counties
Content: Humanities in the desegregated school

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, *Berkeley, California*

Director: J. Cecil Parker, Professor of Education
Dates: June 21 - July 16
Participants: 50 teachers and administrators from Oakland
Content: Teaching culturally disadvantaged children in an integrated school

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE, *Newark, Delaware*

Director: Ralph Duke, Professor of Education
Dates: June 24 -26; July 5 - 9
Participants: 60 counselors and administrators in teams from Delaware
Content: Counseling and administrative problems related to desegregation

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE, *Knoxville, Tennessee*

Director: Dr. Ralph Martin, Professor of Education
Dates: June 7 - 25
Participants: 30 teachers from Knoxville and Knox County, Tennessee
Content: Study of intergroup relations and curriculum materials used in desegregated schools

LAMAR STATE COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY, *Beaumont, Texas*

Director: Andrew Johnson, Assistant Professor of History
Dates: August 9 - 12
Participants: 60 teachers, supervisors, and administrators from Texas
Content: Background of desegregation and development of materials for desegregated schools

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, *College Park, Maryland*

Director: Richard Neville, Associate Professor of Education
Dates: June 21 - July 30
Participants: 30 elementary school teachers from the District of Columbia and Baltimore
Content: Teaching culturally disadvantaged children in integrated schools

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, *Coral Gables, Florida*

Director: Baker Hindman, Professor of Education
Dates: July 23 - August 1
Participants: 45 school personnel in teams of 5 from 9 Florida communities
Content: Formulating plans for successful desegregation

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, *Coral Gables, Florida*

Director: Joseph Barton and Carolyn Garwood, Assistant Professors of Education
Dates: June 14 - July 23
Participants: 36 teachers, counselors, administrators in 12 teams from Florida
Content: Preparing school personnel for the integrated school

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI, *University, Mississippi*

Director: R. A. Boyer, Professor of Education
Dates: June 10 - July 17; July 19 - August 19
Participants: 40 teachers, counselors, and administrators from Mississippi in each institute
Content: Specific problems being encountered in the desegregated school

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, *Kansas City, Missouri*

Director: Daniel Levine, Associate Director, Center for Metropolitan Problems in Education
Dates: August 2 - 13
Participants: 80 administrators, counselors and teachers from Kansas and Missouri
Content: Instructional, curricular and organizational plans for alleviating problems arising from desegregation

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, *New York, New York*

Director: William Van Til, Chairman, Department of Secondary Education
Dates: July 26 - August 13
Participants: 40 supervisors and curriculum specialists from North and South
Content: Understanding of minority cultures and study of teaching materials for desegregated classes

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, *Albany, New York*

Director:	John A. Ether, Professor of Education
Dates:	August 9 - 12; 10 monthly sessions September 1965 - June 1966
Participants:	20 senior education students and 20 kindergarten through 12th grade teachers from small New York cities
Content:	Methods and materials for integrated schools

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, *Chapel Hill, North Carolina*

Director:	Dwight C. Rhyne, Associate Director, Extension Division
Dates:	June 21 - August 13
Participants:	100 junior high school teachers, counselors and administrators from North Carolina
Content:	Working with children to develop methods for teaching underachievers in integrated schools

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, *Norman, Oklahoma*

Director:	Glenn R. Snider, Professor of Education
Dates:	June 7 - 23
Participants:	100 teachers, supervisors, and administrators from Oklahoma
Content:	Educational problems in newly desegregated schools and preparation of materials for teaching reading

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE, *Nashville, Tennessee*

Director:	W. H. Drummond, Chairman, Division of Education
Dates:	July 5 - 23
Participants:	100 teachers, supervisors, and administrators from Huntsville, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Atlanta, Georgia; Rome, Georgia; Shreveport, Louisiana; Greenville, Mississippi; Cincinnati, Ohio; Shelby and Davidson County, Tennessee
Content:	Background of desegregation

PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY COLLEGE, *Chester, Pennsylvania*

Director:	Mrs. Eleanor M. Logan
Dates:	June 28 - August 6
Participants:	30 secondary school teachers from Chester School District
Content:	Teaching the culturally deprived student in an integrated school

PURDUE UNIVERSITY, *Lafayette, Indiana*

Director:	Dr. Robert Milliken, Professor of Education
Dates:	August 9 - 20
Participants:	30 school counselors and 10 administrators, one-third from Gary, Indiana, and two-thirds from Norfolk, Virginia
Content:	Counseling practices and problems in desegregated schools

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE, *Raleigh, North Carolina*

Director:	Prezell Robinson, Executive Dean
Dates:	June 21 - July 9
Participants:	35 teachers, supervisors, administrators, and board members from the southeastern United States
Content:	Background of desegregation and preparation of teaching materials

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, *St. Louis, Missouri*

Director:	Theo M. Shea, Associate Professor of Education
Dates:	June 21 - July 30
Participants:	40 teachers, counselors, administrators and public welfare personnel from Missouri
Content:	Human relations and plans for improving the reading curriculum for the culturally disadvantaged child in integrated schools

FISK UNIVERSITY, *Nashville, Tennessee*

Director:	Vivian Henderson, Professor of Economics
Dates:	June 14 - July 16
Participants:	60 elementary school teachers, 10 guidance counselors, 10 prospective elementary school teachers
Content:	Needs of children in desegregated schools and developing curriculum and materials appropriate to the integrated school

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, *Gainesville, Florida*

Director:	Robert D. Meyers, Associate Professor of Education
Dates:	June 14 - July 2; July 12 - 30
Participants:	Teams of 5-7 administrators, supervisors, board members, and teachers from Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina; 65 participants in each institute
Content:	Legal and social aspects of desegregation and formulation of plans to facilitate desegregation

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, *Tallahassee, Florida*

Director:	Herman L. Frick, Professor of Administration and Supervision
Dates:	June 7 - July 16
Participants:	50 superintendents, school board members and administrators from North Florida, Southwest Georgia, and Southeast Alabama
Content:	Administrative practices in desegregated schools

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, *Lexington, Kentucky*

Director:	Charles C. Manker, Jr., Associate Professor of Education
Dates:	June 14 - July 9
Participants:	30 teachers and administrators from selected Kentucky school systems
Content:	Development of plans for faculty-staff integration

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, *Lexington, Kentucky*

Director:	James H. Powell, Director of Student Teachers
Dates:	July 12 - August 6
Participants:	45 prospective supervising teachers from the University of Kentucky and five cooperating institutions
Content:	Desegregation problems faced by supervising teachers

UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS, *Houston, Texas*

Director:	Reverend James R. Noland, Lecturer in Sociology
Dates:	June 7 - 14; June 15 - 23
Participants:	50 teachers, counselors, supervisors, and administrators from Texas in each of two institutes
Content:	Study of minority groups and resource materials for the desegregated classroom

SPRING HILL COLLEGE, *Mobile, Alabama*

Director:	Reverend Albert S. Foley, S.J., Chairman, Department of Sociology
Dates:	June 14 - July 21
Participants:	30 teachers and administrators from Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham, Alabama
Content:	Instructional and administrative procedures in preparing for desegregation

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, *Stanford, California*

Director:	Fannie R. Shaftel, Associate Professor of Education
Dates:	August 2 - 20
Participants:	50 elementary teachers, administrators and supervisors from California, Oregon, and Colorado
Content:	Problems arising from desegregation and relevant instructional materials

STETSON UNIVERSITY, *DeLand, Florida*

Director:	Gerald E. Critoph, Associate Professor of American Studies
Dates:	June 14 - July 24
Participants:	24 teachers, administrators and board members from ten Florida counties
Content:	History of the Civil Rights Movement and related social problems since World War I

STETSON UNIVERSITY, *DeLand, Florida*

Director:	Harland C. Merriam, Professor of Education
Dates:	June 14 - July 23
Participants:	40 administrative personnel from Florida
Content:	Administrative problems related to desegregation

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, *Syracuse, New York*

Director:	C. W. Hunnicutt, Chairman, Department of Elementary Education
Dates:	July 19 - August 6
Participants:	75 elementary school principals and supervisors in teams from the North and South
Content:	Materials and methods used by Dr. Samuel Shepard in the Banneker Group in St. Louis

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, *Knoxville, Tennessee*

Director:	Frederick P. Venditti, Assistant Professor of Education
Dates:	June 9 - August 10
Participants:	Teachers and administrators from 9 East Tennessee School Systems
Content:	Working with disadvantaged children in desegregated schools

UNIVERSITY OF TULSA, *Tulsa, Oklahoma*

Director:	Gordon Lovejoy, Professor of Sociology
Dates:	June 7 - July 30
Participants:	40 administrators from Oklahoma and Arkansas
Content:	Study of three minority groups and practices to provide educational opportunities

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, *New York, New York*

Director:	Rachel Weddington, Assistant Professor of Education, Queens College, New York, New York
Dates:	July 6 - 26
Participants:	25 teachers from P.S. No. 30 and No. 80, Queens Borough, New York City
Content:	Understanding of disadvantaged children in integrated schools

Other institutes supported by the Equal Educational Opportunities Program include:

AUBURN UNIVERSITY, *Auburn, Alabama* **August**

A three-day institute for school board chairmen, superintendents and school board lawyers from Alabama

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, *Coral Gables, Florida* **February 24 - 26**

A three-day institute for superintendents and school board members from Florida and South Georgia

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, *Coral Gables, Florida* **February 13 - May 29**

Fifteen Saturday sessions for teachers, counselors, and administrators from Dade County, Florida

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI, *Oxford, Mississippi* **June 2 - 4**

A three-day institute for superintendents, school board chairmen, and school board lawyers from Mississippi

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, *Norman, Oklahoma* **May 13 - 14**

A three-day institute for staff members of colleges of education in Oklahoma

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, *Knoxville, Tennessee* **March 26 - 28**
April 2 - 4

Two three-day institutes, one at Knoxville, the other at Memphis, for superintendents and school board members from Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, Alabama, and North Carolina

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, *Knoxville, Tennessee* **February 22 - April 22**

A two-week session followed by eight consecutive weekly sessions for Eastern Tennessee school administrators, teachers, and counselors

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

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IN UNITY
there is strength
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— ELECTORAL VOTE —
BY STATES

*Alabama	10	Hawaii	4	Massachusetts	14	New Mexico	4	South Dakota	4
Alaska	3	Idaho	4	Michigan	21	New York	43	*Tennessee	11
Arizona	5	Illinois	26	Minnesota	10	*North Carolina	13	*Texas	25
*Arkansas	6	Indiana	13	*Mississippi	7	North Dakota	4	Utah	4
California	40	Iowa	9	Missouri	12	Ohio	26	Vermont	3
Colorado	6	Kansas	7	Montana	4	Oklahoma	8	*Virginia	12
Connecticut	8	Kentucky	9	Nebraska	5	Oregon	6	Washington	9
Delaware	3	*Louisiana	10	Nevada	3	Pennsylvania	29	West Virginia	7
*Florida	14	Maine	4	New Hampshire	4	Rhode Island	4	Wisconsin	12
*Georgia	12	Maryland	10	New Jersey	17	*South Carolina	8	Wyoming	3

— PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS —

1800	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Thomas Jefferson	73	Unknown
Aaron Burr	73	Unknown

(Jefferson elected by House of Representatives after tie vote in electoral college.)

1824	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
John Q. Adams	84	105,321
Andrew Jackson	99	155,872
Henry Clay	37	46,587
William Crawford	41	44,282

(Adams elected by House of Representatives after no candidate received a majority in the electoral college.)

1860	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Abraham Lincoln	180	1,866,352
Stephen Douglas	12	1,375,157
John Breckinridge	72	845,763
John Bell	39	589,581

(Lincoln elected with minority of popular vote. Electoral vote followed pattern of 1824 election.)

1876	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Rutherford Hayes	185	4,033,950
Samuel J. Tilden	184	4,284,757

(Hayes elected by special election commission, set up by Congress, when 22 electoral votes were challenged in Fla., La., Ore., & S.C. Congress, in joint session, affirmed vote of the special commission.)

1948	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
Harry Truman	303	24,105,812
Thomas E. Dewey	189	21,970,065
Strom Thurmond	39	1,169,021
Henry Wallace	—	1,157,172

(Truman elected with minority of popular vote.)

1960	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
John Kennedy	303	34,227,096
Richard Nixon	219	34,108,546
Harry Byrd	15	—
Faubus	—	214,549
Hass	—	46,560
Decker	—	46,203
Unpledged Democrat (Miss.)	—	116,248
Other	—	39,262

(Kennedy elected with minority of popular vote. Unpledged electors in three states (Ala., 6; Miss., 8; Okla. 1) gave Senator Byrd 15 electoral votes.)

6 ...DAY FOR DECISION

History stands to repeat itself in 1964 when voters of Mississippi — and other states — go to the polls to choose their presidential electors. For Mississippi, the key day is September 1 — date of the Preferential Presidential Primaries. It will indeed be a Day For Decision.

Prior to that time, both Democrats and Republicans will have selected their candidates for President and Vice President. If those candidates are not acceptable, Mississippi voters can indicate their dissatisfaction on Sept. 1 by choosing a group of presidential electors who will be expected to find another candidate.

This new election procedure is not limited to just one party. It is designed to give voters in both major parties an opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of national candidates well in advance of the November general election. Here is how the plan will work:

Each major party will hold a state convention in 1964. Each of Mississippi's 82 counties is entitled to be represented at each state convention with twice the number of votes that county has in the House of Representatives of the State Legislature.

In each of the two conventions, a motion supported by 10% of the convention membership can designate a slate of electors pledged to support the candidate selected by that party's national convention. A motion by 10% of the convention membership can also designate a slate of electors who are not pledged to support the candidate selected by that party's national convention. Both Democrats and Republicans will have this opportunity when their party's state convention is held following the national convention.

The next step is a primary election held for each party. This is the election now set for Sept. 1, 1964. At that time, each party can place on its ballot two slates of electors — one group pledged and the other group unpledged. The winning slate of electors from each party's primary will then represent that party in the November general election.

The net effect is to give Mississippi voters the possibility of being represented by either Democratic or Republican unpledged electors, if neither party produces a national candidate acceptable to this State. At the same time, this plan does not prevent Mississippi voters from choosing electors pledged to satisfactory candidates, regardless of party designation.

If neither party's candidate is acceptable to Mississippi voters, then it would be the goal of Unpledged Electors — regardless of party affiliation — to join with other states in withholding sufficient electoral votes so that neither major candidate would receive the majority required for election.

If no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, the responsibility for electing the president would then become the duty of the House of Representatives in the Congress. If the election should be carried to the House of Representatives, each State would have one vote. Fifty votes would be cast, with each State delegation voting as a single unit. The choice of candidates would be among the three men receiving the highest number of votes in the electoral college, with a simple majority required for election.

Within the framework of the Preferential Presidential Primaries, both Democrats and Republicans in Mississippi can find an opportunity to protest vigorously the decisions of the national party conventions, if they so desire. History is on their side; the Nation's future hangs in the balance.

IN UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH

Voters in Mississippi and across the South can learn a lesson regarding the absolute power of minority groups by studying the election returns of 1960. For it was then that 406,176 voters in a key state provided the power bloc to assure the election of the Democratic nominee and thereby doom the Independent Elector movement to temporary failure.

The State was New York. At stake were 45 electoral votes. Democrats polled 3,423,909 votes; Republicans polled 3,446,419 votes. The balance of power lay with the 406,176 votes of the Liberal party which, with no candidate, was free to bestow its blessing upon the candidate who would favor its beliefs in greater measure. Thus it was that a little more than 5% of the voters in one key state controlled the decision of their state's 7,276,504 popular votes, and ultimately the nation's decision on a president — and they cast their votes for the Democrat. Armed with those 45 electoral votes, the Democratic candidate was elected with 303 votes in the electoral college.

However, if the minority Liberal Party of New York had found the Republican nominee more acceptable — as could well be the situation in 1964 — results would have been far different in 1960. Instead of only 219 electoral votes, the Republican nominee would have received 264. Instead of 303 electoral votes, the Democratic nominee would have received only 258. And neither candidate would have had a

majority. Nixon would have been lacking five votes for a majority; Kennedy would have needed 11 votes for a majority; and the 15 Independent electoral votes from Mississippi, Alabama and Oklahoma would have changed the course of history. The strategic balance would then have been in the hands of those who are dedicated to the preservation of government principles based upon constitutional prerogatives.

This is the principle of the powerful minority, as it functions in national politics. On a lesser scale, the same principle is applied effectively in states other than New York — key states, with large electoral votes, where a minority bloc demands and gets recognition far in excess of its true representation within the mass of voters.

It is this principle which Southern States must learn, understand, and use to advantage if they are to regain their stature in national affairs. One State by itself, two States or even three States, cannot mount an effective offensive. But the several Southern States, who represent collectively 128 electoral votes, can function effectively in a power bloc. Standing firm in their demand for constitutional government, and united in their determination, together they can exert the same effective force which has been used against them with such cunning and deception in years past. The opportunity for Southern unity will present itself again in 1964. The history of the past two decades clearly shows there is no other choice.

. . . WHAT CAN YOU DO?

You are a voter. You can have no greater stature; you can have no greater privilege. By your ballot, you determine the fate of your country. By your ballot, you entrust your future to those elected officials whose wisdom, judgment and integrity you believe are best. You can do much.

Because you can do much — and power-hungry candidates, above all others, know that truth — there will be great efforts to discredit the logic of adapting the principle of a minority power bloc for the benefit of Southern States. This is natural; history tells us to expect it; and voters must stand firm.

Be informed; know the facts. Understand the principle involved, and do not hesitate to inform friends. Voters lacking a full understanding and being reluctant to deny the clouded half-truths blocked the spread of a unified action in the past. Southern States cannot afford those same mistakes in 1964.

Read and re-read the information in this pamphlet. Read the questions; know the answers. Be ready to strike down the mystery of misinformation by giving the facts.

Armed with the courage of their convictions and their votes, Mississippi people and their friends throughout the South can make a significant contribution to the restoration of constitutional government and the recognition of sovereign rights of States on Sept. 1, 1964. On that Day for Decision — VOTE!

A Message from the Governor
to the
Mississippi Legislature

THE HON.
ROSS R. BARNETT
Governor
of the
State of
Mississippi

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI:

February 28, 1963

By virtue of the provisions of Section 121 of the Constitution of 1890, I herewith submit in writing the following additional matter for the consideration of the Legislature now in extraordinary session, towit:

> Legislation to provide that the electors for President and Vice-President of the United States representing political parties in this State be nominated by popular vote of the people composing said political parties in a party primary election.

It is my belief that such legislation is necessary in order to give political relief to the great majority of our people.

It is clearly apparent that the greater number of the people of our state, and of the entire South and of the nation can no longer support any party that advocates measures which will eventually destroy this great country of ours.

It is also apparent that our great Republic is in grave danger of dissolution and if the trend continues, the states will ultimately be mere provinces.

In Mississippi, we must give our electoral votes to patriots who are willing to take a stand for constitutional government and the ideals and fundamental principles that have made our country great, and never again support selfish and ruthless politicians who openly seek our destruction. We must support only those who stand openly for our principles and we must vigorously oppose those who seek to defame and debase us.

The electoral strength of Mississippi must be used to preserve our own best interests and those of the nation. We must give our people an opportunity to join with those of like mind in other states and

to pool and use our electoral votes to preserve the South and the nation.

There are literally millions of people in this nation crying out for an opportunity to cast an honest and effective ballot in the 1964 presidential election. The people are now captives of the vicious convention nomination system of the two national parties. Many have appealed to me, saying, "What can we do in this dark hour?"

I favor giving them the opportunity of selecting, at the polls, electors they know will be governed by a mandate from them.

We have in Mississippi an opportunity to initiate a plan whereby the people of our state may elect or nominate, in a public primary election, those presidential electors who will represent them in casting their votes for President and Vice-President. In this manner, the people will know positively who they are voting for and will have the satisfaction of knowing in advance that their vote will not be cast for selfish politicians who openly seek our destruction. Such a move on our part could start a trend throughout our nation to this end.

This must be accomplished now in order to give a reasonable length of time prior to the approaching conventions and presidential elections.

We have an unusual opportunity to do away with uncertainty and confusion and to eliminate back stage political manipulation.

Because of these facts and in testimony thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Mississippi to be affixed, on this the 28th day of February, A.D., 1963.

Ross R. Barnett

GOVERNOR

Heber Ladner

SECRETARY OF STATE

Q. Aren't Democrats and Republicans obligated to vote for the nominee of their party's national convention?

A. No. The two major parties have no national standing, as such. Each party is made up of 50 state parties. Neither major party has ever been a national legal entity.

Q. How many electoral votes are there in the Electoral College?

A. 538 electoral votes, representing the 50 States.

Q. How many electoral votes must a candidate receive before he can be elected President?

A. A simple majority, or at least 270 electoral votes.

Q. How many electoral votes do the 11 Southern States have?

A. 128, and no candidate can ever be elected without those votes.

Q. Do the Preferential Presidential Primaries on Sept. 1, 1964, take the place of the General Election that is always held in November?

A. No. The General Election will be held as usual in November, 1964.

Q. Will this plan work?

A. It can work if there is unity among the Southern States. For example, President Kennedy will need 48 Southern electoral votes for re-election if he is the nominee of the Democratic party and can carry the same States outside the South that he carried in 1960.

Q. Isn't the Unpledged Elector plan just a third party under a different name?

A. No, this is not an attempt to form a third party. It is designed to operate within the framework of the present two-party system. Its goal is simply to produce national candidates who will not make a mockery of constitutional government. This can be done within the two-party system if Southern States will use the power of unified action that they possess now.

Q. Southern States were once powerful in the national parties. When did this change?

A. For the Democrats, the loss of power occurred in 1936 when the national Democratic convention abolished the rule requiring a two-thirds vote in favor of a candidate before he could be the nominee chosen at a national convention. Although Republicans have carried several Southern States in past elections, their strength throughout the South has not been great enough in previous years to register much power in their national convention.

Q. Suppose the election did go to the House of Representatives. Wouldn't the Southern States still lose out?

A. No, because it would require 26 votes to elect a president, and no party controls 26 State delegations. The bargaining power would still rest with delegations from Southern States.

Q. What are the possibilities of party alignment if the election went to the House of Representatives?

A. There are several possibilities. Northern Democrats could join with Republicans to elect a candidate. Northern Democrats could join with Southern Democrats; or Republicans could join with Southern Democrats. This third alternative is the natural alignment, with Republicans voting for the South's candidate.

Q. Who will be the candidate of the Unpledged Electors?

A. No one knows at this point. However, you can be sure it will be someone dedicated to the principles of government which Southern States believe to be right and constitutional.

Q. How can we protest minority bloc power in other matters, and turn right around and promote the principle in this instance?

A. One of the best ways to fight a woods fire is to light a second fire. That's what the Unpledged Elector movement proposes — fighting fire with fire. Once the Southern States have established the fact that they can, and will, stand together in opposition to current trends of government, they will be returned to their former stature in national affairs. Power is respected, whether it be personal strength or the combined impact of government units.

Q. What is the constitutional authority for the plan proposed by the Unpledged Electors?

A. That authority is set forth in the 12th Amendment to the Constitution.

Q. Why is it necessary to develop the Unpledged Elector plan instead of working through the present machinery of the two-party system?

A. First of all, the Unpledged Elector movement is within the framework of the two-party system. Both Democrats and Republicans will have an opportunity to elect unpledged electors on Sept. 1, 1964, if they disapprove of their party's nominee chosen at their national convention. Unfortunately, leadership in the major parties has preferred to ignore Southern States in matters of party policies, which in turn has inspired a trend of government that is highly questionable in the constitutionality of its actions. Southern elected leaders have tried, without success, to halt this trend for nearly 20 years. Now they see the Unpledged Elector movement as a way by which the 10th Amendment, for example, can be revived as a vital part of our constitutional form of government. This is the way out of the dilemma which has confronted the South for many years.

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE
BY: SENATORS McLAURIN, LOVE AND YARBROUGH
FIRST EXTRAORDINARY SESSION 1963
TO: RULES

SENATE BILL NO. 1522
(As Sent to the Governor)

AN ACT TO AMEND CHAPTER 391, LAWS OF 1952, APPEARING AS SECTION 3107, MISSISSIPPI CODE OF 1942, RECOMPILED, TO PROVIDE THAT THE ELECTORS FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THIS STATE BE NOMINATED BY POPULAR VOTE OF THE PEOPLE COMPOSING SAID POLITICAL PARTIES; AND TO REPEAL CHAPTER 312, LAWS OF 1948, APPEARING AS SECTION 3107.5, MISSISSIPPI CODE OF 1942, RECOMPILED.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI:

SECTION 1. The provisions of this Act shall be applicable to all political parties registered pursuant to Section 3107-01, Mississippi Code of 1942, as amended.

SECTION 2. Chapter 391, Laws of 1952, appearing as Section 3107, Mississippi Code of 1942, Recompiled, is amended to read as follows:

3107. State, district and county executive committees — how chosen. The state executive committee shall consist of three (3) members from each congressional district, to be chosen by the delegates from the different congressional districts, each district acting separately, and shall hold office for four (4) years and until their successors are chosen. A state convention shall be held by each political party in the state, in the year 1964, and every four (4) years thereafter, at the time and place to be designated by the state executive committee in the year in which candidates for president and vice-president of the United States are elected, appropriate notice of which shall be given by said committee, to appoint delegates to the national convention, at the discretion of said State Convention, to select a state executive committee, to select one or more slates of presidential electors to be nominated as hereinafter provided, to nominate a candidate for president and vice-president of the United States, adopt a platform, promulgate principles, and take such further action deemed proper by the convention. And the said convention may adjourn from day to day, or to such time and place, or times and places, as to it may appear proper and desirable. County delegates and their alternates shall be certified to the secretary of the state executive committee of said political party, and a roll call at the state convention of the county delegates and alternates and no other shall participate or vote in the state convention except county delegates or alternates so certified. It is expressly provided that the state convention shall not in anywise be limited in the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president by any nomination made by any other convention. Each county shall be entitled in the state convention to a number of votes equal to double its representation in the House of Representatives. The delegates are to be selected by county delegate conventions, to be held in each county. Delegates shall be apportioned equally among the supervisors' districts of each county, or each precinct in the county may be given representation in the county delegate convention in proportion to the votes cast at the preceding presidential election for its party candidates. The state executive committee, or the chairman thereof, shall designate a date, giving at least ten (10) days' notice, for the precinct elections, on which date the electors at such precinct shall meet at ten o'clock A.M. at the usual voting places, and by secret ballot elect delegates to represent such voting precincts in the county convention. The county executive committee shall designate the number of delegates to be elected, and if it fails to designate a number each precinct will be entitled to one delegate in the county convention. The delegate convention of each county shall choose a county executive committee, consisting of three (3) members from each supervisors district as above provided, and the county executive committee may, in their discretion, select from the county at large three (3) additional members of the committee, who shall hold office until the county convention convenes four (4) years later; but a county executive committee can submit the choice of their successors to any primary election held for other purposes, in which the committee so chosen shall hold office until the next county convention assembles under the provisions of this section. Senatorial executive committees shall continue in office until after the returns are received and acted upon for the next general election, after which their successors are to be appointed by the various county executive committees composing such districts. All the present executive committees now acting shall continue until their successors are chosen, as herein provided. All vacancies in state and county executive committees shall be filled by such committees themselves and from the district in which the vacancies occur. All other vacancies are to be filled by the new executive committeemen, appointed by the county executive committees of the counties which made the original appointments. Executive committees for senatorial districts having none, may be appointed by the various executive committees of the counties composing such districts. In any new county hereinafter created the members of the executive committee or committees for the county or counties from which the new county is taken who are resident citizens of the new county, at the time it is created shall constitute the first executive committee for the new county until their successors are selected in the manner provided by law, and they may fill any vacancy on the committee.

Should any state convention elect a slate of delegates to any national party convention, said delegation by secret ballot shall choose the chairman and the vice-chairman of said delegation, who shall perform all the duties customarily required of said officials under the usual rules of parliamentary procedure.

SECTION 3. At said state convention, upon motion supported by ten per cent (10%) of the membership of said state convention, a slate of electors composed of the number of electors allotted to this state, which said electors announce a clearly expressed design and purpose to support the candidates for president and vice-president of the national political party with which the said party of this state has had an affiliation and identity of purpose heretofore, shall be designated and selected for a place upon the primary election ballot to be held as herein provided.

Also upon motion supported by ten per cent (10%) of the membership of the state convention, a group of electors equal to the number of electors to which this state is entitled, which said electors announce a clearly expressed design and purpose not to support the candidates of the political party to which the said party of this state has had an affiliation and identity of purpose heretofore, or to be freed from any obligation to so do, shall be designated and selected for a place upon the ballot for the primary election to be held as herein provided.

SECTION 4. A primary election shall be held the first Tuesday in September in the year of the general election for president and vice-president, and the group of electors receiving the most votes at said election shall be placed upon the ballot in said general election as the electors of the said political party in this state, and no other group of electors shall be placed upon the said ballot as such electors of the said political party in this state.

Unless the electors last above mentioned certify in writing to the Secretary of State at least thirty (30) days before the primary election herein provided for the names of persons for president and vice-president for whom they have the intent and purpose of supporting with their ballot if elected, then said electors shall be placed on the primary election ballot and designated "Unpledged." If no selection of persons is made before the primary provided for in this Act, or by notifying the Secretary of State thirty (30) days before the general election of such selection, then the said electors shall go on the general election ballot as "Unpledged."

SECTION 5. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny or prescribe the right of any qualified person to run for the office of elector in this state, provided he or she qualified in the manner herein provided or in any other manner provided for by law. Furthermore, any elector or group of electors so qualifying may have it signified upon the general election ballot as to whom they intend to vote for, or are pledged to vote for in the election for president and vice-president.

SECTION 6. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to place any mandatory or inhibitory restrictions upon the office of elector for president or vice-president contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Nor shall anyhing in this Act change or alter the provisions of Section 3129, Mississippi Code of 1942, Recompiled, and Chapter 309, Laws of 1948, in reference to the rights of any citizen of this state casting his ballot for electors for president and vice-president as he may choose and see fit without in anywise affecting his party affiliations.

SECTION 7. Chapter 312, Laws of 1948, appearing as Section 3107.5, Mississippi Code of 1942, Recompiled, and all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

SECTION 8. This Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

File

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
RHODES BUILDING - SUITE 417
78 MARIETTA ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

HEALTH CARE and the NEGRO POPULATION

A publication of the . . .

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

National Urban League

National Office

14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Washington Bureau

777 Fourteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Regional Offices

Eastern: 14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Mideastern: 1226 First National Tower
106 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Midwestern: Chemical Building
721 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Southern: 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Western: 945 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90006

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FOREWORD

During the past few years, an impressive amount of information has accumulated on the availability of health services to Negroes and concerning the participation of Negroes in health services.

Many organizations have collected and issued this information, including: the United States Commission on Civil Rights, State Advisory Committees to the Commission, the National Urban League and local Urban Leagues, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, state and local human relations agencies, hospital planning bodies, and professional associations--notably the National Medical Association--several independent professional journals--notably Modern Hospital and Medical Tribune--the staffs of Howard and Meharry Medical schools, and several Members of Congress.

These organizations and individuals have collected the information which was of particular interest to them, frequently with little awareness of what the others had done or were doing. Some of the information is nationwide in character; some is limited to regions, states and cities. Most of it is based on firsthand experience, observations and interviews.

The National Urban League decided that the available information should be systematically assembled and reviewed as a first step toward an expanded, professionally sound program dealing with health services as related to the Negro. The task of collecting and the initial analysis was undertaken by Mrs. Ann Langenberg Riday, National Urban League Research Associate, under the direction of Miss Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director for Health and Welfare, National Urban League.

The second step was to interpret the available information in light of the nation's historic civil rights struggle and of the nation's medical care crisis. The interpretation and action recommendations were drafted by Dr. Walter J. Lear, member of the Subcommittee on Health Needs and Resources, National Urban League, and consultant on community health services. The entire Subcommittee on Health Needs and Resources actively participated in the final formulation of the interpretation under the direction of Mrs. Mary Gay Harm, chairman. In this process, it was fortunate in having the assistance of a number of national experts in the field of public health and medical care.

The interpretation does not necessarily represent the views of each member of the Subcommittee in every respect. However,

the Subcommittee believes the interpretation as a whole does constitute a valid basis for action which would eliminate racial discrimination in health services and improve the effectiveness of health services for all Americans.

The action recommended would require resources far beyond those of any one organization. Only the continuing energetic efforts of a wide range of organizations and individuals will move the nation's health services in the directions outlined.

Many of the concerned organizations and individuals will also wish to review the available information. Anticipating this need, an annotated bibliography has been prepared and is available from the National Urban League.

". . . AND THERE IS NO HEALTH IN US"

> "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us."
>
> --Book of Common Prayer

This quotation is tragically precise in the context of a report on the health and the health care of today's American Negroes.

As a nation we have left undone those things which we ought to have done to secure equal opportunities for Negroes to have a good education, earn a living wage, live in decent housing and eat nourishing food.

As a nation we have done those things which we ought not to have done by discriminating against Negroes in every sector of life, including opportunities for adequate health care.

Is it any wonder that Negroes, poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly clothed, are highly susceptible to tuberculosis, influenza and pneumonia -- diseases we think of as yesterday's killers?

"And there is no health in us..." The undeniable fact is: Infant or adult, man or woman, Northerner or Southerner, the Negro is substantially less healthy than the white.

Poor health, along with all the other disadvantages imposed upon him, has become the Negro's lot. Perhaps even worse is

the fact that Negroes, who need so much more in the way of health care, get so much less than white people. And what they get is less good. Why? Because they can't afford the cost of private medical care and because racial discrimination forces them to accept public care which is both separate and unequal.

This document presents facts and figures concerning the health and the health care available to our twenty million Negroes -- facts and figures which add up to a shameful record of needless, preventable waste of human beings and human life.

It is our hope that an informed and aroused citizenry will move swiftly and boldly to rewrite that record, to eradicate the evils of racism and poverty, to assure adequate and humane health care for all our citizens.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

NEGRO HEALTH: Measured In Minuses

When we speak of the health of Negroes in this country we are speaking of a minus quantity. All the facts are negative ones; all the figures are to be found on the minus side of the ledger. The same is true of the health care available to Negroes: there is less of it and it is less good.

As we reach the mid-point of the 1960's, the status of the Negro in American life seems more hopeful than it has since the birth of this nation. But the accumulation of disadvantage borne for so many generations has left its mark, particularly in the area of personal health.

Economic deprivation has led to less resistance to disabling illness; social deprivation has led to less medical care, less adequate medical care and less assistance in meeting its cost. The consequences of insufficient and inferior medical care have been harsh: lingering illnesses, dragged-out disabilities, premature death.

Has the Negro in this country made gains toward securing those civil liberties which are every man's right? Is he about to be granted the full measure of those "inalienable rights": Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness? When that happens the nation will still be confronted by the consequences of 300 years of discrimination and segregation endured by the Negro.

The first "inalienable right," the right to life itself, is cut short for every Negro in America, compared to his white counterpart at every stage, at every age.

The story of his foreshortened life begins before his birth. It begins with the startling fact that most Negro expectant mothers simply do not get the basic prenatal care that most white expectant mothers take for granted today. Then, too, fewer Negro mothers have their babies in hospitals than do white mothers. The results are predictable: more deaths of Negro babies, more deaths of Negro mothers in childbirth -- four times as many as white mothers.

There is still another grim result. Women without prenatal care are about three times more likely to give birth to premature babies, than those who do receive proper care. Very small premature infants are ten times more likely to be mentally retarded than full-term children.

The chance that a Negro baby born today will not live to his first birthday is almost twice as great as for a white baby born at exactly the same time. Of every 1,000 Negro babies, 41 will not live a full year in contrast to only 22 out of 1,000 white babies. (Note, in the accompanying chart, how this tragic disparity is maintained with variations, in cities from one end of the country to the other.)

This same shortened life expectancy dogs the Negro's footsteps through youth and middle age. Those who manage to reach old age have been called "the survivors." A white baby boy born today can expect to live long enough to celebrate his 68th birthday. For a Negro baby, the chances are that his life will be cut short seven years sooner.

By the time the average American reaches the prime of life today he is pretty well protected by modern medical science against many of the former deadly diseases. Of every 1,000 white Americans in their late forties, five will die in the coming year. If they are Negro, ten will die.

No particular disease accounts for the greater number of deaths among middle-aged Negroes. The major causes of death among them are the same as for whites -- heart disease, cancer, brain hemorrhage -- but proportionately more Negroes die from each of them than do white persons in the same age bracket.

These high death rates mean, of course, that fewer Negroes than whites live to reach old age. Negroes constitute only six per cent of all Americans 65 and over, but they account for 7.5 per cent of the deaths in this age group. In spite of miracle drugs and antibiotics, deaths from tuberculosis of Negroes 65 or older are 15 per cent of all deaths in this age group and those from influenza and the pneumonias are eight per cent.

Death rates -- the most scientific and detailed information regularly collected about all people -- show that proportionately more Negroes than whites die at all ages. But while they're alive -- what? Reports on the health of large groups of people based on medical findings or events other than deaths are not always conclusive, but information has been gathered from such sources as the Government's selective service examinations and the home-to-home interviews of the U. S. National Health Survey.

Emerging clearly from the mass of independent details collected are these salient facts: The Negro, in comparison to the white, has more diseases and disabilities, one-third more days when he is unable to function at full physical capacity, is sick enough to require bed rest on twice as many days and loses one and one-half times more days from work because of disease and disability.

There is considerable evidence that the Negroes' shortened life span and increased amount of disease and disability is due almost wholly to low incomes, inadequate education and poor living conditions. When Negro and white populations with the same social and economic status are compared, many of the health differentials tend to disappear.

No matter how unpleasant the implications may be, the nation must face up squarely to the real picture of Negro health. No matter how costly the remedy, it can never equal the staggering cost of the disease -- the disease of human waste.

HEALTH CARE: Separate AND Unequal

When poor medical care is added to the burden of poor health and when flagrant racial discrimination is part and parcel of the medical care available, there is such a heaping up of injury as to demand redress.

The medical care needs of Negroes are disproportionately large, yet the health services they receive are disproportionately small.

Inequalities are to be found in practically every kind of health service, ranging from the care of the chronically ill older person to the care of the individual suffering from mental distress. This pattern of inequality is found in all sections of the country. Not surprisingly, the greatest disparity is in the South -- a region whose spokesmen, ironically, assert that they "take good care" of Negro citizens.

The lack of skilled nursing home care in this country has reached the proportions of a national tragedy. For Negroes needing this kind of facility the situation is intolerable. There are pitifully few nursing homes which even open their doors to Negroes. A 1962 study in Louisiana, a state with a high concentration of Negroes, showed that there were 103 nursing homes serving 3,418 white persons and only 22 nursing homes serving 488 Negro patients.

What happens to the Negro who is ill or infirm and has no family member to care for him? State after state has indicated in reports and other documents that, because there is literally no other place for them to go, chronically ill Negroes have been condemned to live out their lives in custodial care mental hospitals!

Despite their greater need for regular medical care, Negroes of all ages visit physicians less often than white persons. Recent national studies tell us this:

On the average, a white person visits a doctor about 4½ times during the year. But a Negro will see a doctor only about 3½ times a year. White patients also have many more telephone consultations with the doctor than do Negroes.

Tragically, the disparity of medical attention is most marked for children. During the critical, formative period of life, the Negro child receives just about half as much attention from doctors as does the white child.

The median income of the Negro family at the beginning of this decade was $3,233. Thus, more than half of Negro family incomes fall below the poverty line. Only one out of every ten children in these low-income families sees a pediatrician as often as once a year. In contrast, one in three children from higher income families are taken to a pediatrician at least once a year.

Higher income families are able to afford the skills of specialists about twice as often as those in the low income group. They also spend more of their health dollars for preventive care, an expense which is simply out of the question for the average Negro family.

A recent Public Health Service study observed that recommendations for or against elective surgery are often based on the patient's ability to pay for such surgery. For example, children between the ages of six and 16 in families with incomes under $4,000 a year have 8.1 tonsillectomies per 1,000 population in contrast to 15.7 for youngsters in higher-income families.

Similar comparisons can be made for other surgical procedures: the hysterectomy rate for women 25 and over is only 3.2 per 1,000 in the low-income category contrasted with 5.3 in the over-$4,000 group; appendectomies are 40 per cent more frequent in the higher income families than in the lower.

Statistics about general hospital care further illustrate the white-Negro differential. In an average group of 100 white persons, about 12 will have a short stay in a hospital during the year. In an average group of 100 Negroes, only nine will be a hospital patient. Once in a hospital, Negroes, on the average, tend to stay somewhat longer, probably because medical

care is put off for so long that illnesses become more severe.

The hospitalization rate of nonwhites (92 per cent of whom are Negroes) is 20 per cent less than for the entire population, but their use of hospital outpatient clinics is double the rate of whites.

Many of our health services indulge in practices which, in effect, close the doors to Negroes. Some of these discriminatory practices are overt, some clandestine. A recent Urban League survey of a medium-sized mid-western city uncovered some of the latter kind. Officials of the two hospitals in this city were quick to say that beds in their various rooms are available to Negroes. But a visit to one of the hospitals gave first-hand evidence of the special arrangements made for Negro patients.

Negro patients are put in a Negro ward. If there are not enough Negro patients in a particular division to make up a ward, they are put in semi-private rooms. Not so bad? Here's the clincher: In spite of the fact that the hospital is not filled, there are sometimes no beds for Negro patients. Why? Because this hospital will not put Negroes in rooms where there are empty beds, if the other patients are not Negro! One local doctor made it clear that this policy has imposed a hardship on more than one Negro patient in need of hospital care.

Such discriminatory practices are easy to carry on today because modern hospital design discourages large wards. Usually rooms accommodate two to six patients. Hospital admitting clerks assign "compatible" patients to the same room. "Compatibility" frequently means that all patients in a room are either white or Negro. Although the "compatibility" criterion is used out of a solicitude for the supposed feelings of the white patient, the feelings of the ailing Negro are ignored and his health jeopardized.

As has been noted in other areas of our national life, where racial prejudice is operative, reasonable and consistent behavior is not. So, too, inconsistency is often a hallmark of hospital practice.

For example, in some hospitals, patients who presumably would balk at being treated by a Negro doctor are ministered to constantly by Negro nurses.

In some hospitals the abandonment of official discriminatory policies seems to have had little effect on entrenched practices, while in others, official integration policies are scrupulously observed. But where discrimination occurs, whether clandestine or overt, it is because the medical profession, hospital administrators and the community are not committed to equality of care; not because integration is impossible to achieve. It can work, even in the Deep

South. Striking proof is provided by the Veterans Administration. For more than 10 years the VA has integrated all its hospitals -- including those in Birmingham, Jackson and New Orleans!

On the other hand, hospitals and clinics which refuse to care for Negro patients can be found in Northern and Western cities with significant Negro populations. The Hill-Burton hospital grant program has played an unfortunate role in this connection, largely on the basis of Congressional direction.

The Hill-Burton law, passed in 1947, authorized the Public Health Service to help finance construction of local governmental and private non-profit hospitals and health centers. It specifically permitted grants to facilities which did not admit Negroes, provided the community had separate facilities for Negroes of equal quality and equitable in size.

Under this provision, grants have been made to 104 hospitals and health centers having overt racial exclusion policies. Of these, 84 are for whites only and 20 are for Negroes only.

Now, in a recent and historic decision, the United States Supreme Court has found that racial discrimination in two private non-profit hospitals in Greensboro, North Carolina, (both of which had received Hill-Burton financial aid) was

illegal and that the "separate but equal" clause of the Hill-Burton law is unconstitutional. The National Urban League has requested that the President cut off federal funds to all medical institutions which practice racial discrimination, as he is empowered to do under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In many cities, Urban Leagues, civil rights groups, human relations agencies and Negro leaders have helped to bring about the elimination of segregated hospital services. Desegregation has been achieved in hospitals in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Knoxville, San Francisco and other cities. Some religious-supported hospitals have desegregated on the orders or recommendations of their sponsors. Some hospitals have desegregated without any specific outside pressure. The Urban League will continue to document discriminatory practices and seek full access to all facilities.

> A fresh wind of change is beginning to blow through the health field, but we cannot rest content while any racial barriers still exist in the nation's health services. Until these barriers have been swept away, Negroes cannot hope to get their fair and reasonable share of good medical care.

HEALTH CARE: Insufficient and Inferior

The health care received by the American people as a whole leaves much to be desired. Incredibly, this wealthiest, technologically superior of all nations must take an inferior position among the countries of the world in national health.

In the vital area of infant mortality, regarded as one of the most telling yardsticks of a nation's health, the United States makes a shockingly poor showing.

A report issued in 1963 by the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare reveals that the number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births in this country is 25.3 compared with:

Netherlands	*15.4
Sweden	*15.5
Norway (1959)	18.7
Australia	19.5
Finland	*19.8
Switzerland	*20.8
United Kingdom	22.1
Denmark (1959)	22.5
New Zealand	22.8
United States	*25.3
Canada (1960)	27.3
Japan	28.8
Ireland	30.5
Luxembourg (1960)	31.5
Federal Republic of Germany	*31.7

(*provisional)

The chaos and shortcomings of this nation's health services are a reflection of the lack of coordination and planning which characterizes our medical care "system" of unrelated, self-centered practitioners and institutions.

People with money can buy a kind of medical care having a degree of personal dignity, but like the poor they, too, have trouble getting good medical care. Medical care for the rich is also mostly an uncoordinated aggregate of the costly, highly specialized services required at the times of medical crisis. Rich or poor, the patient is at the mercy of doctors who are overworked, undersupervised, and responsive primarily to the diseases or injured portions of the body that they personally can do something about.

The accomplishments of the medical profession in this climate of chaos are far below its combined potential and far short of the scope and quality of service currently possible if each community or region had a working plan that would assure the best use of what is available. Such a plan would identify and fill gaps, eliminate duplication, promote excellence of performance and assure each individual of a personal doctor and a comprehensive range of health services. These services should have continuity, emphasize preventive and prompt care, be family-centered and respect the dignity of the individual.

Instead, what do we have? On the whole, what we have is a crazy-quilt, patch-work, catch-as-catch-can non-system. This situation works a hardship on all who are in need of medical care, but for the 30 million white and 10 million Negro citizens mired in poverty, medical care is a national disgrace.

Mr. Smith's story illustrates how our haphazard system results in insufficient and inferior medical care, far more costly to the community than a well-planned, orderly and coordinated system of prevention, supervision and treatment could ever be. Mr. Smith is an elevator operator, barely able to support his wife and three children. He is a diabetic. Like most diabetics he needs frequent checkups, lab tests and other medical help. But there are at least three "Berlin Walls" for Mr. Smith to hurdle before he can get the care he needs: its cost, its organization and his own ignorance.

Cost:

Even people with good incomes have a difficult time managing the high and unpredictable cost of medical care. But Mr. Smith, like many Negroes, has a smaller paycheck and a bigger potential medical bill. He must do without medical care or settle for that which the community provides at nominal or no cost.

Why can't health insurance take care of his problem? None of the health insurance plans now available has been of much help to the Negro population. The kinds of jobs Negroes usually have carry little or no health insurance. A recent study of the amount of hospital insurance protection for short-stay patients was most revealing. Of Negro patients, only 42 per cent had insurance that paid at least some part of the hospital bill; only 30 per cent had insurance that paid three-quarters or more of the bill. For white patients, the figures were 71 per cent and 53 per cent, respectively.

Frequently, Negroes with health insurance are deprived of its full benefits because the health services are denied to them. Often, they find themselves in inferior, segregated, and overcrowded facilities -- where there own doctor is banned from treating them.

Health insurance which provides really good protection is not widely available and costs considerably more than the prevailing types. It seems highly unlikely that any private insurance plan is going to meet the need for good protection at reasonable cost. The best solution would seem to be a nationwide, universal insurance program which would eliminate the current restrictions on Mr. Smith's insurance protection because of the size of his income, the particular job he holds, and the locality in which he lives. AN IMMEDIATE

MINIMAL STEP IN THIS DIRECTION IS THE PROVISION OF HOSPITAL CARE BENEFITS TO THE AGED UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM.

Organization:

Without adequate health insurance or adequate income, Mr. Smith has no choice but to use clinic and hospital services supported by general taxes and philanthropy. Many people believe that these services provide the Mr. Smiths with excellent medical care. They know that the total cost of public medical care is very high and they are aware that outstanding medical centers and hospitals provide some public medical services. These facts don't make public medical care good medical care for the people who must depend on it. Let's see how it works for Mr. Smith.

When he goes into diabetic coma he is rushed to a modern hospital. His life is saved by a team of expert specialists who give him the best that medicine has to offer. But, is this the real goal of modern medicine? Did Mr. Smith receive the kind of medical supervision that would have prevented his going into a coma?

The public medical clinic available to him would discourage regular attendance from the most health-conscious individual. In the first place, clinic sessions are scheduled only during the day, so he has to lose at least a half day's pay every time he goes to the clinic.

The number of patients scheduled for each session far exceed the capacity of the space and staff. Hours of waiting are the rule. Doctors and nurses have little or no time to answer questions or take an interest in patients as human beings. There is no meaningful "doctor-patient" relationship. By chance, Mr. Smith may be seen by a doctor who has seen him before -- but usually not.

Follow-up on special diets and family problems are the responsibilities of the nutritionist and the social worker, respectively. These specialists, who must cover several clinics in one day, are too busy to talk with each patient long enough to gain confidence, give instruction and encouragement. At best, Mr. Smith is treated with harassed indifference. At worst, by undisguised contempt, including the crude abuses of racial bigotry. In this atmosphere, Mr. Smith is discouraged from going to the clinic and preventive care becomes impossible. Mr. Smith received costly, excellent treatment for his coma, but his medical care as a whole was poor.

Ignorance:

The last important obstacle to good medical care is ignorance. Our Mr. Smiths simply don't know about the potential benefits of medical science, about the proper time to go to doctors, dentists, public health nurses, and about the location and

"behaviour" of hospitals, clinics and other medical facilities.

Ignorance and disease are old companions. For the Negro, ignorance about health stems in large part from poor grade school and high school education. Racial discrimination in the nation's educational system makes a tragic contribution to preventable disease and premature death among Negro citizens. Quality education is imperative if people are to understand what modern medicine has to offer -- and how to get the most out of it.

For those with poor schooling, special compensatory efforts must be made. Research studies suggest there may be ways to stimulate the desire for good health habits and preventive medical care on the part of people with an educational handicap. More has to be learned before practical steps can be taken.

Even full use of the health services that are available does not assure good medical care. The nation is painfully short of doctors, dentists, nurses and all types of health workers. The nation is dangerously short of nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, prenatal and infant care clinics, home nursing programs, psychiatric day hospitals and many other preventive and therapeutic services. Effectiveness is further reduced when scarce professional and technical time and skills, and

expensive equipment and buildings are senselessly divided between services marked "white only" and "Negro only."

In the scramble for medical care, those with more money, more education, more access to health services get the most and the best. Negroes, with less money, less education and less access, get the leftovers -- or nothing at all.

> Wiping out racial barriers is the first and indispensable necessity, but it is by no means enough to assure adequate medical care. The Negro suffers most from the chaos and shortcomings of the nation's health services, but any effort invested to improve these services will return a full measure in better health for ALL Americans.

DOCTOR, DENTIST, HOSPITAL CHIEF ....

> Walk through any hospital and it is easy to see that many, if not most, of the maids, janitors, and kitchen workers are Negroes. Also obvious in many hospitals are Negro nursing aids and orderlies, and in quite a few there are Negro professional nurses, too. But it would require months of walking through hospitals (except the handful of predominantly Negro hospitals) to find a Negro doctor taking care of a private patient or a Negro heading up a department -- or even working behind the reception desk.

The number of Negroes in professional and supervisory hospital positions in this country is conspicuously small. The same situation exists in nursing homes, health departments, visiting nurse agencies and related medical institutions.

Is this the result of racial discrimination?

It is, but today, it is not necessarily the result of hospitals refusing to accept qualified Negro applicants. This blatant form of racial discrimination no longer exists in many hospitals. Increasingly, official policy is to hire the best qualified applicant regardless of race, creed or color -- and this policy applies even to positions requiring the greatest skills and paying the highest salaries.

If one looks hard enough, Negroes can be found in almost every kind of hospital position somewhere in the country: in Waltham, Mass., a hospital director; in Louisville, a record librarian; in Kansas City, a chief psychiatric social worker; in San Francisco, a pharmacist; in San Antonio, a supervising professional nurse; in Jersey City, a director of the out-patient

department; in Charleston, S.C., an X-ray technician; in Pittsburgh, a dietician; in Denver, a full-time professor of pediatrics; in New York City, a chief of occupational therapy; in Detroit, a chief laboratory technician; and in Atlanta, a member of the city hospital board.

The singularity of top positions being held by Negroes is evident. Is this the result of "tokenism" -- that ugly form of racial discrimination so prevalent in schools whereby a few of the large number of Negroes are let through a racial barrier to give the illusion of non-discrimination?

"Tokenism" and other subtle discriminatory practices probably do exist in some of the hospitals and health agencies which officially have a non-discriminatory policy. Yet discrimination of this type is hard to prove. Contrasted with the school situation, there is not a large number of Negroes wanting "in." No group of unemployed Negro health workers is imprisoned behind racial barriers.

Quite the contrary. There is a great shortage of qualified Negro health workers -- and an even greater shortage of qualified white health workers.

Consequently, today every qualified health worker can find a job appropriate to his training and experience, although if he is Negro, it may not always be in the institution or city of his choice.

The shortage of health workers is due to several factors: the nation's growing population; the increased scope and complexity

of health services; the additional numbers of young and old people with chronic illnesses; and the greater demands for medical care from a prosperous and better educated people.

For most types of health work, educational and training programs have been increased, but not nearly fast enough to meet the growing need. A good example is in the training of doctors.

Despite the building of new medical schools and the expansion of old ones in recent years, the training of doctors has not kept pace with the population growth. Just to maintain our present ratio of doctors-to-people during the next 25 years, at least 20 additional medical schools should be opened.

In the nursing field, the output of new nurses has increased faster than the population, but a severe shortage still exists. One out of every five professional nurse positions in the nation's hospitals is vacant.

What is true for doctors and nurses is also true for health educators, rehabilitation counselors, sanitary inspectors, clinical psychologists, biostatisticians, social workers, radioisotope technicians, opticians -- practically every type of health worker. All are in short supply.

The shortage of Negro health workers is enormous. Although Negroes make up more than 10 per cent of the population, less than two per cent of doctors and dentists are Negro

and less than five per cent of all professional nurses are Negro. As with white health workers, the output of new personnel is not keeping up with the growth of the population, but the gap for Negroes is growing faster.

The medical profession illustrates the problem. There are about 5,000 Negro doctors. This means about one out of every 3,700 Negroes is a doctor -- compared to one out of every 640 white persons. This is only 27 Negro physicians for every 100,000 Negro persons, contrasted with 157 white doctors for every 100,000 white persons. For Negroes to catch up, they must graduate 23,000 more doctors!

But even a slight gain is unlikely, for the trend in the production of Negro doctors is in the opposite direction. During recent years, one of the two Negro medical schools expanded its enrollment. But from 1955-56 to 1961-62, the increase in the number of Negroes studying medicine throughout the country was only 10! More startling: during those same six years, the number of Negro students in the predominantly white medical schools had dropped by about 80 -- more than a third.

Is this the result of racial discrimination against Negro applicants to medical schools? Is the increasing gap in the training of other types of Negro health workers due to discriminatory admission policies in their respective training programs?

In the past, most educational and training programs did exclude Negroes and the vast majority of Negro health workers got their education and training at Negro institutions. Such programs were not numerous and so the number of Negroes who could enter the health field was limited until just recently. Now, the picture is quite different. While a few schools continue to exclude Negroes, most have official non-discriminatory policies. Many have admitted Negro students for the first time in the last few years. Except for the medical schools, most schools these days don't have enough qualified applicants to fill their classes and even medical schools complain that the number of good applicants has dropped sharply. In fact, many educational institutions in the health profession have expressed disappointment that a larger number of qualified Negroes has not applied. It is recommended that these institutions go to the predominantly Negro schools to recruit young people for the health service field.

A young person's race is no longer a barrier to the special preparation for a health career. A qualified Negro can be certain that somewhere in the country he can gain admittance to an accredited school in the speciality of his own choosing.

Why, then, <u>are</u> there so few Negroes preparing for health careers?

In the first place, few Negroes are qualified, and in the second, even fewer are interested.

The tragically small number of Negroes qualified to undertake training programs is one of the most pernicious consequences of racial discrimination in this country. The potential of the Negro population has been severely stunted by the grossly inadequate education that has been generally available to them. No significant increase in the supply of Negro health workers is possible until segregated and ghetto schools are abolished, and until the quality of public education at all levels is dramatically improved.

But of the youngsters who are qualified, why aren't more of them interested in one or another of the dozens of health occupations?

One answer is suggested by a casual review of the history of Negroes in medicine. The number of "medical families" is impressive -- the Kenneys, the Wrights, the Wilkinsons, just to mention a few. Three generations of doctors is not uncommon. In such families, general education is valued and encouraged; financial assistance during the many years of higher education may be provided -- at least, the youngster is not required to contribute to the family's support from the time he is big enough to run errands or work in the fields -- and of course, the special rewards of medical practice are visible at home and obviously attainable.

Recent studies of Negro professionals and high school students confirm the impression about "medical families": the choice of a career requiring special education and training is

strongly influenced by family income, educational level, and attitudes.

"Enrichment" programs in lower schools and intensive guidance efforts have shown their ability to make up for the lack of career incentives in many families. But this knowledge has not yet been put to effective use for health careers recruitment among Negro youths. Local and national recruitment efforts which would tie in with and take advantage of these programs could prove fruitful.

Expansion of the occupational goals of today's Negro youth is clearly a crucial essential for increasing the supply of Negro health manpower. But this is still not enough. The youngster with higher horizons is increasingly particular about his choice of occupation. The health field, in comparison to others, doesn't always come out on top. This is true with respect to occupations at both the most highly trained and the least highly trained levels. At both ends of the spectrum, financial considerations play an important role.

For example, among the best college students, medicine has lost in popularity to science as a career choice. Not only does a scientific career seem more glamorous, but the total cost of preparation -- and the length of time required -- are considerably less. Financial help for graduate science students

has been more plentiful, both in the number of students helped and the amount of help given.

No wonder that the nation's wealthy families (the 12 per cent who have incomes of $10,000 or more) supply almost half of the medical students!

A recently-passed Federal program of loans for students in medical and other health professional schools will ease the financial strain on some students. Loans, scholarships and other measures to remove financial barriers to higher education in the health field have long been advocated by most experts.

Occupations in the health field requiring the least amount of training also have difficulty in attracting workers. Again money is the problem, but with these occupations, the cost of preparation is not particularly troublesome. The deterrent is the prevailing low wages.

The wage level and working rights of most hospital and other health workers are unprotected by legislation, by unions or by professional associations. Only a few state nurses' associations have accepted collective bargaining responsibilities. Unions have only just begun to organize hospital workers. Besides, labor legislation has traditionally excluded workers employed by community hospitals and other nonprofit health agencies with the result that these workers

are not even covered by minimum wage laws (except in New York State) nor by unemployment insurance laws!

Community hospitals perform a vital public service and justifiably boast of the amount of that service made possible by voluntary contributions of well-to-do citizens. They neglect to mention, though, that an even greater amount of their public service is made possible by the substandard wages they pay -- a compulsory contribution from their workers, the group least able to be philanthropic.

The disastrous shortage of trained, competent health workers of all kinds is further compounded by the need for whole new categories of health specialists: homemakers, dental assistants, resource referral specialists, midwives, and many others.

Occupations which pay little and resemble domestic service -- the stereotyped notion of "work fit for colored folk" -- fall below the line of vision of youngsters with high horizons. Semi-professional and skilled jobs in the health field deserve decent pay and appropriate dignity. Health departments, hospitals, universities and community health councils should analyze the types of work that must be done and the kinds of background and training necessary to prepare a person for each type of work. New Federal financial assistance for occupational training which has hardly been tapped by the health services field, might be used to upgrade these careers

and attract capable young people.

Without complete elimination of racial prejudice in the personnel policies of hospitals and other health agencies and without major improvements in recruitment, training and career opportunities, the health field will continue to lose out in the competition for manpower, Negro and white.

Even under the most favorable conditions the supply of Negro doctors and other health workers will be relatively small for a long time to come. Negro doctors in the future will continue to provide only one-fourth, or less, of the doctor services received by Negroes. The same is true for the other types of Negro health workers.

> The quality and quantity of the health service received by all our citizens depends in great measure on the quality and quantity of our doctors and other health workers. No less than a drastic overhaul in recruitment, education, training, compensation and career benefits in the health professions and health-related jobs is required to make our health services of greater benefit to all.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

Here are a dozen recommendations for basic changes and improvements in national policies and programs which affect the nation's health:

1. Immediate desegregation of all hospital and health facilities. Withholding of federal funds to any medical institution that practices racial segregation or discrimination.

2. Health insurance for the aged under social security.

3. More consumer-sponsored, comprehensive service, group practice health insurance plans.

4. A fiscally and socially sound health insurance program that would assure basic medical care benefits to every person, no matter what his income, job, age, or place of residence.

5. Improvement in the financing and administration of public medical care programs.

6. Development of effective regional health and hospital planning councils.

7. Massive federal and state aid to public schools.

8. Desegregation of all lower schools and of undergraduate technical and professional colleges.

9. Development of a comprehensive nationwide health careers program with federal and state leadership and support.

10. Addition of scholarships to the program of federal aid to medical and other health profession education.

11. Coverage of all hospital and other health workers by the Federal minimum wage law.

12. Sound unionism for hospital and other health workers and job protection programs by the associations of professional and other health workers.

Here are 14 recommendations for community action. These are especially appropriate for local Urban Leagues to undertake in concert with the National Urban League and in cooperation with other community action groups:

1. Appoint fact-finding commissions to report to the National Urban League any discrimination found in federally-aided hospital and health facilities.

2. Initiate or step up private negotiation, public education and nonviolent protest against discriminatory practices in health services as these may be appropriate to local situations.

3. Train non-medical Negro community leaders for effective participation in community health planning and policy-making.

4. Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, use existing facilities to train new workers, upgrade and retrain present hospital workers in a variety of semi-professional jobs, such as laboratory technicians, licensed practical nurses, x-ray technicians, practical dieticians, operating room technicians and homemakers.

5. Inaugurate courses in intergroup relations for staffs of hospitals and other health services.

6. Conduct attitudinal studies to determine what blocks the use of available medical care by low-income Negroes.

7. Sponsor studies of hospitals that have desegregated patient services in recent years; publicize findings to encourage more hospitals to follow suit.

8. Encourage health commissioners in cities where there is a concentration of Negroes to restructure municipal health services so that they will be more responsive to their particular problems. Encourage health departments to engage in experiments which would reach out to influence slum dwellers to use health services.

9. Develop experimental health programs, demonstrate what can be done; gather, package and share experiments that have proved successful.

10. Sponsor special efforts to cut the non-white infant mortality rates through imaginative child and maternal care demonstrations, using current HEW resources, plus the community action projects which will be starting under the poverty program.

11. Develop special programs for the health care of the aging in their own homes as well as in community facilities.

12. Promote intensive health education in predominantly Negro schools and communities.

13. Arrange for NUL Youth Community traineeship programs in hospitals and other health agencies for part-time or summer employment of young Negroes as aides, clerical workers, etc.

14. Promote special health career projects in schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies.

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

NCCI

File

National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants

6 Tilney Street,
London, W.1.

Telephone MAYfair 8901

NCCI

What it is: An independent Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to help speed integration of immigrant and native communities

Who is on it: The Chairman is the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Deputy Chairman is Sir James Robertson and the General Secretary is Nadine Peppard. The membership of the Committee includes people from all over Britain and the Commonwealth. The members are chosen for their special knowledge of race relations and immigration and their knowledge of the communities affected

How it works: The Committee has appointed advisory panels which deal with subjects vital to the immigrant and the community at large eg. housing, health, education and employment (for more details see pages 5-6). There is a staff which services these panels, helps to set up local committees, provides information and tries to tackle prejudice and discrimination wherever it occurs.

What it does:

Advises the Government on all questions relating to immigration. It told the Prime Minister in 1965 that government immigration policies had done real harm to the cause of integration.

Submits evidence to special committees set up to consider questions of immigration or other allied subjects.

Studies questions such as the need to extend legislation against discrimination and prepares proposals for government and local action.

Assists liaison committees with local authority support by providing a grant towards the salary of a secretary who helps to get things moving.

Publishes reports, lectures, pamphlets and information material on commonwealth immigration and community relations.

Informs the public through the press, exhibitions and other media of the work being done.

Trains social workers, teachers and others to deal with the special problems of community and race relations.

Consults and co-operates with immigrant and other organisations.

Brings together employers, trade unionists, and others to discuss and propose fair employment practices.

Works in all possible ways for the elimination of race prejudice and discrimination in the United Kingdom.

VOLUNTARY LIAISON COMMITTEES

Advice is useful but most of the practical work is done in the community. Throughout the country voluntary Liaison Committees have been set up to work in immigrant and local communities to solve local problems which affect everyone — not just the migrants. Local work cannot be done by national committees but the NCCI can help both initially and as the work develops. This is where the groundwork is needed. There are Liaison Committees — sometimes called Community Relations Committees, sometimes known as Friendship Councils — in the following areas. More are being set up all the time. Everyone can help themselves. If YOUR area is listed below ring your town hall and find the address or write to us. If your area is not listed approach the Town Clerk or us to see what is going on. Perhaps you could do the spade work.

List of Areas:-

Greater London

Bexley
Brent
Camden
Croydon
Ealing
Hackney
Haringey
Hillingdon
(including Uxbridge, Hayes & Harlington)
Islington
Kensington & Chelsea
Lambeth*
Newham
Southwark
Tower Hamlets
Westminster

Lancashire

Bolton
Manchester
Liverpool*

N E England

Newcastle

The Midlands

West Midlands
Birmingham
Derby*
Gloucester
Leicester
Northampton*
Nottingham
Rugby
Smethwick
Walsall*
Wolverhampton

Southern England

Bristol*
Gravesend
High Wycombe
Luton
Oxford
Slough

Yorkshire

Bradford
Keighley
Halifax
Leeds
Sheffield*

* committee in the process of formation

There are 8 Panels which advise the National Committee:-

Information: Public education is the major need in this country: education against prejudice; education for racial understanding; information about facilities available and about the different cultures and backgrounds which make up our multi-racial society. All publications and information material go through the Information Panel which is also in touch with press, radio, television and publishers.

Education: Organises seminars and conferences of educators both to improve the treatment of race relations in school and to train the teachers to do it.

Employment: The Panel recommended that a non-discriminatory clause should be included in the Fair Wages Resolution and that legislation should be extended to cover discrimination in employment. The Home Secretary has said that he is studying both subjects and is also examining government policy on contracts with firms which discriminate.

Health: Some immigrants have health problems additional to those of the native community; changes in climatic conditions produce change in resistance to illness. Knowledge of health risks and facilities can avoid infection. Local authorities, health departments and information sources can combine to prevent illness and provide health education.

Legal and Welfare: The Panel has examined the need for independent investigation of complaints against the police; the arbitrary powers of the immigration officers; the conditions of entry imposed on some immigrants; the need for further legislation to cover insurance, credit facilities and any other services where race is used as grounds for discrimination. The panel prepared the NCCI evidence to the Committee on Immigration Procedure.

Housing: The home is the key to the community. Studies have been made of local government policy in housing as it effects immigrants and recommendations have been submitted about administrative means of tackling local problems including housing associations in "twilight areas".

Children's Problems: Problems which affect children generally are more acute for children of immigrants. Most Local Committees find the first needs to be pre-school playgroups, nurseries, baby minding and child care.

Social Work Training: Community relations is an old subject with new facets. Social workers need training to deal with new situations. Voluntary workers in their thousands are available but need help to know what to do and how to do it. Seminars and short training courses provide the first answers.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

An Address by Bayard Rustin

THE ANATOMY OF FRUSTRATION

The Anatomy of Frustration

An address delivered by

Bayard Rustin, *director of the*

A. Philip Randolph Institute,

at the 55th National Commission Meeting

of the Anti-Defamation League

of B'nai B'rith.

May 6, 1968, New York, N.Y.

The United States is in a crisis, a deep moral crisis—and I speak with a heavy heart.

Many younger Negroes today, in deep frustration, sincerely, gropingly, tragically, have adopted many of the negative and degrading concepts which have brutalized and enslaved them, believing somehow that these concepts can achieve freedom for them.

We must try to analyze the problem.

We would be mistaken to think that the only desire of young Negroes today is to have a job, to have a decent house, to be well-educated, to have medical care. All of these things are very important, but deeper and more profound is the feeling of young Negroes today—through all classes, from the *lumpenproletariat* to the working poor, the working classes, the middle classes and the intelligentsia—that the time has come when they are demanding recognition of their dignity and that the time has come when they should have power, a voice in the solution of problems which affect their lives. Every Negro in the nation could be provided with decent housing, jobs, education, medical care, and we would still have a revolt on our hands because Negroes want, deeply and sincerely, to share in the decision-making process.

The tragedy is that those who are in deepest revolt are not only responding to the frustrations of their objective situation, but more fundamentally to the morality of a society which is teaching them that violence is the only effective force for social change. This society is systematically teaching them that it will respond only to tactics of desperation and violence.

This is not only true for Negroes. Many of

us have been concerned for years about Columbia University taking all the land around its Harlem site and running people out of their homes to build high-rise structures exclusively for white people. We warned Columbia officials that a problem would occur. But the great educators at Columbia did not respond to our pleas. They waited until 200 students, using the tactics of desperation, closed down the University. Then they were ready to talk. Then they were ready to discuss whether there ought to be a building where Columbia students, predominantly white, would enter from the top into one gym and where Negroes from Harlem would enter at the bottom of the same structure into a separate gym. One should have known that such separated facilities would create problems.

Or, let us take another example. In Chicago, young Negroes went out into the street because they had no air conditioning, because their apartments had three and four times too many people. They could endure it in the winter but in the summer they could not. And so the kids went out and turned on the fire hydrants and the police came and beat their heads and there was a riot. And then came the tragic lesson that violence is indeed a force for social change: The Mayor of Chicago, failing to meet the basic social and political needs of the people, responded by riding through the ghetto distributing eight dollar sprinklers for the fire hydrants. In addition, he promised them two swimming pools.

Or, in New York where A. Philip Randolph and I had for five years tried to get the police department to upgrade Negro patrolmen: We urged that a Negro be made head of the police

force in Harlem for psychological reasons. It was not done. But two weeks after the riot in 1964, they upgraded a Negro lieutenant, made him a captain, and put him in charge of the Central Harlem Precinct. I then received a letter from a youth group saying, "You and Randolph failed. You should roll over and get the hell out of the way for your methods don't work. *We* upgraded a Negro policeman with sticks and stones and Molotov cocktails."

So this is the lesson we are teaching—that when the liberal forces of this nation join in coalition and urge that something be done, they are ignored. But that when people riot something is done. While basic needs are not met, minor and often insignificant concessions are made.

Negro women in Watts making $55 and $60 a week as maids were spending up to twenty-six of those dollars getting taxis from the Negro ghetto to the white homes where they worked because no one had provided a transportation system for Watts. When Martin Luther King and I went to Watts and told the young Negroes they must put an end to rioting, that it was destroying their own community, they said: "Go back where you came from. We are winning." One of them lit a match, held it up, and said: "This is our manifesto and it's winning." And he went on to say that if you went out into the streets you would find sociologists, economists, city planners, hospital experts, transportation experts, "all there because of our manifesto." The fact is that there were groups in Watts before that riot which had urged the city to do something about conditions. They were ignored.

The action for dealing with the problem of

justice must come quickly, and before more rioting, lest we further teach people that the only viable method of social change is an act of desperation.

What I know, and what you ought to know, is the tragedy of a society which will not make basic changes but will make promises and token concessions—so long as the rioting goes to point X. But when it reaches X plus one, we are all in trouble, for then there will be the most vigorous repression. Then there will be vigilantism. Even more important, you cannot repress one-tenth of the population, no matter how badly elements of it behave, without threatening the civil liberties of everyone in the nation. Where there are not civil liberties, we cannot make social progress. That I believe is the problem before us.

What must be understood is the anatomy of frustration, and here is where the Jewish problem can be put into focus. I am not one who goes about apologizing for or explaining away Negro anti-Semitism. It is here, it is dangerous, it must be rooted out. We cannot say it is somehow different or not really important. We cannot sweep it under the rug. What we can and had better do is to understand it if we are in fact to deal with it.

The first thing about those who are frustrated is that their frustration causes them to adopt a psychology, an economics, and a sociology which are frustrated. It goes like this: The United States is no longer viable. All institutions must be destroyed and new ones established. Negroes are never going to get their rights.

The death of Dr. Martin Luther King spurred that philosophy to its logical conclusion. Take

what Stokely Carmichael is reported to have said: "If they wanted to brutalize a black man, why didn't they get me or Rap Brown. We're the really dangerous ones to this social order. The fact that they got King indicates that Negroes will never get anything in this society and they are out to exterminate us all."

So the first point of the frustrated is that the society is not viable. Secondly, if the society is not viable, then no program needs to be projected because to project a program is to fool the masses of Negroes. So they viciously attack the Freedom Budget put forth by A. Philip Randolph. To them Randolph and I became the major enemies because we were putting forth a program, and to put forth a program, when you know nothing will move, is dishonest.

Thirdly, if the nation is not viable, and no program is needed, then all those people who have worked over the years for civil rights and are still working for integration into this society become the enemy. Not the Ku Klux Klan, not the John Birch Society, but those closest to you.

This is what Jews need to understand: That in the list of whom you attack, those you love come first. You attack those you expected something from. You attack those who have in fact carried the banner. So before King's death, King and his non-violence were the first enemy precisely because he had done the most. The argument went that if after all the bloodshed, the bombings, the tear-gassing, the water-hosing and the dogs, King could not produce real victories, then he had fooled his people, he had exposed them to useless sacri-

fice. After his death, of course, a new situation was created. Now they had the opportunity to shift gears, to say that the greatest Negro was killed by a white. But when King was alive, it was a different story.

Next in the list of enemies of the frustrated come Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph. They are now the traitors to the cause. I have leaflets in my office in which A. Philip Randolph is threatened. One, with blobs of red paint looking like blood, declares: "Randolph, you are next."

Listed, too, are the liberal community which has fought side by side with us and the Jews who made greater contributions than anybody else in the liberal community. Because of this reverse hate-affection syndrome, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Philip Randolph, the liberals, the Jews, the labor leaders who lifted almost two million Negroes out of the *lumpenproletariat* into the working classes, are all bastards now.

The point is that if Jews are under attack by the extreme left in the Negro community, they are in the same basket with Negro leaders and even the most progressive political leadership. Jews are not the only victims of this attack. Jews are not likely to feel better simply because others are also under attack, nevertheless there ought to be an understanding of what the problem really is.

In the anatomy of frustration, the long-time leadership is rejected. But heroes must be found somewhere and so they adopt heroes of foreign revolutions—not because they believe in the philosophy of their heroes, but because they want to adopt the extreme tactics that they believe have worked for those

heroes. Thus, Che Guevara, Mao Tse Tung, Castro and Fanon become heroes. This doesn't make the militants Communists. It means, rather, that they are so desperate for new methods that they reach into completely different kinds of situations hoping that those tactics can be applied here. Of course, they cannot be.

The tactics of the frustrated, or the anatomy of frustration, are that the only thing left to do, since the society is not viable and program is unrealistic, is to give everybody hell, to denounce everybody and to call for revolt.

Consider the question of the Jew in the ghetto. Nothing that I say is justification for anti-Semitism for I know that in a situation where anti-Semitism exists, none of us is safe. Anti-Semitism must be rooted out. We have, however, an obligation to try to understand Negro anti-Semitism without excusing it.

If you happen to be an uneducated, poorly trained Negro living in the ghetto, and particularly if you live by your wits selling numbers, selling dope, engaging in prostitution, then you only see four kinds of white people. One is the policeman, the second is the businessman, the third is the teacher, and the fourth is the welfare worker. In many cities, three of those four are predominantly Jewish. Except for the policeman, the majority of the businessmen, the majority of the teachers, the majority of the welfare workers are Jewish. Here again is the hate-love syndrome.

Ninety percent of the crime that Negroes commit is against other Negroes in the ghetto. Negroes, therefore, both hate and depend on policemen. To have to depend on someone you dislike and who often brutalizes you is ghastly.

Then comes the businessman. Many ghetto Negroes know nothing about capitalization. The fact is, if you walk up 125th Street you will see what they say you will see—a television set that sells in department stores for $79.50 costs $132 in Harlem. But the ghetto dweller does not calculate that the department store is able to sell the TV set at $79.50 because he has made a considerable down payment, and is required to finish payments within one year; while in the ghetto he is often given, with no down payment, three or four years in which to pay. He often does not understand that as the length of time for payment is increased, the interest is increased. He does not always understand that only such long-term capitalization makes it possible for him to have a TV set at all.

Many people are kept alive for three and four weeks at a time by local businessmen who let them pile up the debt until they hit the numbers or something and can pay for what they bought. But if you hit the numbers once in a year and have to give most of the money to the groceryman for things you have already eaten, when there are still more things you need, you hate him for taking your money even though you know it belongs to him.

The thing to understand is that the chief characteristic of every ghetto and of every major poor area is that people operate on the principle of immediate gratification. If you have little money, you operate on immediate gratification. You don't buy a sheet until the sheet is torn. You don't buy salt until you're at dinner and the salt runs out. Nobody can save up enough money to take advantage of a sale. You've got to get it when you can—and

the tragedy here is that the need to live always on the principle of immediate gratification can be sometimes frightening.

A young fellow I got a job for came to see me a week after receiving his first two weeks pay. He came to thank me for the job and to show me what he had bought for himself. He had gone into a store on 125th Street when he had $125 for his two weeks' work and had paid $67.50 for a pair of alligator shoes.

Now, this may shock you, but if you have never had anything but sneakers, and even those with holes in them, and day after day you've been walking past the shoe store seeing something beautiful, then to pay that amount for it may be uneconomical but it is psychologically understandable. He held those shoes to his breast waiting for me to rave about how beautiful they were. And I did. I knew that at a later time I would have to talk to him about the wise use of money, but I wasn't going to destroy his moment of immediate gratification, which was for him a moment of great beauty.

Next comes the teacher. She's Jewish. In the ghetto one does not analyze that the Board of Education and the whole system is corrupt, that no matter how much that teacher wants to teach she cannot teach in those conditions. One does not bother to analyze that it is not the teacher's fault that the child had no breakfast, and may not have lunch, that he may have to go to the poolroom to bum money for potato chips and an orange soda and that that may be all he eats that day. How can you teach that child? How can you teach children when you have forty in a class and two disruptive children who need psychiatric care? To

the ghetto mother, there is the teacher and she is Jewish. And she doesn't think the Jewish teacher cares whether her child gets to learn or not.

Then you come to the welfare worker. If you know anything about welfare you know that spying is part of the system. To sneak around on weekends to find out if there are men's shoes or pants hanging in the closets, whether a man has been in the house for the weekend, is part of the job. One method by which the relief rolls are decreased is on the basis of finding a man in the house.

We must get at these problems not on the basis of urging people merely to change their attitudes or of misinterpreting the Kerner Report on civil disorders. That report didn't say that Americans are racist. If it did, the only answer would be to line everybody up, all 200 million of us, line up 200,000 psychiatrists, and we'd all lie on couches for the first ten years trying to understand the problem and the next ten years learning how to deal with it. All over the country people are beating their breasts crying *mea culpa*—"I'm so sorry that I am a racist"—which means, really, that they want to cop out because if racism is to be solved on an individual psychological basis, then there is little hope.

What the Kerner Report was really saying was that the *institutions* of America brutalize not only the Negro but also whites who are not racists, and who in many communities have to use racist institutions. When it's put on that basis, we know that the fundamental problem is not sitting around examining our innards, but getting out and fighting for institutional change.

I am all in favor of Jewish businessmen doing what they can to find a job here and there for the Negro. That's very commendable. But if the choice were between putting energy into finding a job here or there for a Negro as against putting the weight of the affluent Jewish businessman behind fundamental social change in which the government becomes the employer of first and last resort for the hard-core poor, then I would propose the latter choice. The problem is that neither individuals nor the private sector of the economy has, or can take, the responsibility for full employment in American society. This is the responsibility of all segments of the society and thus, finally, the government.

The Negro and the poor can only be lifted out of poverty when the government takes the responsibility for creating work for those that the private sector can no longer use, given the impact of automation and cybernation. American business will not buy sheer muscle power. The sale of muscle power began to diminish when sweatshops began to disappear. American capital is not going to put the under-educated back to work; the society must collectively do that. I am all for private enterprise doing what it can, but there are extreme limitations.

For example, we need a national land-use policy. We're not going to find homes for the poor until we have a national land-use policy, as well as a national migration policy. There is all the talk about urban crisis while in Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama, Negroes are being run off the farms and being forced into Chicago, St. Louis and New York. We will never catch up so long as the present farm

policy continues to drive them into the cities. The more of them that we find homes for, the more come in. One-half million Negroes are leaving the South annually, coming to New York, Chicago and other ghettos—one-half million coming in while only about 30,000 per year are going out of the ghettos into the suburbs. For those who don't take the trouble to find out, that is how the ghettos grow larger, with more frustration and more despair.

Here are some of the things we are going to have to do in order to deal with white fear and Negro frustration. We're going to have to have a $2 minimum wage in this country. And if there are small businessmen frightened by that, let me reassure them that I am for government subsidization of those who cannot afford to pay just as the government subsidizes millionaire railway men and millionaire farmers with price supports. Why not the small businessman if he can't afford to pay?

We are going to have to have public works to put these people back to work and to do it without a lot of talk about pre-training. These people don't have to be pre-trained. All they need to know is that there is a job. John Dewey said that a man learns by doing. I want to go Dewey one better—we must put these people to work learning while doing, and while being paid. In World War II we did not ask whether people were too black, or too old, or too young, or too stupid. We simply said to them this is a hammer, this is a tool, this is a drill. We built factories and sent these people into the factories. We paid them extraordinarily good wages and in two months they created the miracle of making planes that flew. We can find a peacetime method for

doing this. And the method is in public works —for all the schools, all the hospitals, all the psychiatric clinics, all the new modes of transportation, of cleaning the air, of cleaning the rivers. All of these improvements would benefit not only the poor but also the affluent. Furthermore, for those who cannot work because they are too young, too old, too sick, or who are female heads of large families, we must have guaranteed incomes. In addition, we must have free medical care and we must pay a salary to those capable of going through school. Beyond this we must see that the ghettos with their high density of people per room cannot be improved. We must create new towns and destroy the ghettos, providing work through construction and human services to humans. Nothing short of this will be effective.

These programs will cost us $18.5 billion a year beyond the present level of expenditure and that money can come from the Gross National Product. But I want to assure businessmen again—these people are not going to sit on the money when they get it. They're going to act like Americans. They're going to go out and buy all the junk that is advertised, thereby raising the GNP, raising the economic production and growth of the country, and fundamentally adding to the economic stability of the nation.

The way things are now, we are twice damned. We are paying $15 billion a year for the support and misdeeds of those who cannot find work and end up in prison or on welfare. If they are provided with work and improve the economy, then we have additional growth plus the $15 billion we are now paying

for keeping them on welfare and in jail.

For the things which must be done, I request the understanding, the cooperation and the aid of Jews. I do so knowing that there is Negro anti-Semitism and knowing how Jews must feel when they hear some Negro extremists talk. To hear these young Negroes spouting material directly from *Mein Kampf* must bring up terrible memories, shocking inner turmoil. But in times of confusion, I recommend to Jews what I do for myself in times of confusion. I go back and read the Jewish prophets, fundamentally Isaiah and Jeremiah. And I want you to know that if every Jew in the United States—not just a minority of extremists—called me a black nigger and said we don't need you to speak out against anti-Semitism in Poland, we can handle it ourselves, I would not stop speaking out against anti-Semitism in Poland. I would continue to speak because I could do no other, because Isaiah and Jeremiah have taught me to be against injustice wherever it is, and first of all in myself. There is a moral problem in abandoning the fight against injustice merely because less than two percent of the Negroes in this country are engaging in anti-Semitism. It is a problem which Isaiah and Jeremiah would be the first to point out and it may even be a cop out for those Jews who have other reasons for wanting to abandon the struggle. I urge Jews to be aware of that and at the same time to remember that the issue never was, and never can be, simply a problem of Jew and gentile or black and white. The problem is man's inhumanity to man and must be fought from that basic principle regardless of race or creed.

Jews ought not to fall into a trap. They have The Book. They've had the books. There is no more stirring story anywhere in the world, no more important philosophy in history, than can be found in Judaism. Everything is there, but it must be read. It must be remembered, too, that there were problems at the turn of the century when German Jews living in New York were distressed when Eastern Jews began to come in in large numbers. The term Eastern *Yidden* was used by those German Jews as if it meant nigger. Jews must remember their past history when they consider the militance and anti-Semitism among some young Negroes today. We must get on with the fight for a coalition of labor forces, of religious forces, of businessmen, of liberal and civil rights groups standing together. White fear, Negro frustration, and anti-Semitism will disappear not because we rail against them but because we bring about a social and economic program to neutralize them.

What is truly at stake is whether we can band together in a great political movement beyond party to bring about the socialization of this nation where it needs to be socialized, or whether we are going to permit the nation which we love to be torn asunder in a race war in which people who don't want to be on either side may be forced to take sides. That is our problem. That is our challenge. And I hope that the Jewish people, who have been among the staunchest liberal forces in this society, will continue to be a part of the coalition of forces necessary to meet this challenge.

NO. 12 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS

looking forward

The Author

Sandra Feldman is on the staff of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO and a longtime civil rights activist. The views presented here do not necessarily represent those of the UFT or the LID. They are published as part of a continuing discussion of the critical problems confronting urban education.

Design by Eugene Glaberman

Photos by B. Shavitz

PUBLISHED BY THE

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

112 E. 19 STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

Michael Harrington
Chairman of the Board

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285

Decentralization and the City Schools

by Sandra Feldman

Legislation has been proposed for the establishment of 30 to 60 autonomous, competitive school districts in a city whose problems of poverty, discrimination, and ethnic estrangement are among the worst in the nation. The major impetus for the recommendation made by the Mayor's Panel on Decentralization, headed by McGeorge Bundy, was the failure of the school system; the specific nature of those recommendations was shaped by the political climate. The report has come at a time when the struggle for equality, despite a decade of glory, has failed to heal racial division; when, especially among youth in the ghetto, there is an angry and bitter retreat into separatism. Many liberals, weary and disoriented, are willing to settle for "separate but equal" and grasp thankfully at the opportunity to cloak this retrogression in the militant-sounding rhetoric of black power. In the name of reform, private enterprise is offered as a greater healer of social and economic ills than the public sector. The "competitive spirit" is regarded as more constructive than alliances, for in the face of failure and resulting anger, competition is easier, less complicated, than cooperation.

Now, in the name of radical school reform, the Mayor's Panel has written legislation which strengthens segregation and places upon poor communities the burden of creating desperately needed massive, substantive, programmatic changes in their schools.

Yet the ostensible basis for this new proposal is high-minded: the schools in New York City are not educating minority group children. The educational bureaucracy has grown to proportions which make accountability and responsiveness impossible. Decentralization of the system is needed.

But there is a less apparent motivation. The threat of violence in the ghetto is ever-present; the causes are deep-seated and require solutions which neither the city nor the state can really provide. Unable to make a breakthrough in housing or jobs, the Negro community has focused major protest action on the schools, where society's dereliction is painfully, undeniably obvious. And while a total solution to the school problem may be impossible without seriously attacking unemployment and bad housing, it may be possible for protests to be mollified without substantive solutions. It may be — and that's what this discussion is really about — that in giving local communities total control over their schools, society is copping out.

At any rate, the long-needed break-up of the unresponsive school bureaucracy in New York is coming. The move towards greater accountability must be welcomed. But the specific proposals require careful examination. The fundamental question is, how will this upheaval affect the classroom? Will it raise achievement levels?

The Bundy proposal has engendered considerable debate and is likely to be revised. The argument offered here aims to create support for extensive revision which will maximize benefits and minimize dangers. The need for change is indisputable.

Possible Advantages

A proper redistribution of power would increase both the operating efficiency of the schools and their responsiveness to the lay public. Smaller districts run by locally elected boards would better allow education to be tailored to the needs of children in the district. Such a system would give parents real power to affect school program and policy, and this increased power, according to supporters of the Bundy plan for community school districts, would have three major effects:

First, it is claimed, increased parent power in ghetto communities would give the children greater feelings of self-worth and the conviction that they can influence their own destinies; the result would be greater motivation for learning.

Second, the new system would make the professional personnel accountable to the community in which they work — and therefore more responsive to the needs of the children and their parents.

Third, this increased power and the concomitant necessity to compete with neighboring districts would release creative energy and imagination in each community, resulting in a more dynamic and vital educational complex. An analogy with suburban school districts is often made to illustrate this point.

Dangers

While there is some truth in each of these assumptions, the disadvantages are heavy. For example, a careless redistribution of power could decrease efficiency by creating a number of little bureaucracies. More important, we need to re-examine the argument that heightened feelings of self-worth in children depend solely upon increased parental power and involvement. While the theory obviously has some validity, it is asserted by different groups with differing goals in mind. It is used by black power militants who regard decentralization as a step toward self-determination for the Negro community; it is also used by milder proponents of community control, white and black, who have despaired of integration and have begun to favor separatism. Here is Clarence Funnye, former pro-integrationist chairman of New York Core, in a recent piece in the *Village Voice* called, "Bundy and Black Power: A Retreat to Reality;"

"Some will invoke the dream of multi-racial education, saying that schools controlled by ghetto parents will not be 'integrated.' But are they integrated now? Is there any hope that they ever will be? And isn't locally-controlled segregation at least an improvement over the present centrally-controlled (white) quasi-colonial system?"

There is a very real danger that decentralization will mean an end to the possibility of school integration in New York City. Breaking up the school bureaucracy may be a necessity, but balkanizing the system into 30 to 60 autonomous districts drawn along neighborhood lines could be an educational disaster. Any feelings of "control" or self-worth which Negro schoolchildren might acquire in a system controlled by Negroes could be seriously offset by a continuing segregation sanctioned by society.

The Case for Integration

The massive Office of Education Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* authored by James P. Coleman, found that the feeling of having "control over one's fate" — a very shorthand phrase for complicated feelings of adequacy and hope — was an important variable in educational achievement.

Some leaders in the Negro community have maintained that once that community is able to exercise the same power over education that most small white communities have, and once, as a result, there are more black authority figures among the professional personnel for children to emulate, the children's feelings of control over their own lives will be greatly enhanced and achievement will rise.

Arguing for the parents at IS 201 who were fighting for community control and a black principal, Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE, said:

"The parents knew — perhaps better than the professional educators — that their individual and collective feeling of powerlessness and the resulting lack of self respect had had and would continue to have a crippling effect upon their children. They therefore demanded . . . black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire."

In that same article, McKissick argues against school integration:

"In fact total reliance on integration is at direct odds with that sense of 'control' over one's fate which, according to the Coleman Report, correlates closely with achievement."

Yet the Coleman Report demonstrates precisely that minority group children in integrated schools have a greater sense of control over their

destinies than minority children in segregated schools; and, even further, that academic achievement among those Negro children in integrated situations is much higher than among Negro children in segregated schools. Coleman saw this as a direct result of the integration itself; that is, being in the integrated situation and having the chance to make his way in the larger world, creates in the child the feeling that obstacles can be overcome by his efforts. It is this that engenders hope and a sense of control over his fate. These are feelings which a ghetto child in segregated schools presumably cannot have because his segregation imprisons him against the opportunity to function in the larger community.

In a summary of his findings in *The Public Interest,* Coleman writes, ". . . The schools are successful only insofar as they reduce the dependence of a child's opportunities upon his social origins."

Can neighborhood schools in a depressed area do this? Will community control and black authority figures make the difference? Not if Coleman is right when he concludes:

> **"It is important to reduce the social and racial homogeneity of the school environment, so that those agents of education that do show some effectiveness — teachers and other students — are not mere replicas of the student himself. In the present organization of schools, it is the neighborhood school that most insures such homogeneity."**

The conclusion that children in segregated schools have seriously damaged feelings of adequacy and control is reinforced by the report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* which states in part: "Racial isolation not only inflicts educational damage upon Negro students when they are in school, it reinforces the very attitude and behavior that maintain and intensify racial isolation as well."

And the importance of integrated schooling was further demonstrated in the White Plains, New York, experiment, where Negro children in integrated schools showed startling gains in just a few years.

Therefore, while the major gain projected for decentralization is the enlargement of the power and authority of the ghetto parent over his child's education, there is a major danger that extreme decentralization will permanently "lock up" school districts, and that community control of a small ghetto district, assuming no change in the low socioeconomic status of the residents, will lead to even greater feelings of despair and defeat in the schoolchildren.

If the districts created are too numerous and if boundaries are drawn along the "community" lines suggested in the Bundy legislation, defacto segregation will graduate to the level of an accepted institution.

Acceptance of institutionalized segregation is already in the air. We know it is favored by large segments of white society. Even more tragically, it is seized upon by some in the Negro community as a positive benefit. In his endorsement of the Bundy report, Clarence Funnye argues:

> **"Given the existing residential patterns, this means in effect that we are going to recognize a dual school system (which already exists), with real local control. This may hopefully provide for the first time, a mechanism whereby Black superintendents, principals and teachers will educate Black children, and Black parents for the first time will have control over what is taught."**

Obviously, the converse of this is that white superintendents, principals and teachers will educate white children . . . and that black teachers will be kept out of white districts. Of course, many "community control" sympathizers are "morally" opposed to this eventuality. Mr. Bundy himself expresses the hope that it will not happen. But if we have learned anything from the long, unfinished struggle for equality, it is that good will is not enough.

Will segregation in the guise of community control give greater hope to Negro schoolchildren? Not if, as all the serious studies indicate, integration is essential to their achievement. And integration — remember we are speaking of economic class, not simply of race — can be attained in a city as complicated and diverse as New York only by exercising enough central control to achieve a degree of consolidation. Heterogeneity where neighborhoods tend to be homogeneous requires the widening and crossing of school district lines, and the establishment of what is often talked about as decentralization but is really a centralized school structure — the educational park and/or complex.

It ought to be noted that in Chicago an equally radical plan for reorganizing the schools has been developed, and it takes a direction almost completely opposite to the one proposed in New York. The Chicago plan calls for massive busing, campus schools, enlargement and consolidation of districts — all for the purpose of integration as well as school improvement.

In New York, the central school board has lost the confidence of the public — for good reason — and decentralization rather than consolidation is coming. To avoid setting up a permanently segregated system, we must keep the number of districts to less than thirty, and we must draw district lines deliberately to achieve maximum integration as a primary goal.

The Need For Quality

Complete school integration cannot be achieved today or tomorrow in New York City. Maintaining an absolutist position in favor of integration could lead to postponing immediate school improvement.

This trap can and must be avoided. Programs providing much more than "compensation" must be established now. The More Effective Schools Program, for example, is a total school program which radically changes the internal structure of the educational institution by offering individualized instruction through drastically reduced class size and increased numbers of teachers, specialists, clinicians, and special services. MES is not a panacea but it has raised reading achievement, and it has stopped, in the early grades, the progressive academic retardation which is prevalent in ordinary special service schools. Something very much like it is immediately necessary, to help the inner city children who are failing so terribly, and to stop the tidal exodus of white children from the public schools. (In one predominantly Negro More Effective School in Brooklyn, 200 white families bus their children to the school each day — and have done so for three years. Obviously, the school offers an excellent, saturated program.)

The trouble is that local control is regarded as an *alternative* to integration. While most Negroes and liberals agree that integration is best, too many have lost hope of achieving it. Yet integrated schools are not impossible — just very difficult. More difficult than simple decentralization, and more expensive.

There are areas in Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, for example, where neighborhoods are close enough to have integrated schools. In Brooklyn and Queens, some of these areas cross borough lines, and even in Manhattan there are borderline streets where a school could replace a block of tenements and be fed a heterogeneous pupil population. Of course, integrated schools have to be really good — good enough to raise the achievement of poor children, good enough to retain the middle class — and good schools cost a lot of money. (New York City spends approximately $450 per pupil in "special service" elementary schools in disadvantaged areas. MES schools cost approximately $950 per pupil, and that is still not enough.)

The fact is, whether we have decentralization or not, without vast expenditures — for all children, not just the disadvantaged — the public school system will continue to deteriorate. The transfer of power from central to local, or from white to black, will not make the important difference when the power itself is over a starved institution.

Decentralization as a Substitute

Another great danger in the current move toward decentralization is that it can be used as a substitute for real (i.e., budgetary) school improvement. If this kind of substitution is permitted, the schoolchildren in poor communities, whose schools are greatly in need of expensive, concrete improvements, will be the first to suffer and will suffer the most.

Let us look at the "suburban schools" analogy offered by decentralizers, and the probability that the proposed decentralization will see cutthroat competition between autonomous neighborhood districts for scarce money, services, and personnel.

The suburban areas that are looked to as examples of "good schools" because of local control *spend more money*. (Almost all of them have taxing power.) New York City spends approximately $750 per pupil (system-wide) compared to the typical suburban community's $1,100 per pupil. There is no indication whatever that significant sums of money will be provided to upgrade New York City school. If hiring power, for example, is given to the individual districts, and schools in segregated poor communities do not experience a simultaneous material change in conditions, how will they compete for qualified personnel? And further, how will the higher income taxpayers be persuaded that a good share of their taxes must go to separate school districts in low income areas? Will middle-class communities allow public funds to be disproportionately distributed on the basis of greater need to school districts outside of their own?

The Bundy report does provide for a greater allocation of state aid to the schools on the basis of decentralization, and also includes a complicated formula for the distribution of that aid on the basis of need. The report even acknowledges a great need for resources beyond the state allocation.

It ought to be noted, however, that a good part of the increase in state aid will be eaten up by operational costs — including the expense of the initial changeover. According to Bundy, whose estimate is probably conservative, "The net annual cost of decentralization might be very small indeed, or it might in the long run go as high as $50 million or even $100 million a year, depending on the choices of those responsible for the new system." (That same amount could provide for 100 or 200 More Effective Schools.)

As for the acquisition of additional money, there is nothing in the report beyond the enthusiastic recommendation of district-by-district competition for supplementary funds from foundations, the federal government, and other agencies. Instead of an economic program, the

panel relies upon the third major decentralization argument — that power and competition will release creativity and dynamism, and communities will "awaken" to demand what is due them. From a social science point of view, the argument is interesting. From a political point of view, it is disastrous.

One liability of surburban school systems, for example, is the frequently lost battle over increased school taxes. It is very likely that high income taxpayers will resist any increase of taxes for schools in New York City when it is not their schools which need them.

Interestingly enough, the parochialism of the small town outlook has already manifested itself in the calls of some so-called Negro militants for a stop to increased school funds. At the end of last year, the Peoples' Board of Education published an analysis of the school budget, concluding that what is necessary is an end to waste, not increased funds. They wrote:

> **"Unless there is decentralization in which local communities can hold the local schools accountable for how the money is spent, can introduce the local kinds of 'quality control' to make certain that local needs are really being met, it seems wasteful and undesirable to simply increase the education budget. Instead it makes more sense for a detailed decentralization plan, for the entire city, to be drawn up with the local groups involved in the design, so that next year education can receive top priority, and the money won't be wasted in artificial and fake programs."**

The Bundy method of school funding seems designed to keep taxes low and the budget down. It requires community boards to base their proposed budgets "on an estimate by the Central Education Agency of the amount likely to be available in the ensuing fiscal year. . . ." Districts are forced to compete for additional funds from private foundations and city, state, or federal agencies. Instead of this, there must be a sweeping revision of the proposal in the legislature to provide a *guarantee* of substantial supplemental funds for district use.

Just as the call for Black Power without a realistic economic program cannot provide an answer for thousands of Negroes suffering from poverty and joblessness, local control of ghetto schools without a realistic funding program for school improvement cannot end massive academic retardation. Just as Black Power receives support from conservatives because it does not make extensive economic demands on the larger society, local control of schools will receive that support for the same reasons.

"Reconnection"

The Bundy Report is called "Reconnection for Learning." Its basic assumption is that local control will reinstate community confidence in the schools, and improve relations between parents and professionals. It is reasonable to believe this could result, but in at least one demonstration district where a decentralization experiment has been established, the contrary has occurred.

Last year, teachers and parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville met regularly and, in several instances, demonstrated together for school improvements. They won a few small victories. Because relationships were fairly good there, the area was chosen for experimentation in local control.

Now schools which were overcrowded, understaffed, severely lacking in special services, and sorely in need of renovation for years are under control of the community. They are still overcrowded, more understaffed than ever before, completely lacking in services, still in need of renovation, and handicapped even further by an atmosphere of tension and hostility which has driven a wedge between the teachers and the community.

Rather than the "reconnection" of community and school which the Bundy Report talks about, there has been a widening of the gap. There is increased blame-placing on both sides for poor learning conditions, and there is greater tension as parents and teachers, each from separate vantage points, see radical changes in procedure unaccompanied by substantive change in educational assets.

Although racial overtones intensify the conflict, the cause of the basic tension is unmistakable: academic failure. Teachers, losing confidence, beset by difficulties, and unable to make a significant dent in the retardation, blame the parents for not preparing their children for school. The community, which elected a governing board, which hired their own superintendent and principals, is discouraged and angry and blames the teachers.

Unfortunately, the greater accountability desired by the community (the second argument for decentralization) cannot be realized by severe criticism or even discharge of professionals: there must be a rise in achievement, and teachers alone, without a substantial increase in services and personnel, cannot provide it — not even under threat of dismissal.

The attitudes of parents and teachers toward each other in the decentralization experiments should be compared with those of parents and teachers of children in More Effective Schools, where services and personnel are abundant. MES has served to "reconnect" as no other

program has. With MES the community and the school are convinced, by the tangible evidence of achievement and available services, that society has — in that instance at least — placed a high value on the education of their children. Will poor communities left to their own devices without adequate funds be able to accomplish this?

The Danger of "Disconnecting"

There is certainly the danger that local control will become an expression of the narrow parochial interests of certain groups in each area, to the detriment of the needs of the public generally. Care must be taken to see that decentralization is an expansion, not a shrinkage, of democracy.

With districts competing for supplemental funds as well as for personnel, there is a danger of intensifying conflict. Herman Badillo, Bronx Borough President, was adamant in his criticism of this kind of competition in a society where class and ethnic lines are firmly drawn. "We will see more civil strife than ever before," he declared. Indeed, besides the losing battle the poor communities will wage with their middle-class neighbors, there will be wars within the already divided and sub-divided minority communities. Local boards with the power to dispense funds and create jobs will have to be exceptionally high-minded to avoid creating little political clubhouses out of each school district — especially with the Mayor appointing 5 out of 11 members on every school board. There will certainly be more "Mayor Power" in these areas than "little city halls" could create. There could also be real power for irresponsible extremist elements — right or left, white or black — that would not otherwise be able to attain such influence.

It must be understood further that along with the acquisition of power, there will be, for the Mayor, a simultaneous dispersal of his responsibility for the success or failure of education.

The onus will be on the local boards to produce academic success. Then, according to the *New York Times* editorial writers and other cynics, they will have no one but themselves to blame for failure.

Cynicism of that sort is a "moderate" backlash reaction to the blunt anger of black power types who are among the most vocal leaders in the school fight. It is eerily compatible with the guilty reaction of some liberals to that same anger — a patronizing willingness to support separation because to do so is less painful than to argue against Negro bitterness for something which seems lost forever anyway.

Destroying an archaic, ineffective school hierarchy doesn't have to mean a balkanized, segregated system. We need change, but we need change for the better.

Conclusions

Decentralization will certainly be a part of the solution to the school crisis, provided it is not substituted for resources, provided competition is minimized and funds are maximized, provided enough central control is maintained to prevent districts from locking each other out and provided district lines are drawn to assure that inroads toward integration can be made. The positive aspects are obvious: greater community involvement, less bureaucracy, more accountability. But these advantages will not in themselves ensure greater learning achievement. To do that, whatever form decentralization takes, a coalition of parents, liberals, teachers and other trade unionists must wage an all-out fight for increased funds for education. Only the federal government can provide the kind of resources needed, and only a massive coalition of forces can prod Congress into action. To the extent that an ascendent separatist point of view prevents groups in the Negro community from coalescing with white allies to demand increased federal aid to schools, and to the extent that the white community uses black extremism as an excuse to turn its back, the children, white and black, will suffer.

Some Guidelines

In any decentralization scheme, we must maintain a city-wide Board of Education which retains considerable powers, including the licensing and appointment of teachers. Professionals must be hired on an objective basis so that, for example, Negro teachers cannot be turned away from schools in white areas and white teachers from schools in Negro areas. Also, appointments must continue to be made equitably where vacancies exist, especially while the teacher shortage lasts. If communities have the power to hire teachers as has been proposed, then, conversely, teachers will have the power to choose where to work. As we have already said, without immediate and radical changes in the conditions of schools in poor areas, these schools will not be able to compete for teachers — white or black.

The city-wide board should set city-wide educational policy and enforce standards, to ensure equal educational opportunity. It should contract for independent expert evaluative services and should function as the clearing-house for evaluative information, which would include district by district comparisons of pupil performance. It should have jurisdiction over zoning and site selection, to ensure equal allocations of new buildings and the construction of schools in borderline areas where integration may be possible. The city-wide board should also have power to bring charges against any local authority, lay or profes-

sional, for severe violation of moral, legal and educational ethics.

Beyond the powers of the central agency, the powers of laymen and professionals on the local level must be clearly defined to preserve the integrity of the schools.

The decision-making power of the community should reside primarily in their lay board's control over the district superintendent, whom they should hire and have the right to fire.

Moreover, the local board should have enough leeway to mandate particular broad curriculum emphases within the prescribed policy and standards set by the city-wide board. They should also have authority over supplemental funds for special programs they deem necessary for the particular needs of their district. They should be able to contract independent educational expertise for help in the development of these programs, and they should be empowered to commission outside agencies for evaluation and studies.

Professionals should retain jurisdiction over matters of professional personnel, including rating, hiring and firing of teachers. A district superintendent who does not weed out incompetent teachers would himself be uprooted by the local board.

Recourse to an impartial third party, for both the parent and the teacher, could be worked out in the event of conflict. The establishment of an *ombudsman* or similar vehicle for the review of parental complaints against professionals, and of professional complaints against the lay board, would be extremely valuable.

Also, within the policy mandated by the state, city, and local boards, teachers—not parents—must have the power to construct and organize courses of study, and to determine methodology and texts.

The sharing by parents and teachers of a wide range of advisory powers with regard to school program and policy would be beneficial and could be worked out in each school or district, or both.

Whatever form the decentralization of the school system takes, honest and sturdy cooperation between teachers and parents must be a primary goal, along with the preservation of democracy and equal educational opportunity for all.

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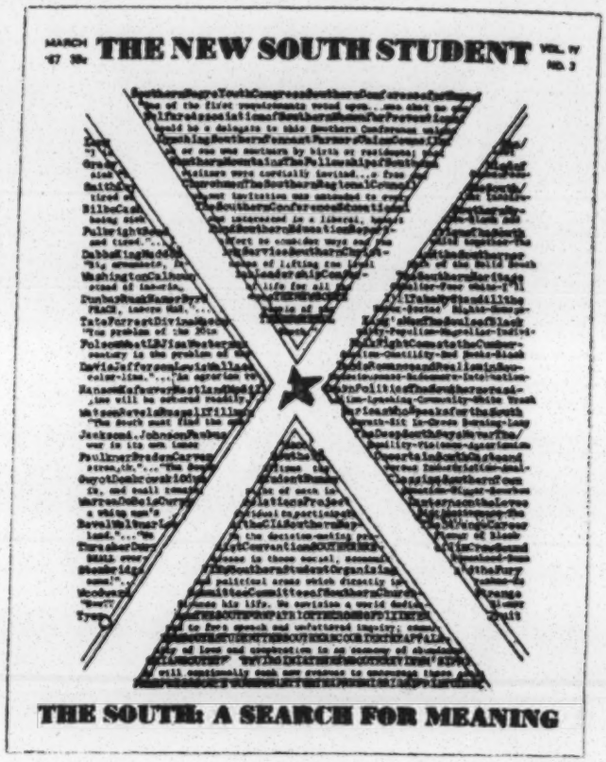

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The Labor-Negro Coalition – A New Beginning

Over 40,000 mourners pack the plaza in front of Memphis City Hall after march memorializing Dr. King and backing strikers.

by Bayard Rustin

The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has thrust a lance into the soul of America. The pain is most shattering to the Negro people. We have lost a valiant son, a symbol of hope and an eloquent spirit that inspired masses of people. Such a man does not appear often in the history of social struggle. When his presence signifies that greatness can inhabit a black skin, those who must deny this possibility stop at nothing to remove it. Dr. King now joins a long list of victims of desperate hate in the service of insupportable lies, myths and stereotypes.

For me, the death of Dr. King brings deep personal grief. I had known and worked with him since the early days of the Montgomery bus protest in 1955, through the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Prayer Pilgrimage in 1957, the youth marches for integrated schools in 1958 and 1959 and the massive March on Washington in 1963.

Though his senior by 20 years, I came to admire the depth of his faith in non-violence, in the ultimate vindication of the democratic process and in the redeeming efficacy of social commitment and action. And underlying this faith was a quiet courage grounded in the belief that the triumph of justice, however long delayed, was inevitable. Like so many others, I watched his spirit take hold in the country, arousing long-slumbering consciences and giving shape to a new social movement. With that movement came new hopes, aspirations and expectations. The stakes grew higher.

At such a time, so great a loss can barely be sustained by the Negro people. But the tragedy and shame of April 4th darken the entire nation as it teeters on the brink of crisis. And let no one mistake the signs: our country is in deadly serious trouble. This needs to be said because one of the ironies of life in an advanced industrialized society is that many people can go about their daily business without being directly affected by the ominous rumblings at the bottom of the system.

Yet we are at one of the great crossroads in our history and the alternatives before us grow more stark with every summer's violence. In moments like these there is a strong temptation to succumb to utter despair and helpless cynicism. It is indeed hard to maintain a clear perspective, a reliable sense of where events are heading. But this is exactly what we are called upon to do. Momentous decisions are about to be made—consciously or by default—and the consequences will leave not one corner of this land, nor any race or class, untouched.

Where, then, do we go from here?

We are a house divided. Of this Dr. King's murder is a stunning reminder. Every analysis, strategy and proposal for a way out of the American dilemma must

BAYARD RUSTIN is Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a board member of the League for Industrial Democracy. He helped plan the march of the Memphis sanitation men which was to be led by Martin Luther King, Jr. When Dr. King was assassinated, the march was carried on as a memorial to King.

Mrs. Coretta King fulfills husband's pledge to lead Memphis march. At right is Rev. Abernathy; at right corner is Rustin.

begin with the recognition that a perilous polarization is taking place in our society. Part of it is no doubt due to the war in Viet Nam, part to the often remarked generational gap. But generations come and go and so do foreign policies. The issue of race, however, has been with us since our earliest beginnings as a nation. I believe it is even deeper and sharper than the other points of contention. It has bred fears, myths and violence over centuries. It is the source of dark and dangerous irrationality, a current of social pathology running through our history and dimming our brighter achievements.

Most of the time the reservoir of racism remains stagnant. But—and this has been true historically for most societies—when major economic, social or political crises arise, the backwaters are stirred and latent racial hostility comes to the surface. Scapegoats must be found, simple targets substituted for complex problems. The frustration and insecurity generated by these problems find an outlet in notions of racial superiority and inferiority. Very often we find that the most virulent hostility to Negroes exists among ethnic groups that only recently "made it" themselves or that are still near the bottom of the ladder. They need to feel that somebody is beneath them. (This is a problem which the labor movement has had to face more acutely perhaps than any comparable institution in American life. And it's a problem which some of labor's middle-class critics have not had to cope with at all.)

Negroes are reacting to this hostility with a counter-hostility. Some say the white man has no "soul"; others say he is barbaric, uncivilized; others proclaim him racially inferior. As is so often the case, such a *reaction* is the exaggerated obverse of the original *action*.

And in fact it incorporates elements of white stereotypes of Negroes. ("Soul," for example, so far as it is definable, seems to consist in part of rhythm, spontaneity, pre-industrial sentimentality, a footloose anti-regimentation, etc.—qualities attributed to Negroes by many whites, though in different words.)

This reaction among Negroes is not so new as many white people think. What is new is the intensity with which it is felt among some Negroes and the violent way it has been expressed in recent years. For this, the conservatives and reactionaries would blame the civil rights movement and the federal government. And in the very specific sense, we must conclude that they are right.

One effect of the civil rights struggle in the past 10 years has been to convince a generation of young Negroes that their place in society is no longer predetermined at birth. We demonstrated that segregationist barriers could be toppled, that social relations were not fixed for all time, that change was on the agenda. The federal government reinforced this new consciousness with its many pronouncements that racial integration and equality were the official goals of American society.

The reactionaries would tell us that these hopes and promises were unreasonable to begin with and should never have been advanced. They equate stability with the preservation of the established hierarchy of social relations, and chaos with the reform of that unjust arrangement. The fact is that the promises were reasonable, justified and long overdue. Our task is not to rescind them—how do you rescind the promise of equality?—but to implement them fully and vigorously.

This task is enormously complicated by the polarization now taking place on the race issue. We are caught in a vicious cycle: inaction on the poverty and civil rights fronts foments rioting in the ghettos; the rioting encourages vindictive inaction. Militancy, extremism and violence grow in the black community; racism, reaction and conservatism gain ground in the white community.

Personal observation and the law of numbers per-

suade me that a turn to the "right" comprises the larger part of the polarization. This, of course, is a perilous challenge not only to the Negro but also to the labor movement, to liberals and civil libertarians, to all of the forces for social progress. We must meet that challenge in 1968.

Meanwhile, a process of polarization is also taking place within the Negro community and, with the murder of Dr. King, it is likely to be accelerated.

Ironically and sadly, this will occur precisely because of the broad support Dr. King enjoyed among Negroes. That support cut across ideological and class lines. Even those Negro spokesmen who could not accept, and occasionally derided, Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence and reconciliation, admired and respected his unique national and international position. They were moved by his sincerity and courage. Not, perhaps, since the days of Booker T. Washington—when 90 percent of all Negroes lived in the South and were occupationally and socially more homogeneous than today—had any one man come so close to being *the* Negro leader. He was a large unifying force and his assassination leaves an enormous vacuum. The diverse strands he linked together have fallen from his hands.

The murder of Dr. King tells Negroes that if one of the greatest among them is not safe from the assassin's bullet, then what can the least of them hope for? In this context, those young black militants who have resorted to violence feel vindicated. "Look what happened to Dr. King," they say. "He was non-violent, he didn't hurt anybody. And look what they did to him. If we have to go down, let's go down shooting. Let's take whitey with us."

Make no mistake about it: a great psychological barrier has now been placed between those of us who have urged nonviolence as the road to social change and the frustrated despairing youth of the ghettos. Dr. King's assassination is only the latest example of our society's determination to teach young Negroes that violence pays. We pay no attention to them until they take to the streets in riotous rebellion. Then we make minor concessions—not enough to solve their basic problems, but enough to persuade them that we know they exist. "Besides," the young militants will tell you, "this country was built on violence. Look at what we did to the Indians. Look at our television and movies. And look at Viet Nam. If the cause of the Vietnamese is worth taking up guns for, why isn't the cause of the black man right here in Harlem?"

An Atlanta scene during King's funeral as nation mourned.

These questions are loaded and oversimplified, to be sure, and they obscure the real issues and the programmatic direction we must take to meet them. But what we must answer is the bitterness and disillusionment that give rise to these questions. If our answers consist of mere words, they will fall on deaf ears. They will not ring true until ghetto-trapped Negroes experience significant and tangible progress in the daily conditions of their lives—in their jobs, income, housing, education, health care, political representation, etc. This must be understood by those often well-meaning people who, frightened by the polarization, would retreat from committed action into homilies about racial understanding.

We are indeed a house divided. But the division between race and race, class and class, will not be dissolved by massive infusions of brotherly sentiment. The division is not the result of bad sentiment and therefore will not be healed by rhetoric. Rather the division and the bad sentiments are both reflections of vast and growing inequalities in our socioeconomic system—inequalities of wealth, of status, of education, of access to political power. Talk of brotherhood and "tolerance" (are we merely to "tolerate" one another?) might once have had a cooling effect, but increasingly it grates on the nerves. It evokes contempt not because the values of brotherhood are wrong—they are more important now than ever—but because it just does not correspond to the reality we see around us. And such talk does nothing to eliminate the inequalities that breed resentment and deep discontent.

The same is true of most "Black Power" sloganeering, in which I detect powerful elements of conservatism. Leaving aside those extremists who call for violent "revolution," the Black Power movement embraces a diversity of groups and ideologies. It contains a strong impulse toward withdrawal from social struggle and action, a retreat back into the ghetto, avoidance of contact with the white world. This impulse may, I fear, be strengthened by the assassination of Dr. King.

This brand of Black Power has much in common with the conservative white American's view of the Negro. It stresses self-help ("why don't those Negroes pull themselves up by their own bootstraps like my ancestors did?"). It identifies the Negro's main problems in psychological terms, calls upon him to develop greater self-respect and dignity by studying Negro history and culture and by building independent institutions.

In all of these ideas there is some truth. But taken

King at 1961 AFL-CIO session with Vice Pres. Lee Minton.

as a whole, the trouble with this thinking is that it assumes that the Negro can solve his problems by himself, in isolation from the rest of the society. The fact is, however, that the Negro did not create these problems for himself and he cannot solve them by himself.

Dignity and self-respect are not abstract virtues that can be cultivated in a vacuum. They are related to one's job, education, residence, mobility, family responsibilities and other circumstances that are determined by one's economic and social status in the society. Whatever deficiencies in dignity and self-respect may be laid to the Negro are the consequence of generations of segregation, discrimination and exploitation. Above all, in my opinion, these deficiencies result from systematic exclusion of the Negro from the economic mainstream.

This exclusion cannot be reversed—but only perpetuated—by gilding the ghettos. A "separate but equal" economy for black Americans is impossible. In any case, the ghettos do not have the resources needed for massive programs of abolishing poverty, inferior education, slum housing and the other problems plaguing the Negro people. These resources must come primarily from the federal government, which means that the fate of the Negro is unavoidably tied to the political life of this nation.

It is time, therefore, that all of us, black and white alike, put aside rhetoric that obscures the real problems. It is precisely because we have so long swept these incendiary problems under the rug that they are now exploding all around us, insisting upon our attention. We can divert our eyes no longer.

The life and death of Martin Luther King are profoundly symbolic. From the Montgomery bus protest to the Memphis sanitation workers strike, his career embodies the internal development, the unfolding, the evolution of the modern civil rights struggle.

That struggle began as a revolt against segregation in public accommodations—buses, lunch counters, libraries, schools, parks. It was aimed at ancient and obsolete institutional arrangements and mores left over from an earlier social order in the South, an order that was being undermined and transformed by economic and technological forces.

As the civil rights movement progresssed, winning victory after victory in public accommodations and voting rights, it became increasingly conscious that these victories would not be secure or far-reaching without a radical improvement in the Negro's socio-economic position. And so the movement reached out of the South into the urban centers of the North and West. It moved from public accommodations to employment, welfare, housing, education—to find a host of problems the nation had let fester for a generation.

But these were not problems that affected the Negro alone or that could be solved easily with the movement's traditional protest tactics. These injustices were imbedded not in ancient and obsolete institutional arrangements but in the priorities of powerful vested interests, in the direction of public policy, in the allocation of our national resources. Sit-ins could integrate a lunch counter, but massive social investments and imaginative public policies were required to eliminate the deeper inequalities.

Dr. King came to see that this was too big a job for the Negro alone, that it called for an effective coalition with the labor movement. As King told the AFL-CIO convention in 1961:

"Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs—decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community.

"That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor.

"That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth.

"The duality of interest of labor and Negroes makes any crisis which lacerates you, a crisis from which we bleed. As we stand on the threshold of the second half of the twentieth century, a crisis confronts us both. Those who in the second half of the nineteenth century could not tolerate organized labor have had a rebirth of power and seek to regain the despotism of that era while retaining the wealth and privileges of the twentieth century.

". . . The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement.

". . . I look forward confidently to the day when all who work for a living will be one, with no thought to their separateness as Negroes, Jews, Italians or any other distinctions.

"This will be the day when we shall bring into full realization the American dream—a dream yet unful-

filled. A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed; a dream of a land where men will not take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few; a dream of a land where men will not argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character; a dream of a nation where all our gifts and resources are held not for ourselves alone but as instruments of service for the rest of humanity; the dream of a country where every man will respect the dignity and worth of human personality —that is the dream."

And so Dr. King went to Memphis to help 1,300 sanitation workers—almost all of them black—to win union recognition, dues checkoff, higher wages and better working conditions. And in the midst of this new phase of his work he was assassinated. Since then, the sanitation workers have won their fight. But the real battle is just beginning.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is the latest in a series of documents —official, semi-official and unofficial—that have sought to arouse the American people to the great dangers we face and to the price we are likely to pay if we do not multiply our efforts to eradicate poverty and racism.

The recent recommendations parallel those urged by civil rights and labor groups over the years. The legislative work of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the AFL-CIO has been vital to the progress we have made so far. This work is now proceeding effectively on a broad coordinated basis. It has pinpointed the objectives for which the entire nation must strive.

We have got to provide meaningful work at decent wages for every employable citizen. We must guarantee an adequate income for those unable to work. We must build millions of low-income housing units, tear down the slums and rebuild our cities. We need to build schools, hospitals, mass transit systems. We need to construct new, integrated towns. As President Johnson has said, we need to build a "second America" between now and the year 2000.

It is in the context of this national reconstruction that the socioeconomic fate of the Negro will be determined. Will we build into the second America new, more sophisticated forms of segregation and exploitation or will we create a genuine open, integrated and democratic society? Will we have a more equitable distribution of economic resources and political power or will we sow the seeds of more misery, unrest and division?

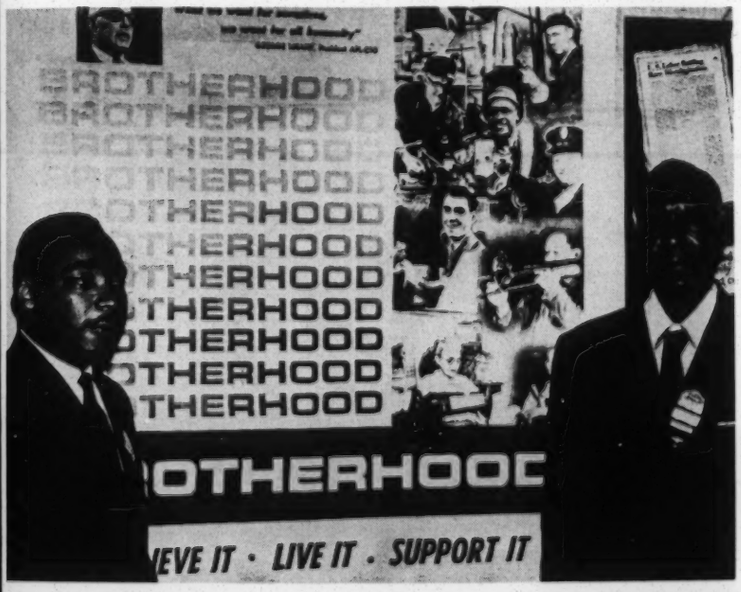
Because of men like Martin Luther King, it is unlikely that the American Negro can ever again return to the old order. But it is up to us, the living, black and white, to realize Dr. King's dream.

This means, first of all, to serve notice on the 90th Congress that its cruel indifference to the plight of our cities and of the poor—even after the martyrdom of Dr. King—will not be tolerated by the American people. In an economy as fabulously productive as ours, a balanced budget cannot be the highest virtue and, in any case, it cannot be paid for by the poor.

Next, I believe, we must recognize the magnitude of the threat we face in an election year from a resurgence of the rightwing backlash forces. This threat will reach ever greater proportions if this summer sees massive violence in the cities. The Negro-labor-liberal coalition, whatever differences now exist within and among its constituent forces, must resolve to unite this fall in order to defeat racism and reaction at the polls. Unless we so resolve, we may find ourselves in a decade of vindictive and mean conservative domination.

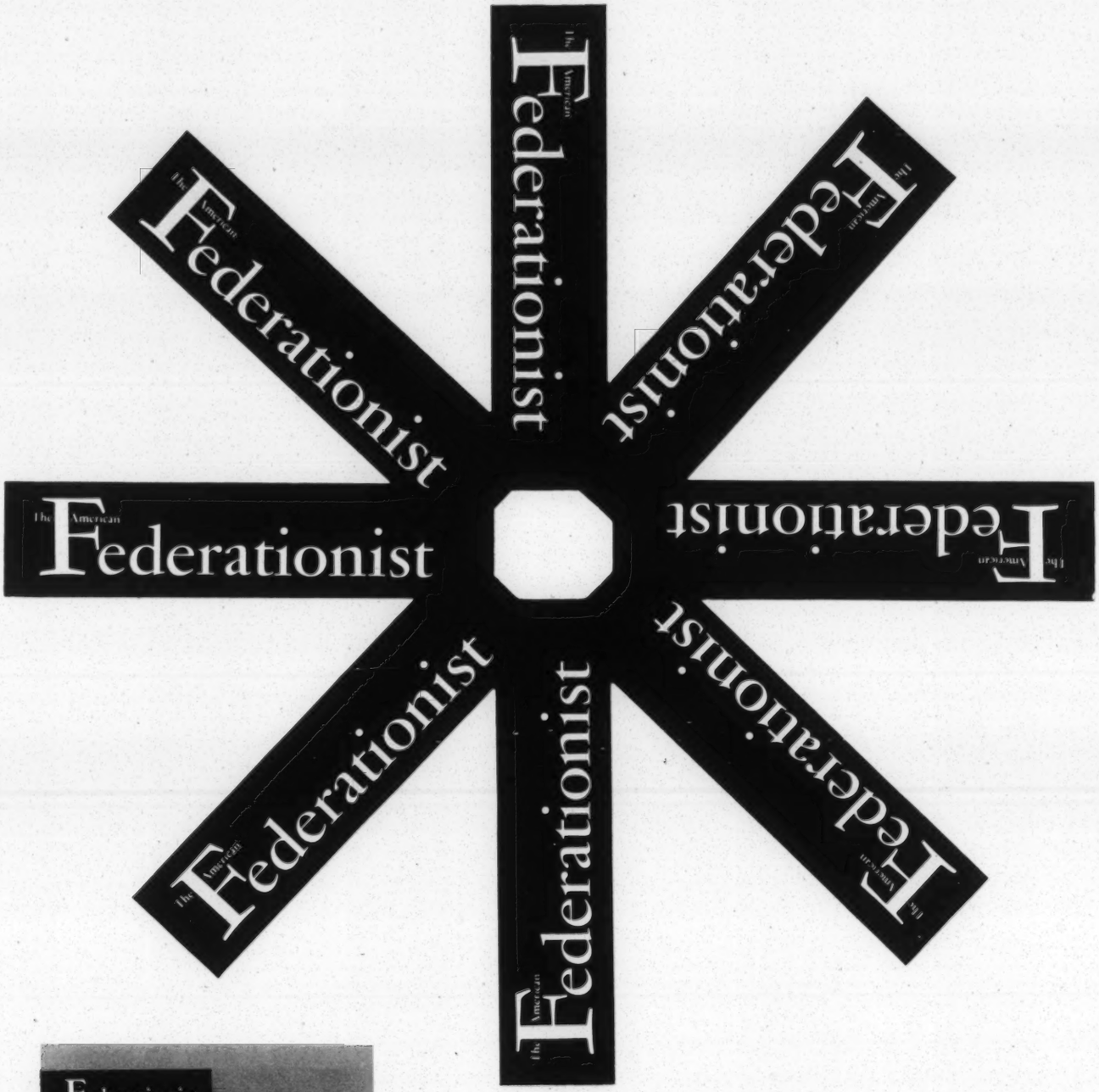
We owe it to Martin Luther King not to let this happen. We owe it to him to preserve and extend his victories. We owe it to him to fulfill his dreams. We owe it to his memory and to our futures.

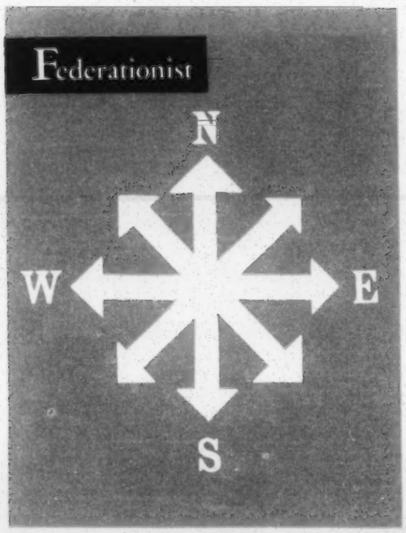
King, here with Phil Randolph, stressed labor-Negro ties.



After struggle and tragedy, Memphis strikers cheer victory.

Reprinted from May 1968
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST





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File

The State Senate

Senate Chamber
Atlanta

Rec'd 2/23/66

February 18, 1966

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Waters:

Knowing of your interest in capital punishment, I am herewith forwarding to you a copy of the report of the Senate Capital Punishment Committee. It is my hope that this issue will be kept alive and capital punishment will be totally abolished in Georgia at an early date.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Horace T. Ward

Horace T. Ward
Senator, 39th District

HTW:eks

Enclosure

Report of The Senate Capital Punishment Committee

THE STATE SENATE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

The State Senate

Atlanta, Georgia

TO: THE GOVERNOR, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF GEORGIA AND OTHER INTERESTED PERSONS.

* * * * * * * *

REPORT OF THE SENATE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT STUDY COMMITTEE

* * * * * * * *

THE COMMITTEE

HONORABLE B. AVANT EDENFIELD
SENATOR, 4th DISTRICT
CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE OLIVER C. BATEMAN
SENATOR, 27th DISTRICT

HONORABLE LEROY R. JOHNSON
SENATOR, 38th DISTRICT

HONORABLE ROBERT E. LEE, JR.
SENATOR, 47th DISTRICT

HONORABLE JOSEPH E. LOGGINS
SENATOR, 53rd DISTRICT

HONORABLE KENNETH KILPATRICK
SENATOR, 44th DISTRICT
SECRETARY

HONORABLE JOHN T. McKENZIE
SENATOR, 17th DISTRICT

HONORABLE ROY NOBLE
SENATOR, 19th DISTRICT

HONORABLE WILLIAM A. SEARCEY
SENATOR, 2nd DISTRICT

HONORABLE HORACE T. WARD
SENATOR, 39th DISTRICT

February 1, 1966

The State Senate

Atlanta, Georgia

February 1, 1966

TO: LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR PETER ZACK GEER

The Interim Committee of the State Senate created by S. R. No. 107 authorized to study the question of capital punishment in the State of Georgia has completed its report. We hope that the information contained in the within report will be of assistance to the members of the General Assembly and to the people of Georgia. The information contained herein is a composite of the information furnished to the Committee by the people of Georgia reflecting the opinion that capital punishment should be retained and that capital punishment should be abolished.

Legislation effectuating the intent of the majority of this Committee will be introduced at this term of the Legislature.

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Office of Legislative Counsel, and particularly the services of Mr. Harvey D. Findley of that office.

Respectfully submitted,

B. AVANT EDENFIELD
Chairman,
Senate Capital Punishment Study Committee

BAE/ms

Encl.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page No.
I.	Introduction	1
II.	Background Information on Capital Punishment and Recent Trends	3
III.	Results of Public Hearings and Other Opinions Expressed by Interested Citizens.	9
IV.	Majority Report.	12
V.	Minority Report.	18
VI.	Recommendations of the Committee . .	24
	Appendix	26
	Exhibit "A" - Laws of Certain States that have Abolished Capital Punishment	1-a
	Exhibit "B" - Capital Offenses in Georgia.	6-a
	Exhibit "C" - Prisoners Executed Under Civil Authority in the United States, by Offense, Race and State - 1930-64	7-a

I.

INTRODUCTION

The Senate Capital Punishment Study Committee was created pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 107, adopted during the 1965 session of the General Assembly. The Committee consisted of ten Senators who were duly appointed by the Lieutenant Governor. The Committee held its first organizational meeting on June 21, 1965, at which time officers were elected and plans were made as to how the Committee would proceed with its work. The cover page of this report indicates the names of the members of the Committee and the officers thereof.

The creating resolution charged the Committee with the responsibility of "...investigating and studying the matter of capital punishment in the State of Georgia, including the current status of the law in Georgia and elsewhere, crimes for which the death sentence may be imposed, the value of the death sentence to society, public opinion and other matters". At the organizational meeting, the Committee decided it could best carry out its responsibility by an examination of some of the written material on the subject and by holding public hearings at major cities throughout the State.

The plan of the report that follows is to present certain background information on capital punishment and a review of recent trends in an effort to place the subject in its historical perspective. There is also included a very brief summary of the testimony received at the public hearings and a few remarks concerning other information and opinions the Committee received from interested citizens throughout the State of Georgia. There is a great deal of published statistical

information available on the subject of capital punishment. The Committee believes that it would be beyond the scope of this report to attempt to provide the General Assembly with most of this information. As a result, with a few exceptions included in Section II of the report, the statistical information which the Committee believes might be of particular interest to the General Assembly has been placed in the Appendix of the report. The principal part of the report consists of majority and minority positions of the members of the Committee, because it is believed that these positions will be of most interest to the members of the General Assembly. In its final deliberations the Committee split six to four on the question of whether or not capital punishment should be retained in Georgia, the majority position being that capital punishment should be retained. Also included in the report, however, are recommendations of the entire Committee regarding changes in the laws relating to the death penalty.

II.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND RECENT TRENDS.

Capital punishment, which might be defined as the death penalty, pronounced and carried out, through the legal processes of a society on one of its members, goes back at least to the Code of Hammurabi which is the first known code of laws compiled around 2,000 B. C. Insofar as the criminal law was concerned, the ruling principle of the Code of Hammurabi was the lex talionis or the law of retaliation, and capital punishment was applied under the Code somewhat indiscriminately. The lex talionis was also a fundamental principle of ancient Hebrew law as expressed by the idea of "an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth". In the latter, however, the idea of degree was introduced into the law, and capital punishment was not applied as indiscriminately as under the Code of Hammurabi. The ancient Hebrews allowed the death penalty for adultery, bestiality, blasphemy, cursing father or mother, idolatry, incest, rape, Sabbath breaking, unchastity, and witchcraft.

Under the Roman law, capital punishment also meant punishment that affected the status of the citizen, such as banishment. The death penalty was possible, however, for the following offenses: treason, adultery, sodomy, murder, forgery by slaves, corruption; kidnapping under certain conditions, seduction and rape.

The history of capital punishment shows a shifting of stress from sacrilege and offenses against property to murder, although this shifting has not been uniform. For example, at the beginning of the 15th century in England capital crimes had been reduced to 17, but during the 18th century, the number had been

increased to over 200, most of which were crimes against property. Toward the end of the 18th century and the early 19th century, however, under the influence of Jeremy Bentham, Sir Samuel Rommily, and others, the trend was again toward the reduction of capital crimes so that by 1837 capital offenses had been reduced to 15.

The English colonies in North America did not join the mother country in creating such a large number of capital crimes. Prior to the American Revolution, the colonies had established capital punishment for from 10 to 18 offenses, and after the establishment of the Union in 1789, the trend was toward the reduction of capital crimes. In his autobiography, Thomas Jefferson, when writing about his working on the revision of Virginia's laws from 1777 to 1779, expressed the belief, which was apparently shared by other prominent Virginians working with him at the time, that capital punishment should be abolished for all crimes except murder and treason.

Although capital punishment appears to have been a part of human history almost since man first organized into some form of society, it has been debated for centuries, and there has never been anything approaching uniformity of opinion concerning the subject. Prior to 1764, the debate of capital punishment revolved around theological, moral, and ethical considerations, but in that year the question was raised by Cesare Beccaria, in a small volume entitled An Essay on Crimes and Punishments, as to whether or not the death penalty contributes to "the greatest good for the greatest number". In short, the utilitarian value of capital punishment in society was questioned and analyzed by Beccaria, and he concluded that the death penalty did not contribute to the "greatest good for the greatest number". Beccaria's

discussion placed the arguments concerning capital punishment in a more modern context, and with certain refinements, the same questions that were raised by Beccaria are still discussed today. It should be noted, however, that the moral and theological arguments are still very much a part of the debate surrounding capital punishment, and many members of present day society believe that the death penalty is a moral and religious imperative, notwithstanding the arguments questioning its utilitarian value.

There are discernible trends throughout the United States and in Georgia toward applying capital punishment less and less frequently until it is retained, in some instances, more or less as only a statutory possibility. The trend has led to its abolishment in many European countries and in 13 of the 50 states of the United States as of the year 1965. Four of the states, New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island and Vermont which are classed as abolitionist states, retain the death penalty for certain limited crimes such as killing a police officer or a prison guard under certain conditions. (See Appendix, Exhibit "A").

The following table shows the relatively less frequent use of capital punishment in the United States, the seventeen Southern and border states, and Georgia. The table also shows that the Southern states, as a group, have used capital punishment more frequently than other parts of the country, and that the rate of decrease has not been as rapid in the South as in other parts of the country. The trend toward the relatively infrequent use of capital punishment is particularly noticeable during the last ten years, although the year 1957 was an exception for the State of Georgia. Georgia had no executions for the year 1965, but information is not available at this time to complete the table in the other categories.

TABLE

LEGAL EXECUTIONS - 1930 - 1964

YEAR	UNITED STATES	SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES**	GEORGIA
1930	154	67	7
1931	153	78	17
1932	140	81	12
1933	160	93	14
1934	168	100	13
1935	199	110	23
1936	192	128	11
1937	147	92	16
1938	185	101	15
1939	159	93	8
1940	124	83	14
1941	123	76	6
1942	141	96	11
1943	130	89	18
1944	120	69	10
1945	116	75	19
1946	131	99	16
1947	152	102	16
1948	114	84	13
1949	119	59	8
1950	81	52	13
1951	105	69	7
1952	83	51	11
1953	58	28	8
1954	80	44	12
1955	76	38	4
1956	64	41	6
1957	63	44	14
1958	49	29	6
1959	49	31	4
1960	56	32	6
1961	42	26	3
1962	47	22	1
1963	21	10	2
1964	15	12	2
TOTAL	3,816	2,304	366

* Omitting Federal Executions

** Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Among the various states retaining capital punishment in 1960, there were some 31 offenses for which the death penalty was a statutory possibility, but in practice, only seven offenses were actually punished by the death penalty from 1930 through 1960. The seven offenses were as follows: murder, kidnapping, rape, armed robbery, killing by abortion, aggravated assault by a life prisoner, and one miscellaneous offense.

Although several of the offenses amount to murder, technically there are some 23 offenses under present Georgia law for which the death penalty is a statutory possibility. (See Appendix, Exhibit "B"). In practice, however, only three of these were actually used during the period from 1924, when the electric chair was adopted as the means of execution, through 1964. The three offenses were murder, rape and robbery by force. In Georgia, as in the other states retaining capital punishment, murder accounts for the vast majority of legal executions. According to information supplied by the State Board of Corrections, there were 415 executions in Georgia from 1924 through 1964, which are broken down according to the crime involved and the race and sex of the offender, as shown below:

LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN GEORGIA 1924-1964

	MURDER		RAPE		ROBBERY BY FORCE	
	75	White males	3	White males	6	Colored males
	267	Colored males	63	Colored males	-	
	1	Colored female	-		-	
TOTAL	343		66		6	

MURDER	343	(82.65%)
RAPE	66	(15.90%)
ROBBERY BY FORCE	6	(1.45%)
TOTAL EXECUTIONS	415	(100%)

In the thirteen states which have abolished capital punishment, life imprisonment has been substituted for the death penalty for the crime of murder by each of the states, and in most instances, life imprisonment is either required or may be imposed for rape. Most of these states require a minimum number of years to be served on a life term before eligibility for parole. The minimum number of years that must be served before eligibility for parole ranges from 10 years to 30 years. In some instances, there is a mandatory life sentence without eligibility for parole, but in practice the Governor may commute the sentence to a lesser number of years causing the prisoner to become eligible for parole. In one state, a prisoner sentenced to life imprisonment for murder in the first degree is not eligible for parole unless the jury recommends mercy or the accused pleads guilty, in which cases, the court may, in its discretion, provide that the person will be eligible for parole, but a minimum of 10 years must be served. In North Dakota, a prisoner serving a life sentence may apply for parole at any time, but sentiment exists in that State to amend the present laws to provide that a minimum number of years be served before parole, which was required until the laws were amended in 1963.

III.

RESULTS OF PUBLIC HEARINGS AND OTHER OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY INTERESTED CITIZENS

The Committee held public hearings in Rome, Athens, Albany, Macon, Savannah, and Atlanta on July 12 and 13; September 13, 14 and 15; and on November 15 and 16, respectively, with two days used for the hearings in Atlanta. The public response to these hearings was quite satisfactory, and the Committee heard testimony from a total of 175 persons. The persons appearing before the Committee at these hearings represented a fairly broad cross-section of Georgia citizens in that essentially all social and economic segments of the State's population made an appearance. It should be noted, however, that more clergymen appeared than any single group and that educators and other professionals were also well represented. The members of the Committee wanted to become familiar with the arguments on both sides of this question and also wanted to give those persons who are interested in the subject an opportunity to express themselves which were the primary reasons for holding the public hearings. The table below gives a compilation of the opinions expressed for and against capital punishment at these public hearings:

TALLY OF OPINIONS EXPRESSED AT ALL PUBLIC HEARINGS

ROME - July 12		ALBANY - September 13		SAVANNAH - September 15	
For	8	For	0	For	20
Against	11	Against	1	Against	18
Undecided	1			Indefinite	1
TOTAL	20		1		39

ATHENS - July 13		MACON - September 14		ATLANTA - Nov. 15 and 16	
For	5	For	13	For	30
Against	14	Against	17	Against	36
TOTAL	19		30		66

For Capital Punishment	76
Against Capital Punishment	97
Undecided or indefinite	2
TOTAL of all persons appearing	175

It would be beyond the scope of this report to attempt to summarize the arguments presented by the 175 persons who appeared before the Committee, but it may be of interest to the members of the General Assembly to have a general idea of the arguments the Committee heard on both sides of this question. As a result, the table below has been prepared which sets forth in very brief phrases the arguments heard by the Committee in the approximate order of the frequency mentioned. It should be understood that other points were also mentioned, and the various individual speakers frequently mentioned several of these points in their presentation for or against capital punishment.

A SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE ORDER MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED.

FOR CAPITAL PUNISHMENT:

It is supported by the Bible; it is the law of God.

It is a deterrent to crime.

Justice requires it; those who commit murder should pay for the crime with their lives.

The laws are already too soft on criminals; crime is increasing.

Life imprisonment is too expensive.

It is more humane than life imprisonment.

It is a necessary evil to protect society.

AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT:

It fails as a deterrent to crime.

It is not applied fairly; it falls on the poor and minority groups.

The possibility of executing the innocent exists.

It is as wrong for the State to take a life as it is for the individual to do so.

The Bible and Christianity are opposed to it.

It is a barbaric, primitive practice and has a brutalizing effect on society.

Criminals are frequently emotionally disturbed or insane.

Society creates the conditions that produce the criminal.

It is more expensive than life imprisonment.

In addition to the public hearings, the members of the Committee received a great number of letters from various citizens of Georgia. These letters were received by each of the members individually, and time did not permit any attempt to consolidate them.

In addition to the letters, the Committee received petitions from several hundred Georgia citizens in which their desire to retain capital punishment in the State was expressed. Finally, the Committee received recommendations from approximately 60 grand juries representing counties all over the State of Georgia, all of which expressed the desire to see capital punishment retained.

IV.

MAJORITY REPORT OF THE SENATE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT STUDY COMMITTEE

The question of whether for the State to exact the death penalty is one which has intrigued and bothered the ministry, penologists, criminologists and the public in general for many years. The Senate Capital Punishment Committee is the first such group appointed in Georgia to make a thorough investigation of this question.

The Senate Capital Punishment Study Committee, hereinafter referred to as the "Committee" traveled throughout Georgia during the summer of 1965, holding public hearings, soliciting opinions, and received letters, petitions, grand jury recommendations, and declarations from people of all walks of life. Many arguments were propounded to the Committee, either to retain or abolish capital punishment in Georgia.

The Committee heard arguments of varying nature and varying conclusions. The question is one upon which reasonable people may differ.

Whether to retain or abolish capital punishment involves both moral and legal considerations; therefore, the majority report will be addressed primarily toward answering these questions.

A large amount of statistical data was made available to the members of the Committee. Primarily, the use of the statistics was made by those opposing capital punishment; however, no figures were readily available from any state comparable to Georgia which had abolished capital punishment and the attendant result upon capital crimes.

It was reported to the Committee that several states had abolished capital punishment; some who had previously abolished the death penalty later reenacted capital punishment.

England abolished capital punishment, reenacted it, and has again abolished it. Statistical data available for 1965 showed a significant increase in capital crimes in that country. It was debated whether the increase was due to a general increase in crime throughout civilized countries, or whether the abolishment of the death penalty caused the increase. It is to be noted here that all grand juries, who made any recommendations to the Committee, unanimously approved the retention of capital punishment.

Many arguments were advanced to the Committee that the use of capital punishment had no uniform application. It was further stated that the poor, and members of minority groups were more often executed than from any other class.

This argument can neither be admitted nor denied since no statistics were made available showing who committed the majority of capital crimes or their relative status in the community. Theoretically, all members of society stand equally before the bar of justice.

This report cannot deny that there has been abuses connected with the death penalty. History tells us that life has been taken by society for trivial and insignificant crimes. This fact tends to obscure the considerations which justify capital punishment in principle. It cannot be successfully argued that because the use of the death penalty has been abused that there are no crimes for which it would be a necessary protection for society.

The State in considering whether to retain or abolish the death penalty must consider the protection of society.

Certainly, sympathy is due to anyone who is to be executed, and the members of his family. Nevertheless, we should never lose sight that sympathy is due to the victim and his or her family, and to society as a whole. The rule of law and preservation of law and order makes our society distinct from anarchy. Many who state that it is immoral for the State to take human life favor its retention for murdering police officers or the killing of a prison guard. This seems to weaken the moral argument, since if it is wrong for the State to take life, it is wrong for it to take life whether the criminal killed a derelict or ten policemen.

It is impossible to know how many lives have been saved or how many crimes that would have been committed, have not, due to the presence of the death penalty.

We have had cases of robbers using toy pistols or unloaded weapons. It seems obvious the only motivation these people had was the possibility of the application of the death penalty.

It is not the role of this report to conclude that capital punishment is completely effective, but on the other hand it is not always invoked, quite the contrary, it is very rarely invoked. Nor do we advocate its greater application.

Many who testified before the Committee, evidenced their concern for persons under death sentence and the long appeals, new trials, and reprieves; neverthelss, we can only conclude this is not cruelty, but it serves to emphasize the painstaking effort used to exhaust all legal remedies. This is controlled by the accused. There will always remain the possibility that an innocent person will be executed, however, it

was the opinion of a majority of those on the Committee that this has served to overdramatize the problem.

Criminal laws exist to protect members of society. No effective means have been found to protect without punishment. The accused should be accorded all of his rights, but who commits the moral wrong - the criminal or society?

The subscribers to this majority report hold that the supreme authority of the State of Georgia has the right to exact the death penalty when it appears from competent evidence that it is necessary for the protection of our society against criminal attack. This conclusion is reached by virtue of the following considerations. It is assumed that the death penalty is primarily punitive and inflicted as such. Its imposition does not have to be exercised on this reason alone. But on the contrary, it is used for its deterrent influence, even though drastic as it may be. The State takes human life only when the crime is of flagrant and serious magnitude. The primary aim of the State is to evidence and to discourage by drastic means its abhorrence of the crimes for which the death penalty may be used. In this connection, the State is not so much considering the individual condemned to die, but the protection of all other members of society who must be protected. The State is not concerned with problems of vengeance in this area, nor of rehabilitation, treatment, or parole. Its objective is to deter would-be offenders as a protective means for society.

We come to the question of whether the death penalty serves as a deterrent. This question has the utmost significance to all people who are concerned with the question of retaining or abolishing capital punishment. It is fundamentally true that all human beings fear the loss of their lives, even though they may

be mentally unbalanced or suffering from delusions. No instinct is so strong as that of self-preservation; thus we feel that the threat of death necessarily has a determining influence on human and criminal behavior. Statistically, it is impossible to determine that a certain number of lives have been spared or may be spared because of capital punishment. This will always remain true because it is virtually impossible to learn of the motivation a would-be assassin or person who commits a capital crime will consider before he makes a determination of whether to commit a crime, or to refrain from doing so.

Statistics that seem to show that the incidence of crime does not vary consistently with the presence or absence of the death penalty are inconclusive at best. Another facet that needs to be considered is the so-called delay between arrest and the eventual execution. We feel that it is quite necessary that the legal procedures be very exacting and that every means be afforded to the accused to defend or justify his act, and that every possible precaution be taken to assure that no innocent man is executed.

Another question that needs to be considered is whether life imprisonment or other measures sufficiently protect society against capital crimes. In support of the affirmative, many people now consider society to be so well developed that capital punishment is an archaic, inhuman and brutal law. Yet, statistically, we know that crime, both in the State of Georgia and throughout the United States, continues to increase at an alarming rate each year. Respect for the law is diminishing. Therefore, it appears that those who would commit crime hesitate less to sacrifice human life than ever before. But if it is admitted that capital punishment is a deterrent, then we believe that any

other punishment would not serve as a successful deterrent. The use of capital punishment is justified on the basis of the protection it affords to society as a whole. We feel that the minority report gives too great an emphasis to the criminal or accused. The ever present threat of execution, as a part of the public law of this State, will serve to deter the potential criminal from committing his deed.

With regard to the religious and moral arguments concerning capital punishment, more clergymen appeared before the Committee during the public hearings than any other single group. The opinions expressed by the clergymen ranged from total abhorrence of the death penalty to total endorsement of the death penalty with many shades of opinion between these extremes. It is interesting to note that the clergymen, as a group, were almost equally split on the question of whether or not capital punishment should be retained in the State of Georgia. As a result, the majority feels that at this point in time, the religious and moral arguments concerning the question are inconclusive.

We have all worked together in harmony and regret that the report of the Committee is not unanimous. However, we recognize that those writing the minority report are sincere in their belief and conscientious in their duty. We further recognize that reasonable men may disagree in the matter which we have been asked to consider.

The majority of the Committee recommended certain changes in the present law that will be found elsewhere in this report.

/s/ B. AVANT EDENFIELD
Senator, 4th District

/s/ JOSEPH E. LOGGINS
Senator, 53rd District

/s/ OLIVER C. BATEMAN
Senator, 27th District

/s/ JOHN T. McKENZIE
Senator, 17th District

/s/ ROBERT E. LEE, JR.
Senator, 47th District

/s/ ROY NOBLE
Senator, 19th District

V.

MINORITY REPORT OF THE SENATE CAPITAL PUNISHMENT STUDY COMMITTEE

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY

The Committee heard many and varied arguments in opposition to the death penalty. The better of these arguments follow. Many witnesses before the Committee stressed that they were opposed to capital punishment and at the same time were in favor of law and order. Some further stated that they knew law and order was a problem in this country at this time. They also acknowledged that as a society we should do all in our power to protect police officers and those persons engaged in the hazardous occupation of law enforcement. The possibility that their own home or family could be torn asunder by some maniac was admitted by many. Nevertheless, these people felt that capital punishment should be abolished.

DETERRENCE:

The question of whether or not capital punishment is a deterrent to the commission of capital offenses has long plagued the best minds and the most conscientious people. Statistics indicate that capital punishment does not deter crime. One expert has pointed out that Georgia, in addition to having the highest number of executions in the United States in recent years, also has the highest number of prisoners per 100,000 population in the country. Taking into consideration Georgia's extensive use of capital punishment, one would think that Georgia would have one of the lowest homicide rates of any state in the Union -- if capital punishment really were a deterrent. Such is simply not the case as any research whatever will indicate.

Homicide rates have not appreciably changed in any state upon the abolition of the death penalty. The supposition that our citizenry will immediately embark on a lawless binge upon abolition is a myth that neither stands statistically sound nor reasonably correct.

The following factors support the position that capital punishment is simply not a deterrent to crime:

(a) About 50% of all murders occur in the home, i.e., a parent kills a child, a child kills a parent, a husband kills his wife or vice versa. These people, while guilty of murder, in most instances are not professional criminals. Their one major act of lawlessness in a lifetime is committed in a rage of anger or passion. They cannot be considered by the law as the law should and does consider the professional burglar or robber, or even the petty thief.

(b) A substantial number of persons committing serious crimes and being sentenced to death represent the most deprived and under-privileged segments of our society. These are not people who weigh advantages and disadvantages and logically consider the consequences before they commit a crime.

(c) The professional killer or the murderer who plans and schemes before the act never expects to be apprehended. Capital punishment is certainly not a deterrent to these people.

(d) Somepsychiatrists testify that there are some people who have suicidal tendences who actually commit a capital crime because they are seeking their self-destruction and actually wish for the electric chair. This may or may not account for the fact that the homicide rate has fallen slightly in some states when capital crimes have been abolished.

(e) Many people who commit capital crimes are not mentally responsible. Sex offenders fall into this category because no normal male commits a sex crime. Certainly, it has never been the policy in this country to execute the weak-minded and mentally incompetent.

It further appears that surrounding executions with secrecy is inconsistent with the position that the death sentence has a deterrent effect on crime.

STATUS OF THE ACCUSED:

Beyond a shadow of a doubt, the people who are most often put to death are the poor and the friendless. A Negro is more likely to "get the chair" than is a white man who is guilty of the same offense. (The penal and correctional records in Georgia show that of the 415 executions in the last 40 years, 337 were Negroes). A poor man cannot hire the best legal counsel that is easy for the rich man to obtain. While this would be true of any crime by any criminal, there is no punishment as severe as the taking of life and for this reason the economic, social and racial status of the accused is of special significance when that status makes the accused susceptible to the punishment. This uneven application of the death penalty lends support to the contention that the death penalty has already been abolished for everyone except the poor, the friendless, and the mentally disturbed. While it is true that death prevents the offender from ever committing a second capital crime, society should not overlook the fact that elimination of the criminal will not eliminate the circumstances which caused the crime. One man may be electrocuted, while ten men are being made potential offenders by their environment.

THE INNOCENT:

As long as human beings administer justice, errors will be made. Errors have been made in the past and innocent people have been executed. Once a convicted person is executed there is no chance to correct the error because the ultimate in punishment has been administered. Along with this, it is worthy of note that after execution the investigation to prove innocence ceases and for this reason it is impossible to tell how many innocent people might have been executed.

REHABILITATION:

All men can be redeemed with rare exception. As we learn more and more about the human mind, we learn more and more about why people do the things they do. Capital punishment forever bars a person from thereafter living a useful life even in prison. If society believes that rehabilitation should be the ultimate aim of our prison system, there is no reason for that purpose not to apply to all criminals.

In this connection, the matter of expense is advanced in terms of the possibility of execution being less expensive to the State than imprisonment. It is doubtful whether execution is really less expensive. In the first place, prisoners earn some of their support while in prison. At the same time, multiple appeals and petitions on the part of persons confined on death row are a great burden and expense to the State.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE:

The abolition of capital punishment would lift a great burden from juries and judges. It is enough that juries must decide guilt or innocence without having to decide on life or death. It is enough for judges to sentence to prison without sentencing death. The administration of justice would be

immeasurably improved by abolishing capital punishment.

A capital case is often a long and expensive task to constitute a trial jury, as many prospective jurors are excused because of not being in favor of the death sentence. In many instances it has been apparent that juries will more likely convict when life imprisonment is involved, but will more likely acquit when execution is involved. The sharing of the general power of sentencing between the judge and jury in capital cases (with the jury having power to recommend mercy or not), illustrates an effort on the part of society to camouflage the person or persons finally responsible for the imposition of the death sentence.

There was also presented to the committee a legal argument which maintains that capital punishment is unconstitutional on three grounds: (1) that it is a denial of equal protection of the law (by virtue of discriminatory application in terms of economic status, sex and race); (2) that it is cruel and unusual punishment; and (3) that it is a violation of due process of law (the automatic elimination from jury service of persons opposed to the death sentence).

REVERENCE FOR LIFE, MORALITY AND RELIGION:

Passages from the Bible can be quoted by those who choose to do so to defend capital punishment or to urge its abolition. In any event the life of Jesus Christ was built around the idea of love and forgiveness and not around revenge and retaliation. Jesus was not personally repulsed by any man no matter how odious that person's life may have been, and it is hard to conceive of Him pulling the switch on a man strapped in the electric chair. If He would be unwilling to act as executioner, it could never be said that He would sanction such an act by one of us. It is immoral to take life because that perogative is

God's alone. Human life is too precious to be the subject of barbaric attitudes, actions and impulses. Once man subjected man to terrible acts of cruelty and justified himself in so doing. Humanity now considers boiling in oil, the rack, and drawing and quartering to be inhuman. A hundred years from now men will consider the electric chair the same.

The acts of society as a whole are the acts of each individual who is a part of that society. No amount of rationalization will do away with this ultimate fact. Each time a person is put to death by the State of Georgia, that death is the responsibility of each citizen of Georgia.

Each and every time the lights dim at Reidsville, we have helped to create a climate of violence and have placed upon the people of Georgia a useless guilt. It is high time we looked at what we are doing in the light of fact, reason and humanity.

As a result of the foregoing considerations, the minority believes that capital punishment should be totally abolished in the State of Georgia.

/s/ KENNETH KILPATRICK
Senator, 44th District

/s/ LEROY R. JOHNSON
Senator, 38th District

/s/ WILLIAM A. SEARCEY
Senator, 2nd District

/s/ HORACE T. WARD
Senator, 39th District

VI.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

As the majority and minority reports indicate, six members of the Committee believe that capital punishment should be retained in Georgia, while four members believe it should be completely abolished, but the minority, believing that any reduction in the number of capital crimes would be an improvement in Georgia's criminal law, joins the majority in making the following recommendations:

1. That capital punishment be abolished in Georgia for all crimes except the following:

   (a) Treason

   (b) Murder

   (c) Rape

   (d) Kidnapping for ransom

   (e) Robbery by open force

   (f) Perjury causing death or perjury resulting in the conviction of another person of a crime punishable by death

It should be pointed out that several capital offenses, although separately listed in the Georgia Code, actually amount to murder, and the Committee is not recommending the abolishment of capital punishment for these crimes.

2. That life imprisonment, reducible to 10 - 20 years and reducible as otherwise provided by law, be substituted for the remaining crimes presently punishable by the death penalty.

3. That present procedure be changed with regard to the crimes for which the Committee recommends retention of the death penalty so that in order for the death penalty to be carried out, the jury finding a defendant guilty of a crime

punishable by death shall be required to make a recommendation of the death penalty if the jury desires that the defendant be put to death. If no recommendation for the death penalty is made by the jury, the sentence would automatically be life imprisonment.

The Committee will propose bills to the General Assembly to carry out these recommendations.

A P P E N D I X

EXHIBIT "A"

LAWS OF CERTAIN STATES WHICH HAVE
ABOLISHED CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

ALASKA:

1. Year abolished: 1957.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Life imprisonment.
4. Parole: A person who has been convicted for murder in the first degree is not eligible for parole until he has served 15 years. Persons convicted of murder in the second degree or who are sentenced as a habitual criminal are not eligible for parole until at least 5 years have been served.
5. Commutation: No information.

HAWAII:

1. Year abolished: 1957.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Murder in the first degree, life imprisonment, not subject to parole; murder in the second degree, imprisonment for any number of years but for not less than 20 years.
4. Parole: No information given other than above.
5. Commutation: No information given.

IOWA:

1. Year abolished: 1965.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Mandatory life for first degree murder and kidnapping; rape is punishable by not less than five years and may be punished by life.
4. Parole: No prisoner serving a life term for any crime is eligible for parole.
5. Commutation: The State Board of Parole automatically reviews the case of each prisoner who is serving a life term after the prisoner has served 15 years and at least once every three years thereafter, making such recommendations as the Board sees fit to the Governor. The Governor invariably accepts a recommendation against commutation and usually, but not invariably, accepts a recommendation for commutation. When a life sentence is to be commuted, the commutation is usually to a term of years such that the prisoner is immediately or will very shortly be eligible for parole.

MAINE:

1. Year abolished: 1887.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Life imprisonment for crimes ordinarily punishable by capital punishment.
4. Parole: A person sentenced to life imprisonment may be paroled after serving 30 years.
5. Commutation: No information.

MICHIGAN:

1. Year abolished: Michigan has never imposed the death penalty upon conviction of a capital crime. The State joined the Union in 1837. The only person executed for a crime in Michigan was a person involved in a bank robbery and he was executed under the provisions of Federal law at the Federal prison in Milan, Michigan. The only crime ever punishable by death in Michigan statutes was treason and that law was repealed on May 10, 1963, following the adoption of the new State Constitution.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: First degree murder is punishable by life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. Michigan laws provide indeterminate sentences up to life upon conviction of 21 separate crimes including various degrees of murder and for rape. The minimum sentence in these cases is 10 years.
4. Parole: Parole is possible in all sentences except life imprisonment or first degree murder.
5. Commutation: In cases of life imprisonment without the possibility of parole the Governor may commute the life sentence making the prisoner eligible for parole. There is no time period for the Governor to act but commutation is rare before the prisoner completes 15 years of a life sentence.

NEW YORK:

1. Year abolished: 1965
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: (a) killing a peace officer; (b) Killing another in connection with confinement in or escaping from a prison under certain circumstances.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: First degree murder, life imprisonment.
4. Parole: A prisoner sentenced to imprisonment for life serves about 26 years and 7 months in New York before being paroled.
5. Commutation: No information.

NORTH DAKOTA:

1. Year abolished: 1915.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: Serving life sentence for first degree murder when convicted of first degree murder and for treason.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Mandatory life imprisonment for first degree murder; possible life imprisonment for first degree rape, possible for habitual criminals.
4. Parole: Prior to 1963, persons serving life sentences could apply for parole after they had served one-half of their life expectancy. In 1963, the Legislature repealed these provisions and now a convict may apply for parole at any time. Sentiment exists in North Dakota to reenact the provisions relating to providing for a minimum sentence for all life-term prisoners and a bill to that effect will probably be introduced at the 1967 session of the Legislature.
5. Commutation: No information.

OREGON:

1. Year abolished: 1964.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Mandatory life sentences for first degree murder.
4. Parole: A prisoner serving a life sentence is eligible for parole after serving 10 years but he is not eligible for a certificate of discharge.
5. Commutation: No information.

RHODE ISLAND:

1. Year abolished: 1852.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: Committing murder while under sentence of imprisonment for life.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Murder in the first degree: life imprisonment; murder in the second degree: not less than 10 years and up to life imprisonment; rape: not less than 10 years and up to life imprisonment.
4. Parole: Any person sentenced to imprisonment for life is not eligible for parole until he has served at least 20 years, and parole may be given then only by unanimous vote of all members of parole board.
5. Commutation: No information.

WEST VIRGINIA:

1. Year abolished: 1965.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Murder in the first degree, life imprisonment; kidnapping, life imprisonment; rape, life imprisonment.
4. Parole: A person sentenced to life imprisonment for murder in the first degree is not eligible for parole unless the jury recommends mercy or unless the accused pleads guilty, in which case, the court may, in its discretion, provide that such person shall be eligible for parole; the same procedure is also true of rape. If a person serving a life sentence is eligible for parole, he must serve at least 10 years and no person sentenced to life who has been twice previously convicted of a felony may be paroled until he has served 15 years.
5. Commutation: No information.

VERMONT:

1. Year abolished: 1965.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: Killing a police office or prison guard under certain circumstances.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Murder, life imprisonment.
4. Parole: No information.
5. Commutation: No information.

WISCONSIN:

1. Year abolished: 1853.
2. Crimes for which capital punishment is retained: None.
3. Sentences in lieu of capital punishment: Murder in the first degree, life imprisonment; rape, sentence may not exceed 30 years; second degree murder, 5 to 25 years; third degree murder, not more than 25 years.
4. Parole: Wisconsin permits parole for any offense but in some instances does not permit probation. The minimum length of a life sentence with reduction for good behavior is 11 years and 3 months.
5. Commutation: Life sentences can be commuted to a certain number of years.

The states shown above plus Minnesota make a total of thirteen states which do not have capital punishment at the present time except for the crimes indicated under New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island and Vermont. A letter was written to all states except Vermont which have abolished capital punishment to solicit the information included in this memorandum, but a reply was not received from Minnesota. Little information is shown for Vermont, because it was not known until recently that Vermont had abolished capital punishment, and time did not permit writing a letter to that state.

EXHIBIT "B"

CAPITAL OFFENSES IN GEORGIA

Code Section	26-801	Treason
" "	26-903	Insurrection
" "	26-1005	Murder
" "	26-1103	Foeticide
" "	26-1104	Advising the killing of an infant
" "	26-1208	Castration
" "	26-1302	Rape
" "	26-1304	Sexual intercourse with a female under 14
" "	26-1603	Kidnapping for ransom
" "	26-2204	Burning of railroad bridge
" "	26-2206	Arson causing death. (See also Sections 26-2208, 26-2209 and 26-2210, 26-2211)
" "	26-2301	Destruction of a house with explosive substances causing death
" "	26-2302	Malicious destruction of a house within a city or town
" "	26-2303	Malicious destruction of a house not within a city or town
" "	26-2502	Robbery by open force
" "	26-4007	Perjury causing death or perjury resulting in the conviction of another person of an offense punishable by death
" "	26-5203	Dueling when death ensues
" "	26-5401	Mobbing or lynching causing the death of a citizen
" "	26-7310	Wrecking train when death ensues
" "	26-7314	Destroying railroad property, etc. when death ensues
Code Anno. Sec.	26-7320	Mishandling snakes or advising or counselling the mishandling of snakes when death ensues. (See also Sections 26-7318 and 26-7310).
Code Anno. Sec.	26-8117	Desecration of a burial place with intent to rob
Code Anno. Sec.	42-9917	Second conviction for furnishing minor narcotic drug

EXHIBIT "C"

Table 3. - PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY OFFENSE, RACE, AND STATE: 1930-1964

(For years 1930-1959, excludes Alaska and Hawaii except for three Federal executions in Alaska, one each in 1939, 1948 and 1950.)

Region and State	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses							
													Total			Armed robbery		Kid-naping	Other offenses (a)	
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	White	Negro
United States	3,849	1,743	2,064	42	3,325	1,657	1,628	40	455	48	405	2	69	38	31	5	19	20	13	12
Percent .	100.0	-	-	-	86.4	-	-	-	11.8	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FEDERAL	33	28	3	2	16	11	3	2	2	2	-	-	15	15	-	1	-	6	8	-
TOTAL STATE	3,816	1,715	2,061	40	3,309	1,646	1,625	38	453	46	405	2	54	23	31	4	19	14	5	12
NORTHEAST	608	424	177	7	606	422	177	7	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
Maine (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
New Hampshire ..	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermont	4	4	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts ..	27	25	2	-	27	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island (b).	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Connecticut	21	18	3	-	21	18	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	329	234	90	5	327	232	90	5	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
New Jersey	74	47	25	2	74	47	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania ...	152	95	57	-	152	95	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH CENTRAL	398	253	143	2	388	250	136	2	10	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ohio	172	104	67	1	172	104	67	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indiana	41	31	10	-	41	31	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	90	59	31	-	90	59	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michigan (b)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Wisconsin (b) ...	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Minnesota (b) ...	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Iowa	18	18	-	-	18	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Missouri	61	29	32	-	51	26	25	-	10	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Dakota (b).	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
South Dakota (c).	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	4	3	-	1	4	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansas (c)	11	8	3	-	11	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: National Prisoner Statistics - Number 37 April, 1964

Region and State	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses							
													Total			Armed robbery		Kid-naping	Other offenses (a)	
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	White	Negro
SOUTH	2,304	635	1,659	10	1,822	583	1,231	8	443	43	398	2	39	9	30	4	19	5	-	11
Delaware(c) ...	12	5	7	-	8	4	4	-	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	68	13	55	-	44	7	37	-	24	6	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dist. of Col. .	40	3	37	-	37	3	34	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia	92	17	75	-	71	17	54	-	21	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Virginia ..	40	31	9	-	36	28	8	-	1	-	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
North Carolina	263	59	199	5	207	55	149	3	47	4	41	2	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	9
South Carolina	162	35	127	-	120	30	90	-	42	5	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Georgia	366	68	298	-	299	65	234	-	61	3	58	-	6	-	6	-	6	-	-	-
Florida	170	57	113	-	133	55	78	-	36	1	35	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Kentucky	103	51	52	-	88	47	41	-	10	1	9	-	5	3	2	3	2	-	-	-
Tennessee	93	27	66	-	66	22	44	-	27	5	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alabama	134	27	107	-	105	25	80	-	22	2	20	-	7	-	7	-	5	-	-	2
Mississippi ...	154	30	124	-	130	30	100	-	21	-	21	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
Arkansas	118	27	90	1	99	25	73	1	19	2	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana	133	30	103	-	116	30	86	-	17	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oklahoma	59	41	15	3	53	39	11	3	4	-	4	-	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
Texas	297	114	182	1	210	101	108	1	84	13	71	-	3	-	3	-	3	-	-	-
WEST	506	403	82	21	493	391	81	21	-	-	-	-	13	12	1	-	-	7	5	1
Montana	6	4	2	-	6	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wyoming	6	5	1	-	6	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colorado	46	40	5	1	46	40	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Mexico ...	8	6	2	-	8	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arizona	38	28	10	-	38	28	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Utah	13	13	-	-	13	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nevada	29	27	2	-	29	27	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Washington ...	47	40	5	2	46	39	5	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Oregon(c)	19	16	3	-	19	16	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
California ...	291	221	52	18	279	210	51	18	-	-	-	-	12	11	1	-	-	6	5	1
Alaska(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Hawaii(d)	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX

(a) In this category the 8 Federal executions were for espionage. The 9 executions in North Carolina and the 2 in Alabama were for burglary. In California, the 6 executions were for aggravated assault committed by prisoners under a life sentence.
(b) Death penalty illegal during entire period, except for provisions indicated in the text.
(c) See text for period during which death penalty was in force.
(d) Alaska and Hawaii when territories abolished capital punishment in 1957. As States, Alaska and Hawaii are included in this series beginning Jan. 1, 1960.

File/churches

Changes in the Methodist Discipline affecting Race Relations.
(Material added by the 1964 General Conference in CAPS.)

THE METHODIST CHURCH IS A PART OF THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL. THEREFORE, ALL PERSONS, WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, NATIONAL ORIGIN, OR ECONOMIC CONDITION, SHALL BE ELIGIBLE TO ATTEND ITS WORSHIP SERVICES, TO PARTICIPATE IN ITS PROGRAMS, AND TO BE ADMITTED INTO ITS MEMBERSHIP ANYWHERE IN THE CONNECTION. The membership of a local Methodist Church shall consist of all persons who have been received into its fellowship on profession of their faith, by transfer from some other church, or by restoration and whose membership has not been terminated by death, transfer, withdrawal, expulsion, or action of the Quarterly Conference. A member of a local Methodist Church is a member of the Methodist Church anywhere in the connection.

All provisions of the Discipline relating to property, both real and personal, and relating to the formation and operation of any corporation, are conditioned upon their being in conformity with the local laws shall prevail. PROVIDING, THAT THE SERVICES OF WORSHIP OF EVERY LOCAL METHODIST CHURCH SHALL BE OPEN TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

It (The Commission on Education) shall determine the policies for the church school as a whole and its parts, and shall give general direction to all the educational work of the church, PROVIDED THAT THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE CHURCH SHALL BE OPEN TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, NATIONALITY OR CLASS.

(Questions to minister on trial candidates) ARE YOU WILLING TO RELATE YOURSELF IN MINISTRY TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, INCLUDING RECEIVING THEM INTO THE MEMBERSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

The Annual Conference may make rules to govern its own procedure, provided that no Annual Conference shall make any rule contrary to the Constitution or to the power granted it by the General Conference; PROVIDED FURTHER THAT IN THE EXERCISE OF THE POWERS GRANTED BY THE GENERAL CONFERENCE EACH ANNUAL CONFERENCE SHALL ACT IN ALL RESPECTS IN HARMONY WITH THE POLICY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH WITH RESPECT TO ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE. An Annual Conference can not financially obligate The Methodist Church or an

organization unit thereof except the Annual Conference itself.

Higher education is part of both our Methodist heritage and our present task. In establishing and maintaining educational institutions and in ministering to students WITHOUT RESPECT TO RACE OR NATIONAL ORIGIN the church continues its historic work of uniting knowledge and vital piety.

It shall elect, WITHOUT RESPECT TO RACE OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, on nomination of the general secretary, directors for each of the departments, and such other staff members as are needed for the operation of the division.

It shall engage personnel, WITHOUT RESPECT TO RACE OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, appoint such commissions and committees and adopt such regulations as necessary for the discharge of its responsibilities.

The division (of the local church) shall prepare standards for all types of camping, including standards for camp sites and other physical aspects of camping and standards for the program, leaderships, and curriculum for use in Methodist camps, including day camps. IN KEEPING WITH THE POLICY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH ON RACE, SUCH STANDARDS SHALL CONTAIN A RECOMMENDATION THAT ALL CAMPS SHALL BE AVAILABLE TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

The board (of Hospitals and Homes) shall formulate standards, spiritual, financial and scientific, to protect the aims and ideals of The Methodist Church and shall encourage and assist institutions in attaining these standards. ALL HOSPITALS AND HOMES OPERATED BY, OR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF, OR RELATED TO ANY CONNECTIONAL UNIT OF THE METHODIST CHURCH ARE URGED TO MAKE THEIR PROGRAMS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO ALL PERSONS REGARDLESS OF RACE.

THE BISHOPS, BEARING IN MIND THE STATED GOALS OF AN INCLUSIVE CHURCH, SHALL SEEK THE COOPERATION OF CABINETS AND CONGREGATIONS IN THE APPOINTMENT OF PASTORS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE OR COLOR.

THE COUNCIL ON WORLD SERVICE AND FINANCE SHALL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF BISHOPS IN 1966, AND TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE IN 1968, THE RESULTS OF SURVEYS OF THE SERVICES AND EMPLOYMENT POLICIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING AND ADVANCEMENT, OF ALL INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES OF THE CHURCH WHICH RECEIVED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE COUNCIL ON WORLD SERVICE AND FINANCE.

File

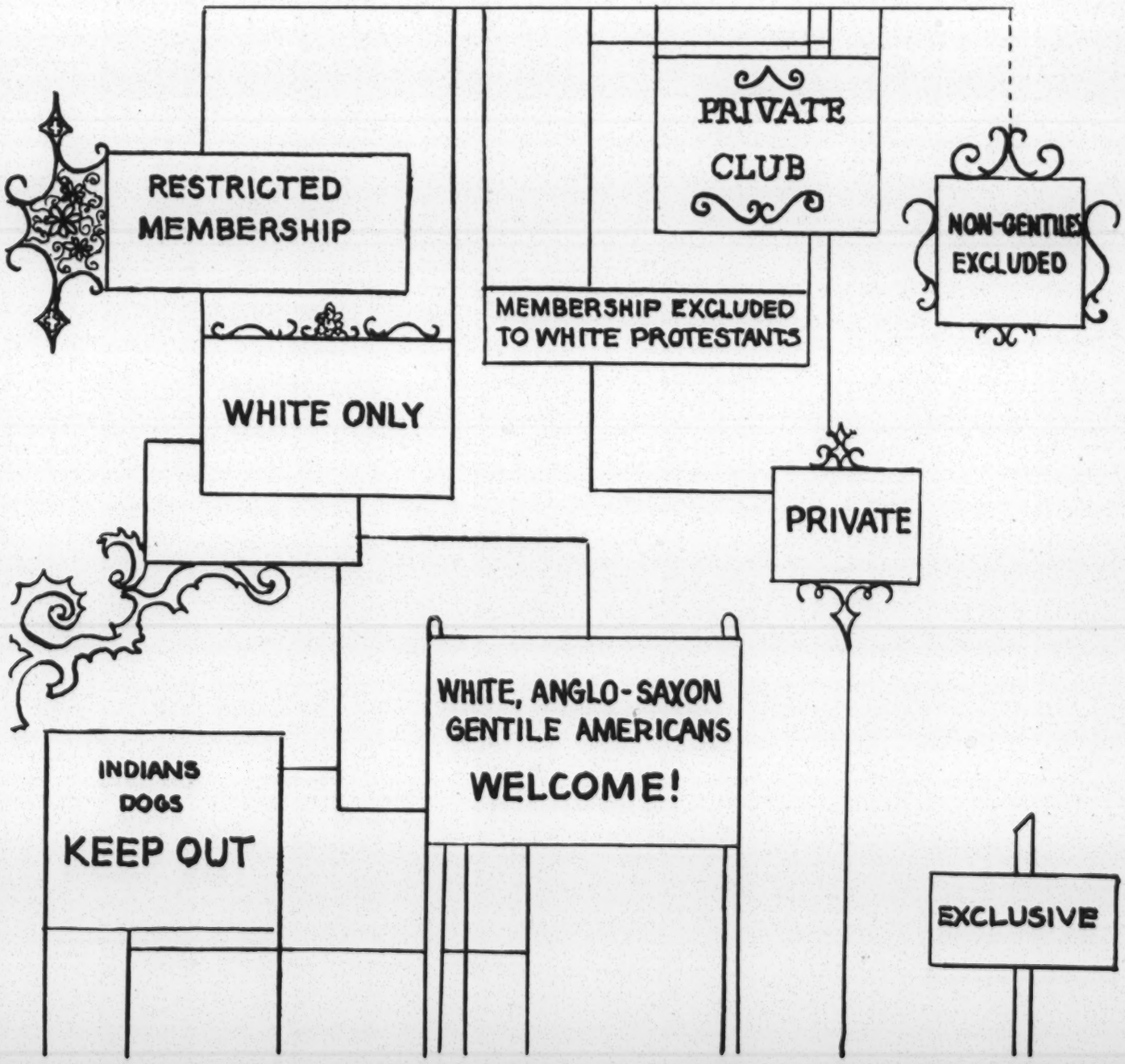
INTER-FAITH CONFERENCE

- A Confrontation of

"THE EVILS WE DEPLORE"

FEBRUARY 26, 1965 - 10:30 A.M.

THE TEMPLE, 1589 Peachtree St., N.E.



Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!):
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the presence in the room he said,
"What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,
And with a look made of all sweet accord,
Answered, "The names of those who love the Lord."
"And is mine one?", said Abou. "Nay, not so,"
Replied the Angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still, and said, "I pray thee, then
Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."
The Angel wrote and vanished; the next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And show'd the names whom love of God hast blest
And lo! Ben Adhem's led all the rest.

--Leigh Hunt
(1784-1859)

P R O G R A M

10:30 - 12:45

PRAYER - (In Unison)

O God of boundless might and incomprehensible glory, infinite compassion and measureless love to man; look down upon us as we gather for this hour of self-searching of the inner recesses of our hearts.

Show us the riches of Thy mercy and tenderness, and make us worthy, with a pure heart, and a contrite spirit, with hallowed lips and lives that have no need to be ashamed to pray unto Thee. AMEN.

GREETINGS - Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild

PURPOSE - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

PLAY - "Some of My Best Friends" - (Youth Group)

Elizabeth Edwards
James Price
Serelda Smith
Patrick Tracy
Patsy Wise

"THE EVILS WE DEPLORE" - (Speakers)

Mrs. Ella Mae Brayboy
Mrs. Betty Cantor
Mrs. Edw. G. Holmes
Mr. Gordon Patton
Rev. Henry Steins

DISCUSSION GROUPS - "Save us from weak resignation
To the evil we deplore."

LEADERS - Mrs. Boone M. Bowen
Mrs. Thos. G. Brockman
Miss Estelle Clemmons
Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. I. Wilen

REPORTERS - Mrs. Bruce Fanguy
Mrs. K. Kaplin
Mrs. R. N. McLemore, Jr.
Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Mrs. Jack Patterson
Mrs. H. A. Rubin

SUMMARY - Rev. Don McEvoy

CLOSING PRAYER - (In Unison)

Eternal Spirit of good will,
Help us to keep our hearts warm with affection,
And with a spirit of forgiveness and brotherly cooperation,
And with zeal to promote good will among men. AMEN.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS:

Atlanta Diocese of Catholic Women
B'nai B'rith
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Southern Regional Council
United Church Women

PLANNING COMMITTEE:

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
Mrs. Edw. P. Faust
Mrs. J. C. Howard
Rev. Don McEvoy
Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

PROGRAM COVER:

Designed and drawn by

Miss Marge Manderson

Lettered by

Mrs. Sue Rusche

February 26, 1965
Atlanta, Georgia

File Movement

NEW STYLES IN "LEFTISM"

Ideologues and Desperadoes . . . The Cult of Verbal Violence . . . Charismatic Leaders and Authoritarian States . . . The Decline of the West . . . Politics as Style

by IRVING HOWE

Reprinted from DISSENT, Summer 1965

File
leftists

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHITE PAPER ON VIETNAM

Prepared by the

MAY 2nd COMMITTEE
Harvard-Radcliffe

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHITE PAPER ON VIETNAM

Published by:

MAY 2nd COMMITTEE
Harvard-Radcliffe
39 Putnam Avenue
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Printed in the U.S.A.
April, 1965

116

If the cause the U.S. Government supports in Vietnam is just, and the war it has been waging is honorable, why have the facts about Vietnam been kept secret from the American people for almost 15 years? Secretly, the U.S. began its role by financing the French in a losing colonial war. Secretly, U.S. involvement increased as more and more Special Forces troops were sent as "advisors." The secrecy prevailed until the activities of the U.S. in Vietnam attracted the attention of the entire world and could no longer be kept from the American people. Then, on February 27, 1965, the U.S. State Department issued a White Paper attempting to justify the presence and conduct of the U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam.

The White Paper was presented with the strong implication that the policy it was trying to justify was being instituted for the first time. In fact there is nothing new about either the policy or the justifications being offered for it. The Administration has moved from secret escalation on a lower level to overt escalation toward a major war. Each act of escalation has been presented as a **fait accompli** and described as a response to provocations. The White Paper seems to have been issued to justify continual escalation in lieu of specific rationalizations. This analysis will demonstrate that the whole scheme of secrecy and rationalization constitutes an attempt by the Administration to push through a war policy in Vietnam while avoiding the protest that would inevitably arise if the American people were given the facts.

In early February the Administration notified the American people that it had made overt air strikes against North Vietnam. These "retaliatory measures" were but an escalation of earlier attacks on North Vietnam, which began in 1957 with intelligence and counter-espionage operations. They picked up after 1961 when the Kennedy Administration sought to "disorganize the economic and military potential of the North in order to prevent its aid to the rebels in the South, an aid they feared without yet having formal proof of it." (Georges Chafford in **Le Monde**, August 9, 1964)

The Administration had not informed the American people about this phase of its "advisory" activity. An article that appeared in **Aviation Week** on April 6, 1964, stated,

> "War against the Communists has erupted over the borders of South Vietnam in hit and run guerrilla raids and infiltration moves as far north as China... With U.S. backing in aircraft, weapons and money an estimated 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centers and communications routes. Despite Defense Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington March 26 that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war it is known here that guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing since last summer..."

On August 4, 1964, the Administration "retaliated" for an alleged attack on an American ship by North Vietnamese P.T. boats. But the U.S. destroyers were in fact providing an escort for a flotilla of South Vietnamese junks that were raiding the North Vietnamese coast, and were within 12 miles of the North Vietnamese coastline. Any vessel committing hostile acts within 12 miles of our shores would also be attacked. At the time of the alleged incidents the Adminis-

tration claimed that there had been two attacks and that on the second occasion the American ships were withdrawing from North Vietnamese coastal waters. The Administration could furnish neither flotsam and jetsam nor pictures of the three boats that were allegedly sunk during the second attack, which North Vietnam has claimed was a complete fabrication. Turning to the reprisals themselves Professor Bernard Fall, author of **The Two Viet-Nams**, wrote in the **Washington Post** on August 9 that "none of the targets attacked (during the American "reprisal raids") was previously known as a regular port or base area. Hon-Gay, for example, was one of the largest open-pit coal mining operations in Asia, if not the world." (quoted in **I. F. Stone's Weekly**, August 24, 1964) In the same issue Stone further pointed out that on August 9 when Senator Eugene McCarthy was queried by Robert Pierpoint on "Face the Nation" as to why "the North Vietnamese navy would have decided to take on the U.S. Navy?" the Senator replied, "I don't know, it may be that they were bored."

The American public, however, did not respond belligerently to the alleged North Vietnamese attacks upon our ships, and during the election campaign President Johnson felt it politic to project himself as the "peace candidate." On September 28 he said that

> "...some of our people—Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Scranton and Mr. Goldwater—have all, at some time or other suggested the possible wisdom of going north in Vietnam... When we retaliated in the Tonkin Gulf, we dropped bombs... within 35 miles of the Chinese border. I don't know what you would think if they started dropping them 35 miles from your border, but I think it is something you have to take into consideration. So we are not going north and we are not going south... We think that losing 190 lives in the period that we have been out there is bad, but it is nothing like the 190,000 that we might lose the first month if we escalated the war..." (L.B.J. at Manchester, N.Y., September 28, verbatim White House text)

In February the Johnson Administration took up again the policies it had abandoned before the election. A new series of "retaliations" were launched for the Vietcong attack on Pleiku. This time Administration sources alleged "that the size and intensity of the attack indicated that it was a major blow carefully timed by Hanoi." But Charles Mohr in the **New York Times** of February 8 noted:

> "...Reports from the field indicated...(that) this is not a large Vietcong assault. Many are much larger. There were American casualties, but the attack was not especially intense... Another factor advanced by Government sources is a belief that attacks launched the same night...indicated a pattern of overall direction probably from Hanoi. Since larger numbers of Vietcong attacks have taken place throughout South Vietnam on other nights, why should this particular conclusion necessarily follow? There were other inconsistencies in the Administration's story: Secretary McNamara ...at his news conference...said he did not believe 'it would ever be possible to protect our forces against a sneak attack of that kind, that the mortars had been fired from a considerable distance, and that clumps of foliage on the generally open plateau had offered cover.' Reports from Pleiku, however, later established that the Vietcong had been able to crawl right onto the U.S. helicopter base to place explosive charges against barracks walls on the outstrip."

Even though no evidence was produced indicating North Vietnamese involvement in the specific attack, the Administration proceeded to "retaliate" against "military targets" in the North, among which was the village of Dong Hoi, bombed on February 7. On February 17 Bernard Fall noted in a radio interview that Dong Hoi is "a small fishing village with only a small road leading out of it." Defense Secretary McNamara had told the press that "Dong Hoi was a staging area for sending soldiers and supplies into South Vietnam." Fall said that this was extremely improbable, pointing out first that the village has only one small road. Secondly, he noted, it can easily be watched as well as shelled from the sea, eliminating any military need for air strikes. "And thirdly, a team of the International Control Commission was stationed in Dong Hoi at the time...One member nation of the Commission, Canada, a close ally of the United States,... certainly would report to

this country any hostile military actions.... For the Communists to put depots in the path of the International Control Commission would be unlikely," he said. (**I.F. Stone's Weekly**, March 1,1965)

The Defense Department and the State Department had been experiencing some difficulty in keeping their rationalizations consistent. On the one hand, the Defense Department justified "reprisals" against Hanoi by alleging that the given occasions for the reprisal represented important acts of intervention by the North in the civil war in the South, whereas the State Department has made Hanoi solely responsible for the existence and continuation of all strife in South Vietnam. If the Defense Department was right, then the State Department was wrong, since the Defense Department's rationalizations freed Hanoi from general responsibility for the war and pointed instead to specific acts of intervention that had to be punished. If, however, the State Department was right, then the rationalizations of the Defense Department were meaningless.

In addition, the State Department's version of the starting point of Hanoi's offensive prior to the latest White Paper upset the justification of the Defense Department's actions preceding that date. In his speech before the Economic Club of New York on April 22, 1963, Secretary of State Rusk asserted that "the Communists... decided in 1959 to renew their assault on South Vietnam." (**I.F. Stone's Weekly**, October 28, 1964) If the offensive was "renewed," it had apparently ceased at some time prior to its renewal in 1959. This destroys the Defense Department's justification for waging an uninterrupted war against the North since 1957. (Georges Chaffard in **Le Monde**, August 7, 1964)

With the publication of the recent White Paper, the State Department and the Defense Department have achieved a desired meeting of the minds. The attack is transformed into a continual process beginning in 1956, while the Defense Department's policy, it is claimed, has been to limit operations against Hanoi's aggression to the territorial confines of South Vietnam until the recent air strikes. According to the White Paper,

> "...after 1956 Hanoi rebuilt, reorganized and expanded its covert political and military machinery in the South.... In short, Hanoi and its forces in the South prepared to take by force and violence what they failed to achieve by other means.... By 1958 the use of terror by the Vietcong increased appreciably.... From 1959 through 1961 the pace of Vietcong terrorism and armed attacks accelerated substantially.... Though it has been apparent for years that the regime in Hanoi was conducting a campaign of conquest against South Vietnam....the Government in Saigon and the Government of the United States both hoped that the danger could be met within South Vietnam itself. The hope that any widening of the conflict could be avoided was stated frequently. The leaders in Hanoi chose to respond with greater violence.... Clearly the restraint of the past was not providing adequately for the defense of South Vietnam.... It was mutually agreed between the Governments of the Republic of Vietnam and the United States that further means for providing for South Vietnam's defense were required. Therefore air strikes have been made... (that) constitute a limited response to the aggression that produced them."

This new position distinguishes itself both by its inconsistency with either of the two official positions formerly held and by its false presentation of Defense Department policy since 1957. However, even this partial success of the White Paper in effecting a meeting of the official minds represented considerable progress in comparison with the uncertainty, embarrassment and discord which prevailed when the Administration adopted in February the policy which it had explicitly rejected in September.

In the **New York Times** on February 18 Max Frankel reported from Washington:

> "President Johnson and Vice-President Humphrey indicated in brief public comments... what their associates have been reiterating in private: that they see no alternative at the present moment to standing militarily...at the side of the South Vietnamese Government and that a call for negotiations or any other commitment to future tactics would further weaken the position of anti-Communist forces in Asia. The reasoning behind this position has not been made explicit. A number of high State Department officials have described themselves as embarassed by uncertainty in conversations with colleagues in allied em-

bassies. Members of Congress who oppose negotiations have joined those who favor them in urging the President to explain his tactics and objectives. Some of Mr. Johnson's reticence has been ascribed to differences among Mr. Johnson's closest advisers about the extent to which retaliatory attacks upon North Vietnam should continue. But fear of displaying an interest in negotiations has been virtually unanimous.

"The private response of officials to the appeals for negotiations has been, 'When and with whom?' It is based on a belief that the non-Communist forces of South Vietnam are too weak politically and militarily to negotiate anything except the surrender of their country to the Vietcong. The question is based too on a belief that even if the Soviet Union, Communist China, and North Vietnam were interested in guaranteeing the "neutrality" of South Vietnam they could not persuade the Vietcong to lay down their arms without assuring them a dominant position in the future Saigon governments—the equivalent, in Washington's eyes, of a defeat...."

By publishing the White Paper the Administration has sought to restore consensus amidst this confusion. The position reached is that,

"Above all, the war in Vietnam is not a spontaneous and local rebellion against the established government.... In Vietnam a Communist government has set out deliberately to conquer a sovereign people in a neighboring state. And to achieve its end it has used every resource of its own government to carry out its carefully planned program of concealed aggression."

President Johnson has repeatedly stressed that the United States' goal is to see peace secured in Southeast Asia. But he has noted that

"...that will come only when the aggressors leave their neighbors in peace. The people of South Vietnam have chosen to resist this threat. At their request, the United States has taken its place beside them in their defensive struggle.... The choice between peace and continued and increasingly destructive conflict is one for the authorities in Hanoi to make."

This position raises an important question: How is it that one week before the White Paper was written, officials believed that the "non-Communist forces of South Vietnam are too weak politically and militarily to negotiate anything except the surrender of their country to the Vietcong" and that the Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam "could not persuade the Vietcong to lay down their arms without assuring them a dominant position in future Saigon governments..."?

If North Vietnam alone, not to mention the Soviet Union and China, could not compel the Vietcong to surrender, then the Vietcong is apparently not controlled from the North and its success cannot be attributed to the assistance of Hanoi. If the Vietcong was dependent, the North could compel the NLF to surrender by threatening to withdraw what the State Department describes as the overwhelming proportion of the "hard core Vietcong" and to cut off the flow of "up-to-date arms and special types of weapons." According to the White Paper, their requirements for such weapons "have risen to the point where the Vietcong cannot rely on captured stocks."

If the Vietcong is independent of the North Vietnamese regime, as high officials in the administration seem to fear, and with good reason, this independence is based on the ability of the Vietcong to withstand the withdrawal of support in men and material from the North. The striking thing about the State Department's new White Paper is how little support it can prove. According to the Pentagon figures given in I.F. Stone's reply to the White Paper, which was published as an advertisement in the **New York Times** on Sunday, March 7, only 179 Communist-made weapons turned up in the 18 months from June 1962 to January 1964. This was only 2.5 per cent of the total weapons captured from the Vietcong during this period, hardly a measure of massive intervention.

But the White Paper says "dramatic new proof was discovered just as this report was being completed" in the capture of a suspected Vietcong arms cargo ship on February 16. The **New York Times** commented astringently on this in an editorial on February 28: "Apparently, the major new evidence of a need for escalating the war, with all the hazard that this entails, was provided by the sinking in a South Vietnamese cove earlier this month of a 100-ton cargo ship loaded with Commu-

nist-made small arms and ammunition. A ship of that size is not much above the Oriental junk class. The standard Liberty or Victory ship of World War II had a capacity of 7,150 to 7,600 tons." Stone comments further: "The affair of the cargo ship is curious. Until now there has been little evidence of arms coming in by ship. A huge fleet of small vessels patrols the coast and there have been glowing stories in the past of its efficiency. 'About 12,000 vessels, the AP reported from Saigon (**New York Times**, February 22) 'are searched each month by the South Vietnamese coastal junk patrol force but arrests are rare and no significant amounts of incriminating goods or weapons ever have been found.' This lone case of a whole shipload of arms is puzzling."

Stone's study also reveals that the White Paper was unable to establish that there has been a substantial movement of men from North to South Vietnam. "The White Paper claims 'that as many as 75 per cent of the more than 7000 Viet Cong who are reported to have entered the South in 1964 were natives of North Vietnam.' But a careful reading of the text and the appendices turns up the names of only six North Vietnamese infiltrees. In Part I of the White Paper, Section B gives 'individual case histories of North Vietnamese soldiers' sent South by Hanoi but all nine of these are of South Vietnamese origin. The next Section, C, is headed 'Infiltration of Native North Vietnamese.' It names five infiltrees but one of these is also from the South. That leaves four North Vietnamese natives. Then, in Appendix C, we are given the case histories and photographs of nine other Viet Cong sent South by Hanoi. The report does not explain which ones were originally from the South but it does give the names of the provinces in which they were born. When these are checked, it turns out that only two of the nine were born in North Vietnam. This gives us a total of six Northern infiltrees. It is strange that after five years of fighting, the White Paper can cite so few."

In short, there is precious little evidence for the Administration's claim of widespread outside aid for the Vietcong, from North Vietnam or anywhere else. The structure of the White Paper's argument in this instance is built upon crude techniques of statistical mystification. I.F. Stone points out that: "The number of North Vietnamese infiltrees (according to the White Paper) is 'based on information...from at least two independent sources.' **Nowhere are we told how many men who infiltrated from the North have actually been captured.** There is reason to wonder whether the count of infiltrees may be as bloated as the count of Viet Cong dead; in both cases the numbers used are estimates rather than actual bodies." (emphasis in original) In dealing with the alleged support in terms of arms and material the White Paper confines itself to the presentation of numbers and types of weapons captured. Nowhere does the White Paper deal with the question of what proportion of any specific type of weapon used by the Vietcong comes from the North, or for that matter what proportion of the total Vietcong arsenal is coming from the North. Without an answer to these questions it is absurd to present data in the form of numbers and types of weapons captured as evidence of control by Hanoi.

The Administration argues that the Communists lacked serious popular support in 1954, and that the South Vietnamese government through its own progressive economic and social policies succeeded in reducing that support to the point at which spontaneous popular rebellion was inconceivable. Therefore the Vietcong movement, this view continues, was dependent upon Hanoi from the beginning and has remained so because of its character as an agency of Hanoi attempting to overthrow a popular government.

The argument combines the virtues and deficiencies of medieval theology; it is logically consistent and empirically a non sequitur. In 1954-1955 Hanoi did not have

to take any measures whatever to insure the support of the South Vietnamese people. It had been built up during a ten year struggle against the French colonial regime during which the Communist Vietminh gained a political position in the South which was as strong as their position in the North. In his memoirs former President Eisenhower states, "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of fighting possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh." (**Mandate for Change**, p. 372) Joseph Alsop writing in March 1955 stated, "If you ask the Americans here, (in Saigon) they will tell you that outside of the feudal domains of the military and religious sects, anywhere from 50-90 per cent of the Southern Indochinese villages are subject to Vietminh influence or control." French experts gave still higher figures: between 60-90 per cent. (Ellen Hammer, **The Struggle for Indochina**, p. 36) Ellen Hammer, who cited Alsop, observed that "some experts believed that the Vietminh was stronger south of the 17th parallel than it was in the North." (Ibid., p. 22) Graham Greene, writing in the **New Republic** of May 1955, stated, "You will find no Vietnamese who believes that the elections (scheduled for July 1956 under the Geneva Agreements of 1954) will ever be held...no one has the slightest doubt that Ho Chi Minh could agree to any form of supervision without risk; his majority in the north and south is assured." Finally in the **New Yorker** of June 25, 1955, Joseph Alsop wrote, with telling surprise, "I could hardly imagine a communist government that was also a popular government and almost a democratic government."

What the White Paper euphemistically refers to as "South Vietnam's refusal to fall in with Hanoi's scheme for a peaceful takeover" was Diem's refusal to hold the elections scheduled under the Geneva Agreement, a refusal which bears witness to the popularity of the Communist government of Hanoi in the South.

The White Paper alleges that the Diem regime consolidated and increased its support among the South Vietnamese people between 1954 and 1960. Strangely absent from the "evidence" that is supposed to indicate growing support for the regime is an assertion of the existence of political democracy in South Vietnam. Previously the State Department has been less modest concerning the achievements of its protege. Secretary of State Rusk, in his speech before the Economic Club of New York on April 22, 1963, noted that "their four national elections, their thousands of elected hamlet councils, and their forthcoming village council elections show steady movement toward a constitutional regime resting on popular consent." Other analysts were less enthusiastic. Bernard Fall sums up the situation that prevailed under the Diem regime as follows:

> "It is, in terms of the actual relations between government and governed, an absolute monarchy without a king, such as Admiral Horthy's Hungary...or as Franco's Spain.... Diem received absolute dictatorial powers on June 19 (1954).... Diem was never again to entrust his power to the incertitudes of parliamentary democracy." (The Two Viet-Nams, pp.237-244)

Secretary Rusk's indiscreet enthusiasm is missing from the White Paper, but it assumes, as does much of our government's propaganda, that the Diem government and its successors have merited and received the support of the South Vietnamese people. The State Department's "evidence" on this point is a hash of statistical confusion, phrase mongering and outright lies. Figures which purport to show an increase in food production per capita do not by any means indicate an increase in the consumption of food per capita. The political loyalty of the peasantry, which represents over 80 per cent of the South Vietnamese population, does not depend on the increased productivity of peasant labor, but on what the peasants are getting out of the increase in production. The latter, in turn, depends on the structure of landholding, rent and taxes, or conversely on what the peasants

themselves are paying for increased production both socially and economically. The White Paper approaches this question very indirectly, failing to go beyond the sterile cliche. "An agrarian reform program was instituted." The White Paper is conspicuously silent on the substance of that reform, its effects on those peasants who had lived under Viet Minh rule, the manner in which it was implemented, and its political consequences.

The White Paper statement that "food production levels of pre-war years were reached and surpassed" is an outright lie. Official South Vietnamese and U.S. Government statistics indicate that with the single exception of 1959 total rice yields were below the level of 1938; after 1959 the figures move steadily downward until the last official estimate in 1962, which gives a figure that is well below the offical estimate for 1938. The official figures as presented by Bernard Fall are as follows: (op. cit., p. 294)

Year	Total Yield (metric tons)
1938	5,300,000
1954	2,565,540
1955	2,839,324
1956	3,412,567
1957	3.191,567
1958	3,995,333
1959	5,311,250
1960	4,955,000
1961	4,259,000
1962	3,000,000

As far as these statistics were used at all in the White Paper to adduce increases in food production per capita, Professor Fall's observations as to their creditability places the honesty of the entire procedure in question. U.S. Government estimates and official South Vietnamese estimates are often at variance; and "even those so-called official figures are subject to retroactive revisions....Private sources vary even more sharply....The foregoing makes it obvious that even 'Western statistics—since they are in the post-colonial era usually derived from local base figures—must be taken with a grain of salt." (Ibid., p. 294)

As far as it is possible to conclude anything from these statistics, the picture is dismal, especially when it is recalled that the population of South Vietnam has increased by 50 per cent since 1938 and is currently increasing at a rate of 3 per cent per annum. In short, food consumption per capita has declined drastically since the pre-war period.

The statement in the White Paper that "Production of textiles increased in the South more than 20 per cent in one year (1958)" is improbable, to say the least. Professor Fall, writing in **Pactific Affairs** in September 1958, cited "the official organ of the Saigon Chamber of Commerce, April 11, 1958." It described the situation of the textile industry as follows: "The newspapers of the past week have announced the closing of many spinneries...12,067 textile worker families will be out of work....Mill owners have stated that the textile weaving industry is at present the prey of difficulties it had never known before. The artisans bring their product to market, but find themselves faced everywhere with strongly rivalizing foreign products....On March 28, 1958, the Federation of Vietnamese Industrialists in a meeting of its delegates with the Vice-President of the Republic stated that "the invasion of the Vietnamese market by foreign products has almost paralyzed local production...." Professor Robert Scigliano, in his volume **South Vietnam Since Independence**, refers to a 1958 industrial study that "showed half of Vietnam's industrial capacity to be unutilized." (p. 116)

The White Paper's statement that "in the same year, South Vietnam's sugar crop increased more than 100 per cent" represents an attempt to create a general impression of growth and prosperity by introducing an irrelevant datum. Sugar is a rather insignificant item in the total South Vietnamese food production. The production figure for sugar in 1960 was 57,091 tons, compared to 4,955,000 metric tons of rice. In any event, the production of sugar in 1960 was well below the level of production in 1938. According to Bernard Fall:

"...South Vietnam, save for coffee, never even reached pre-war levels—let alone made up for the impressive population growth.... Since the cease fire, the value of food imports to South Vietnam has almost consistently exceeded the value of food exports ..." in spite of the fact that South Vietnam is an agricultural country. (Fall, p. 293)

The irrelevance of this figure as an index of economic development is most clearly seen from Fall's observation that "diversification of the economic structure is further off in the mid 1960's than it was in the colonial era or at any time between the two wars." (Fall, p. 296)

According to official statistics cited by Fall in 1962, "In a population of more than 14 million only 4.8 million out of 9 million potential workers are employed; of those, 3.9 million are in agriculture." And outside of the armed forces and the civil administration which absorbed another 600,000, there were 300,000 working in other economic activities, including 50,000 domestic servants. (Fall, p. 312)

In June 1962, a study cited by Fall summed up the situation as follows:

Merely to avoid urban pauperization, 400,000-500,000 jobs would have to be created each year. (There are fewer than 100,000 jobs a year opening now.) Present investment, internal and foreign, amounts to about 8 million a year; about 120 million would be needed just to break even, in view of the fantastic population rise of 3 per cent per year." (p.301)

In short, the economic picture is one not of "steady progress and growing prosperity," but is summed up as follows: "After six years of large-scale American aid, Vietnam is becoming a permanent mendicant." This description was given by "...a former American taxation adviser to the South Vietnamese government, Professor Milton Taylor, in the fall of 1961 issue of **Pacific Affairs**." (Fall, p. 290)

According to the White Paper, "the elementary school population nearly quadrupled between 1956 and 1960." This statement is both factually inaccurate and a typical example of the State Department's statistical mystification. According to South Vietnamese government statistics cited by Fall, primary school attendance in 1956 was 638,104, whereas in 1960, it was 1,365,-939. (Fall, p. 314) Total attendance in primary schools doubled, not quadrupled, and the figures do not give any indication as to whether the number of places available matched the increase in the number of children of primary school age. Assuming conservatively that the population of South Vietnam was 10 million and assuming a linear increase of 3 per cent a year on that base, the number of children born in South Vietnam between 1956 and 1960 was 1.5 million, whereas the number of new places opened was 730,000. Thus, if the population estimates are correct, more children of school age were out of school in 1960 than in 1956.

The figures on building construction in South Vietnam published by the official American Aid Mission do not indicate that the regime has a social conscience. "Between 1957 and 1960 South Vietnam built 47,000 square meters of cinemas and dance halls and 6,500 square meters of hospitals, 3,500 square meters of rice mills, and 86,000 square meters of schools but 425,000 square meters of high-rent villas and apartment buildings." (Fall, p. 315)

According to the conservative Australian journalist, Denis Warner,

"A meager 1,4 per cent of United States aid, or $15 million, went to agriculture between 1955 and 1960. The much-vaunted rural help programme does not exist. Land reform was a flop. Industry was insignificant.... In the first five years of American assistance, 87 per cent of the non-military aid came in the form of commodity imports. These were sold by the Vietnamese government. The piastres thus generated went into a counterpart fund from which the government paid the army.... Nearly half the imports were in the form of consumer goods and their display in the shop windows, and their use by the well-heeled minority distracted attention from the lack of well-being and the mounting unemployment, or underemployment, among the majority." (Warner, **The Last Confucian**, pp. 137-8)

If imported food was to help the peasants

they would have to buy it. There is some reason to think that peasants were not in a position to buy anything.

> "The Japanese peasant pays the equivalent of 600 piastres for a ton of (fertilizer); the Vietnamese pays 2,300 piastres a ton—if he buys it, or can afford to buy it. The Japanese rice sells at 1,000 piastres a ton; Vietnamese rice at 600 piastres. The Japanese yield is about five tons a hectare, the Vietnamese yield only slightly more than two. The Japanese peasant is conservative and satisfied with the status quo. What should we expect the Vietnamese peasant to be?" (Warner, p. 141)

It is unlikely that many peasants buy imported food.

The famous Diem land reform was preceded by efforts on his part to provide social cohesion and eliminate opposition to his government. In mid-1955 Diem proclaimed the "Anti-Communist Denunciation Campaign," under which all Vietnamese were called upon to denounce anyone who was suspected of any loyalties to or past associations with the Vietminh. "Political Re-education Centers" were established as early as 1954, and a presidential ordinance of January 1956 provided for the arrest and indefinite detention of anyone deemed dangerous to the State. (Scigliano, pp. 167-70) The South Vietnamese Secretary of State for Information stated in 1956 that "between 15,000 and 20,000 Communists and active sympathizers had been held in political re-education centers since 1954. This figure was probably low at the time." (Scigliano, p. 171) However it turned out that "the majority of the detainees (were) neither Communists nor pro-Communists," according to Scigliano. (p. 171)

Diem's avowed purpose, according to Edgar Snow (**The Other Side of the River**, p. 700), was

> "...to confound the Communists (by providing) land for the landless tillers, to show that the regime stood for some betterment of the havenots. With a satisfied peasantry as its foundation the whole countryside might have been stabilized."

As it was, South Vietnam was an obvious field for thoroughgoing land reform. According to Fall's figures, of 2,300,000 hectacres of rice land owned by 250,000 landholders, 1,045,000 nectacres, or 45 per cent of the land, was owned by 6,300 people, or only 2 per cent of the landholders; whereas 345,000 hectacres, or only 15 per cent of the land, was owned by 183,000 people, or 72 per cent of all landholders. (Fall, p. 308)

The success of Diem's scheme for winning the loyalty of the South Vietnamese peasantry demanded that Diem would present those peasants who had experienced the Vietminh land reforms with a program which offered them the maintenance or improvement of their present conditions. According to Fall, "The Communist land reform...had been in effect in some areas from 1945-1955." (P. 309) If we begin with the previously cited American and French estimates of population subject to Vietminh influence or control, it might be conservatively estimated that the Vietminh land reform was experienced by 40 per cent of the South Vietnamese population. The Vietminh program consisted in the removal of those landlords who had not already fled and consequently the abolition of rent and the redistribution of the landholders' estates among the peasantry. The peasantry no longer were paying taxes to Saigon, but instead were paying a food quota to the Vietminh. Given the redistribution of land and the abolition of rent, the tax load imposed by the Vietminh was probably lighter than the sum of previous burdens.

The substance and effect of Diem's measures upon these peasants are described by Denis Warner: "In areas where lack of security had for many years prevented the landlords from visiting or collecting rents from their properties, the peasants regarded the land reform as an added tax, or worse. While the land reform programme proper was in the mill, Diem promulgated regulations governing the maximum rentals that should be paid by tenants to landlords. The rates were fixed at 15 to 25 per cent of the principal crop. Though ths was meant to depend on the fertility of the land, the landlords gaining access to their family

estate after many years of Viet Minh control chose to interpret the 25 per cent as a legal minimum, and often charged much higher rate.

> "The propaganda opportunities such practices presented to the Viet Cong were obvious enough. The political subtleties of the situation were beyond the peasants. All they knew was that Diem had brought the landlords back. To be sure, they had to pay taxes to the Viet Minh and were liable to compulsory service either as porters or as guerrillas, but they knew the money did not go to the profit of absentee landlords. Thus, in September 1957, when they discovered that in addition to the payment of what they regarded as exorbitant rentals they now faced the payment of high prices (from $7 to $428 a hectare) for land they had once all but regarded as their own, they did not often respond with the enthusiasm that Saigon and Washington attributed to them." (p. 140)

In effect the rent reduction was a rent increase for those peasants under Vietminh control and for the remainder of the peasantry it was an empty promise: a promise that recognized the illegitimacy of the prevailing situation while doing nothing to change it. The effect of such promises was to undermine social stability and thereby to promote revolution.

The land redistribution program of Diem had a built-in conservative bias—land was sold, and not given, to the peasants—and its enforcement was similar in character to that of the rent reduction. The peasants who had experienced the Vietminh reform felt robbed. The remainder was presented with empty promises.

> "In marked contrast to the land reform programme on Taiwan...or in Japan,... South Vietnam's land reform was anything but radical. A landlord in South Vietnam may retain up to a hundred hectares of rice land and another fifteen hectares for burial grounds and ancestor worship. To have been cut down to this level may have been unpleasant for the rich; but it was precious little help to the poor in a country where half a million peasant families own farms of one hectare or less.
>
> "The programme lacked regulatory machinery to control tenant-landlord registration, and all sorts of side arrangements were entered into to defeat its intention. In Central Vietnam, where there are at least a hundred thousand farms of one hectare or less, each village has public lands which, in theory, it rents out at reasonable rates to the poorest peasants. The idea is that the public lands should provide both village revenue and relief. In practice, the system usually works as yet another means for squeeze and graft by appointed village chiefs and one of the worst forms of land exploitation. No security of tenure is given beyond the crop year, and there is no incentive for crop or land improvement when the poor peasants are allowed on the land. More often than not they do not get a chance at all, and the land goes to the richest and most prominent landlord." (Warner, p. 139)

It was this land reform program, implemented by an authoritarian regime that could not provide enough food or jobs to keep up with population growth and accompanied by a government terror campaign in the countryside that produced the revolt of the Vietnamese peasantry and the Vietcong as the agency of that revolt. Acccording to Devilliers:

> "...the Diem regime, haunted by a strange desire to bring back into being the society of former days, when there were no sects and no Communists, and reckoning that it would itself be safe in the future, accentuated its authoritarian and repressive character....
>
> "The Diem government...launched out in 1957 in to what amounted to a series of manhunts.... A considerable number of people were arrested in this way and sent to concentration camps.... This repression was in theory aimed at the Communists. In fact, it affected all those, and there were many—democrats, socialists, liberals, adherents of the sects—who were bold enough to express their disagreement with the line of policy adopted by the ruling oligarchy....
>
> "In 1958 the situation grew worse.... The Communists, finding themselves hunted down, began to fight back. Informers were sought out and shot in increasing numbers, and village chiefs who had presided over the denunciations, village notables and members of the militia who took part were frequently treated in the same way. The people of the villages, thus intimidated fell silent. Diem's police and army saw their sources of information drying up

one after another. To make good the lack, they resorted to worse barbarity, hoping to inspire an even greater terror among the villagers than that inspired by the Communists. And in that fateful year of 1958 they overstepped their bounds. The peasants, disgusted to see Diem's men acting in this way, lent their assistance to the Communists...." (Phillippe Devillers, "The Struggle For the Unification of Vietnam," as quoted in **I.F. Stone's Weekly**, October 28, 1963)

"Out in the more remote villages of mud and wattle, the government was identified as the man in uniform who came on a punitive raid, or with a heavy bodyguard, and they always wanted something — money, labour, or even those suspected, sometimes incorrectly, of working for the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong cadre, on the other hand, was barefooted and dressed in black like every other peasant. He made tax demands, but they were not excessive. He was meticulous about paying for food and lodging, and scrupulous, also, in his relations with village girls and with the villagers' property. To begin with, he did not talk Communism or Marxism, but exploited local grievances, and was at pains to implement the idea that the Vietnamese had overthrown French colonialism only to be saddled by President Diem with American colonialism. It was simple propaganda, but effective....

"The people are not interested in Communism or in anti-Communism. Above all, they are interested in land, and what that means to their livelihood.... They are interested in schooling and in health. The Diem administration lost its following only when the landlords returned and the Communists exploited their demands." (Warner, pp. 32, 151)

"In December 1958 the death of some 20 Viet Cong detainees in the Phu Loi concentration camp served to fan the flames of anger of the guerrillas.... In the course of that December and the following January armed bands sprang into being almost everywhere....

"What did the authorities of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam do in the face of these sad circumstances? **They protested in diplomatic notes.** The members of the Viet Minh cadre in the south, who had been promised by Hanoi that unification would be rapidly achieved, had to listen to the bitter remarks that were made to them about the inability of the North to do anything about the Diem dictatorship. The overriding needs of the world-wide strategy of the Socialist camp meant little or nothing to guerrilla fighters being hunted down in Nam-Bo.

"It was in such a climate of feeling that, in 1959, responsible elements of the Communist Resistance in Indo-China came to the conclusion that they had to act, whether Hanoi wanted to or not. They could no longer continue to stand by while their supporters were arrested, thrown into prison and tortured....

"The point of view of most foreign governments, especially in the West, is that the fighting going on in South Vietnam is simply a subversive campaign directed from Hanoi...it leaves out of account the fact that the insurrection existed before the Communists decided to take part, and that they were simply forced to join in. And even among the Communists, the initiative did not originate in Hanoi, but from the grass roots, where the people were literally driven by Diem to take up arms in self-defense." (Devillers, op. cit., as quoted in **I.F. Stone's Weekly**, October 28, 1963)

The State Department's White Paper is clearly an attempt to justify the unjustifiable by blatant falsehood. But the significance of the White Paper lies far beyond its relevance to the struggle in deceiving some Americans as to the nature of our policy, there is no doubt that the people of Vietnam, who know the bitter truth far better than we, will some day determine their own destiny. Americans, however, will continue to live with a government that to maintain its power has arrogated to itself the right to lie and consciously deceive in a manner unprecedented in our history. Democracy presupposes free discussion of the issues that determine the destiny of a nation, but this free discussion is meaningful only if the people are fully and honestly informed.

Many Americans have reacted skeptically to the White Paper. It is as if the very secrecy that shrouded the early stages of the war has left the people with a great, unvoiced suspicion that the U.S. role in Vietnam is unjust. We conclude this analysis in the hope that a sense of justice will prevail in our country and it will lead the American people to oppose our government and bring about the peace.

FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES WRITE:

MAY SECOND MOVEMENT
39 Putnam Avenue
Cambridge 38, Mass.

THE CRISIS IN OUR LIBRARIES

By JAMES E. BRYAN
President,
American Library Association
Member,
Kiwanis Club of Newark, New Jersey

PUBLIC AND SCHOOL libraries today face a crisis of proportions undreamed of a few short years ago. Even those who before 1957 pleaded for more attention to education could not anticipate the effect of Sputnik's launching. The feat shook America's educational foundations, and one of the effects of that tremor was a stampede of both adults and children to our libraries.

In one eastern city alone—Baltimore, Maryland—a recent study shows that high school students get 5 million books during the school year and must spend 11 to 12 million hours during the year in libraries. And other recent American Library Association study revealed that adult circulation in public libraries increased 40 per cent in the past six years.

Yet, despite this growing use of libraries and increasing pressure to provide more and better services, 18 million Americans have no library service at all, and 110 million have inadequate library service. The current per capita expenditure for library materials and services is half what is required. It is estimated that 25,000 professional librarians are needed today, and 130,000 would be needed if all libraries were up to national standards of library service.

All libraries are affected by this rush to learn. Fewer than 50 per cent of the libraries in four-year colleges meet minimum standards established by the American Library Association, and the problem grows daily. Projections show that public school populations—33.8 million in 1959—will be increased another 10 million by 1969. College and university students totalled 3.4 million in 1959, and by 1970 another 2.5 million will be added.

Librarians work overtime to provide services in their communities. They keep open longer, promote the use of libraries in every conceivable manner, provide film services for club programs, conduct lecture and concert series, and give language assistance through phonograph recordings. Some have even experimented with rapid reading and teaching machines, while many have educational television and radio programs.

That they have succeeded in promoting use of libraries is evident. The question is: What now?

In our democracy, support for libraries and improved services must come from the citizens at the local level. The Congressman from your district wants to know how you feel about federal aid to libraries before he casts his vote on pending educational legislation. And for your own community, not only do you approve the tax rates that support most public libraries, but you elect the board of education members who decide how the tax funds of the school district will be spent.

It's here, at the community level, that Kiwanians can give support for better library service. If your club does not already have a library assistance program—and many do—it may want to adopt one. As one part of such a program, for example, the club might send a representative to speak for improved library service at school or village board meetings.

Meanwhile, the library can help your club. Your members may not be fully acquainted with the extent to which the library can fill their business and professional needs. Most libraries serve as community centers of information, and most librarians will be glad to explain this facet of their work at a club meeting. In fact, a librarian can be a valuable member of your club, and if he isn't already a member, you might invite him to join. The modern library, with its lecture programs, film and phonograph recording collections, and adult services programs, is an excellent source of program material, and the librarian's broad knowledge of this information can help maintain club attendance and membership.

Librarians will also cooperate in presenting programs that will alert club members to the needs of local libraries. And the state library, located in your state capital, has consultants who assist in developing programs for new library services and activities. These consultants work with groups like Kiwanis clubs and the local librarian not only to improve library service but to make the community more aware of what the library has to offer.

Good library service is an asset to any town. Kiwanians are in an excellent position to contribute to the improvement of that service and also to share in the many benefits it will bring. **THE END**

REPRINTED
FROM THE
APRIL 1963 ISSUE
OF
THE KIWANIS MAGAZINE

ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY

BOOK SELECTION POLICY

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

In a democracy, free access to ideas and information is essential and basic to almost all of the other freedoms. Public libraries must provide the books and other materials which will enable patrons to make intelligent and informed decisions on the issues of the day. The American system was founded on the fundamental belief that the average citizen, given access to fact, is capable of arriving at truth, of recognizing propaganda and of rejecting distortion.

As an essential part of the American system, the public library attracts patrons with widely divergent points of view of politics, religion, ethics and with differing literary tastes. It must therefore select books which reflect various viewpoints and which vary in degree of sophistication.

The book selection policy of the Atlanta Public Library is intended to implement the general objectives of the library in its attempt to provide free library service to all the people in the community. The purpose of the selection process is to obtain expertly chosen books and other materials to further the library's program of providing (1) tools for self education, (2) organized information, (3) materials for aesthetic development, (4) preservation of local history, and (5) recreational reading. These materials are selected by the staff, making skilled use of selection aids: basic general lists, current general lists, special bibliographies for reference books and particular subject

materials, and book reviewing journals. No one book-reviewing journal is relied upon exclusively; the critical opinions of reviewers are checked against each other.

RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BOOK SELECTION

The ultimate responsibility for book selection, as for all library activities, rests with the Director of the Library, who operates within the framework of policies determined by the Board of Trustees. This responsibility is shared in its execution among various departments of the Library and members of the staff.

The Director must be able to answer to the Board and to the public for actual selections made by the staff and therefore must have the right to reject or to recommend any book contrary to the recommendations of the staff.

The Heads of Reference, Business and Science, and Fine Arts Departments are responsible for the selection of material in their fields. Selection of books in other subjects is divided among several professional members of the staff whose education, backgrounds and interest best qualify them to recommend books in their fields.

The Head of the Children's Department is responsible for the selection of all books for children though her responsibility is shared by the branch librarians. No title is added to the collection without first having been read by a staff member.

The selection of books for the branches and the bookmobiles is

made by the agency librarian from the titles approved for purchase for the Main Library. They may, of course, make suggestions for the consideration of the Main selectors, but usually the branches will not acquire titles that Main does not have.

In addition to the selection of new titles, it is also the responsibility of the selectors to maintain a close watch over the collection in their subject fields to see where more material or additional titles are needed. They also, by judicious weeding of out-of-date materials and books that have outlived their usefulness, keep the Library's book collection live and up-to-date. In discarding, however, care is taken to be sure that the title has lost its value to the Library and when in doubt, titles considered for discard are checked in recognized lists of standard and desirable books. Books which are used only occasionally are transferred to closed stacks or, possibly, to the Reference Department.

GENERAL POLICIES

To meet the needs of the readers of a city the size of Atlanta, the Library attempts to provide a large general collection of reliable materials covering the broader fields of knowledge, with due regard for variations in educational level, reading ability and reading interest. Great works which are the basis of our civilization are provided, preferably in attractive editions. A generous proportion of the current output of reputable, general American publishers and a smaller number of the publications of the university presses and foreign publishers are purchased. Except in the field of local history, the Library

does not aspire to provide extensive research materials; its aim is rather to provide a wide range of materials for reference and reading. The special emphases of other Atlanta libraries are carefully considered in selecting very specialized subject materials since the occasional demand for this type of material can usually be met through inter-library loan.

Patrons and staff members are encouraged to make suggestions of titles to be considered for purchase. Such requests are carefully considered and are weighed in relation to the total library program and policy.

Gifts of books and other materials are accepted by the Library with the understanding that they are not necessarily to be added to the collection. In some cases, materials received as gifts are added even though they would not ordinarily be purchased, but, in general, the same standards of selection are applied to gifts as to the purchase.

Materials are duplicated within reason to take care of permanent or even temporary demands, but always this is weighed in relation to the total Library program and the exigencies of the budget. A sound, readable book in heavy demand is duplicated when necessary, but the extensive duplication of sensational, trivial and biased books, however popular, is not desirable.

In considering the replacement of books lost or discarded, each case is weighed with regard to several factors: number of duplicate copies, existence of adequate coverage of a field, other similar material in the collection, especially later and better

material, and demand for the particular title or subject. Every effort is made to replace important titles, including out-of-print items with second-hand dealers. As a rule, the responsibility for keeping the collection complete in this manner is that of the Main Library. Branches can usually substitute materials in print for a hard to replace title.

Replacement of books which, because of subject matter or illustrations, are continually mutilated may be seriously questioned. Where the title is considered essential to a well-rounded collection, consideration is given to assignment of the replaced copy in the Reference collection or in a locked case.

EVALUATION

In the selection of current titles, the Library relies on book reviews in a number of widely recognized publications such as the LIBRARY JOURNAL, AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION BOOKLIST, SATURDAY REVIEW, KIRKUS, NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW and the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW. In addition, a number of review sources covering specialized fields, such as the TECHNICAL BOOK REVIEW INDEX and the New York Public Library's NEW TECHNICAL BOOKS and various magazines are consulted. In cases of questionable or controversial titles, no one review is relied on exclusively, but the opinions of reviewers are checked against each other. In some doubtful cases or where reviewers disagree, approval copies are ordered for staff examination. This approach, however, is kept to a minimum due to lack of staff time.

In addition to reviews, publishers' catalogs, the PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY and the BOOK BUYER'S GUIDE are also examined. While

these publications do not afford a critical evaluation, many books in certain categories, such as the "how-to" titles are seldom reviewed. In selecting from these publications, however, care is taken to select titles from reputable publishers only. Books by recognized authors and books by local authors and on local subjects also are often ordered without waiting for reviews.

SELECTION IN SPECIFIC AREAS

ART

Major books on art, architecture, sculpture and the applied arts are selected, including works on the great periods and the great artists of those periods. Current directories of American artists, architects and musicians are purchased and art annuals giving current prices of art work and antiques.

In general, single copies are bought, and the more expensive editions are assigned to closed shelves. Some foreign editions are chosen when the book is outstanding and is not available in English.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliographies of a practical nature are emphasized, eliminating the specific, detailed, scholarly type more appropiate for research and university libraries.

FICTION

A generous duplication of the great novels of the past in attractive editions is maintained. The Library also recognizes an obligation to include in its collection the current novels, which in the opinion of reputable reviewers, are most outstanding.

These are of many different types and some or them deal with situations and employ language that some readers may find objectionable. Novels are not excluded purely on the basis of the subject matter, realistic treatment or frank language. Literary quality and the purpose of the author and how well he succeeds are the criteria used. A limited number of the better light novels are bought, but in main, this type of book is supplied from a rental agency.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

A limited number of books in French, German and Spanish and a very small number of some of the other languages are bought. No attempt is made to cover all fields of knowledge in any foreign language. There is some representation from the classics in each of the major collections, but the emphasis is on the acquisition of well-written current fiction, literature, biography, travel and history. Some translations of outstanding American books are bought, particularly those that will help to give a newcomer an understanding and appreication of American history and ideals.

GENEALOGIES

Books of southern genealogy which cover more than one family, the publications of the patriotic societies and local and regional county histories are purchased, as are guides on how to do genealogical research, standard genealogical encyclopedias and indexes. With the possible exception of Georgia families, the Library does not purchase genealogies dealing with only one family. These are, however, welcomed as gifts.

GEORGIA COLLECTION

Since one of the basic objectives of a public library is to serve as a repository for local materials past and present, the Library attempts to build as complete a collection of books about Georgia and by Georgians as possible. In general, a Georgia author is defined as any writer who has spent a significant part of his or her life in Georgia. This includes lifetime residents, and persons who, moving into the state as adults have been residents long enough to have made some contribution to the cultural life of the community. Writers born in the state who leave it in early childhood and short-term adult residents, such as professors in local colleges, are not regarded as local authors. An effort is made to secure at least one copy of any book or pamphlet about Atlanta or Georgia. The Library endeavors to collect and keep all editions of GONE WITH THE WIND.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

FEDERAL

The Atlanta Public Library is a selective depository for United States Government Documents. It does not attempt to include all publications, but selects those which, on the basis of experience of the staff, will be in fairly constant use. The selection is made by the Documents Librarian after consultation with subject specialists on the staff.

Duplicate copies for circulation and reference at the Main Library and branches are frequently purchased.

GEORGIA

Selections from official chech lists are made on the basis of anticipated use. Such documents are cataloged and classified with regular book material.

ATLANTA

The objective of the Library is to secure and organize a complete file of official Atlanta documents.

LAW

With the exception of the United States Code and the state and city codes, acquisition of law books is limited to those on general principles, philosophy, history and explanations designed for the layman.

LIBRARY SCIENCE

The collection of books on library science is intended for the use of staff members and interested members of the public. No attempt is made to assemble a complete history of libraries and library methods for research purposes.

MEDICINE

Most medical books are obviously unsuited for public libraries. Exceptions are histories of medicine, medical dictionaries, directories of physicians, dentists, and hospitals, general books of anatomy and physiology and certain texts for nurses, students, and technicians. Authoritative books on health and disease written specifically for the layman are generously supplied.

MUSIC

Books by authorities on music theory, composers, performance, composition, music history, study and teaching are bought for the general reader, but not books of scholarly interest only.

In the case of music scores, selection is limited to opera scores, miniature scores of symphonies, concerti, chamber music and to bound collections of folk songs, hymns, nursery songs and other standard favorites.

RELIGION

In the field of religion, selection should be broadly tolerant, and should include all of the great religions of the world. Books will be selected that are affirmative in their approach, avoiding those that show partisanship or are destructively critical of another faith. Histories of religions, classics in the field, works of the better-known theologians, authoritative statements of the beliefs of the various denominations and timely well-written inspirational books without a narrowly sectarian bias are purchased. Books and magazines specifically denominational and not of general interest are not bought but may be accepted as gifts.

SEMI- OR PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC AND OCCULT MATERIALS

Basic books in this field are provided for informational purposes. The Library must balance its obligation to meet demand and to maintain tolerance and open-mindedness with its obligation to exclude materials which are poorly prepared and are available from other sources at low cost. High priority is given to titles included in the STANDARD CATALOG FOR PUBLIC

LIBRARIES and other basic recommended lists.

SEX

Authoritative, sane and up-to-date books about sex are selected with regard to the needs of various ages and groups. Extremely scientific and technical works are not bought.

TEXTBOOKS

No attempt will be made to supply textbooks in quantity for the use of students since this is primarily the responsibility of the school and college libraries. However, a generous number of the best texts in certain fields, especially the sciences, grammar and mathematics - where they provide the best overall coverage at various levels of difficulty are provided.

SELECTION OF MATERIALS OTHER THAN BOOKS

COLLEGE CATALOGS

A large collection of the current catalogs of all of the outstanding colleges of the country, together with many of the minor ones and some foreign universities is maintained. All Atlanta and Georgia colleges and preparatory schools are represented.

FILMS

The library's film collection consists of 16mm sound films, educational in nature, but excluding teaching films produced for classroom use.

Films are selected by the Head of the Fine Arts Department and are previewed before purchase. Choice is governed by critical reviews in periodicals and by material from Producers Accuracy,

honesty of presentation and technical excellence are considered in making a selection.

Films are primarily for the use of adult civic groups, and preference is given to films on subjects in which local groups are currently interested. Travel films and religious films are always in demand. In buying religious films, an attempt is made to avoid controversial issues, and to add only those films which are of interest to a broad group of borrowers. Travel films of sociological value are given priority over the purely scenic type.

Children's films include safety, scouting, nature study, some of the famous fairy tales and a few of today's classics.

Sponsored films from industries and organizations are accepted for deposit or as gifts if they fulfill a community need and if they meet professional standards of content and production.

FILM STRIPS

A small collection of 35mm silent filmstrips is maintained for club programs, religious groups and home use. Selection is governed by critical reviews and choice of subject by local interest.

FOUNDATION LIBRARY

The Library has been designated as a regional depository of the Foundation Library Center. Annual and other reports of the leading foundations of the United States are sent gratis. Usually only the current report is kept, the earlier ones being discarded when the latest is received.

MAGAZINES

The Library subscribes to a large number of magazines to supplement its book material. New subjects appear in periodicals before being available in book form. Some subjects appear only in magazines.

First priority is given to periodicals which are indexed in a standard service such as the H. W. Wilson series. Exceptions are made in the case of local periodicals and new magazines which give promise of distinction.

New periodicals are examined critically, noting particularly the uniqueness of their field of concenteation and coverage of information in magazines already available. In general, new subscriptions are entered only at the beginning of the new subscription year in January. An exception may be made for a really outstanding periodical which begins during the year if the Library feels reasonably sure that it will want to have a complete file.

Requests by borrowers for additions are kept and a decision made at the beginning of the renewal year whether to subscribe or not.

Gift subscriptions to magazines are, in general, governed by the same policy as books. In the case of ephemeral periodicals, the current issue is placed on the Open Shelf and discarded when the new issue is received.

All periodicals indexed in standard services are bound. Maga-

zines of local interest are bound even though not indexed. Magazines which are paid for but not bound are kept for six months only.

MAPS

The Library makes no attempt to build up an extensive map collection. Some current road maps and city maps are bought to supplement atlases. An attempt is made to secure all available maps of Atlanta and Fulton County. The Ivan Allen Map Collection consisting principally of historical and southern maps, was a gift and is added to as significant items become available.

NEWSPAPERS

The Library subscribes to the daily newspapers of the largest United States cities and of a few foreign cities, and to important trade and commercial dailies. It endeavors to maintain a complete file on microfilm of the local newspapers, the NEW YORK TIMES and the WALL STREET JOURNAL. Other newspapers on the Library's subscription list are available for the current month only.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets are acquired usually where they cover material not available in book form. Some pamphlets, however, are acquired to supplement material found in books or periodicals, to provide a compact treatment of a subject. They are considered expendable and are discarded when they have outlasted their usefulness.

PICTURE COLLECTIONS

A picture collection, arranged by subject, is maintained in the

Reference Department from which pictures are lent for the use of artists, etc. Most of the pictures are acquired by clipping old magazines and discarded books, but occasionally, when needed, pictures are purchased.

PRINTS (FRAMED REPRODUCTIONS OF WORKS OF ART)

Since this collection is designed primarily for patrons to display in their homes and offices rather than for study purposes, the cheif aim in selection is to provide good reproductions by recognized artists large enough to frame attractively yet small enough to be carried easily to and from the Library. No attempt is made to build up a complete collection from a historical point of view; the emphasis is rather on the decorative and aesthetic needs of borrowers.

No original works are considered for purchase. The large majority of the prints are reproductions of paintings, but a small number of original serigraphs are included in the collection. Reproductions of drawings, lithographs and black and white reproductions are not usually considered for purchase.

RECORDINGS

All recordings in the collection are 33 1/3 rpm and include both monophonic and stereo records. Approximately one half of the records are obtained through "disk jockey" contracts available to radio stations and large libraries under which the issuing companies agree to send their new releases periodically. Both classical and popular records are obtained through this source. Records obtained through regular channels are selected on the

basis of the following:

1. Excellence and lasting quality of work.
2. Quality of record itself from a standpoint of durability.
3. Demand by patrons.
4. Favorable reviews in reputable sources.

Most of the popular records in the collection are obtained through the contract service; no effort is made to maintain a large collection of current popular music. Good jazz and musical comedy music is purchased if the demand and reviews indicate its desirability.

A collection of children's records is maintained, and includes stories, poems, music and some foreign language records. Teaching records designed for the classroom are not considered for purchase.

Foreign language courses for adults, shorthand dictation, bird calls and other records of a special nature are purchased where the public demand indicates interest.

TELEPHONE DIRECTORIES

A file of telephone directories is maintained for United States cities of over 1000,000, Southeastern cities of over 50,000 and for all Georgia communities where house numbers are used. A few of the very largest foreign cities are also represented.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
50 East Huron Street, Chicago 11, Illinois

From: Charles R. Carner
Public Relations Officer

For release Saturday, January 12 p.m.'s

Chicago, January 12-- Soviet authorities from Lenin to Khrushchev have given special attention to libraries in the USSR because they consider them vital institutions in the Soviet system and valuable instruments for guiding and controlling the Soviet people.

This high status of libraries in the Soviet Union is emphasized in a paperbound report published today by the American Library Association covering the 5500 mile, month-long exchange mission of seven U.S. librarians during the spring of 1961. The librarians on the mission interviewed more than 150 Soviet officials, librarians, and other specialists on every phase of library work from the USSR's extensive reader services to automation in libraries. They studied more than 30 libraries and ministries in five major cities. The Americans went to Russia immediately following a tour of American libraries by four Soviet librarians.

The report, Soviet Libraries and Librarianship* was written by Melville J. Ruggles, Vice President, Council on Library Resources, Inc., Washington, D. C. and Raynard C. Swank, Dean, School of Librarianship, University of California.

Accompanying them on the mission were: David H. Clift, Executive Director of ALA and chief of the delegation; Mrs. Frances Lander Spain, then President of the ALA and currently Librarian, Central Junior College Library, Ocala, Fla.; Emerson Greenaway, Director, Free Library, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sallie J. Farrell, Director, Field Services, Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge, La.; and Rutherford D. Rogers, Deputy Librarian of Congress.

(more)

Add 1. Soviet Libraries

As a result of several government decrees, the latest in September, 1959, special emphasis on libraries and library service in the Soviet Union was given, the ALA report states.

"All important aspects of library service in the Soviet Union were profoundly affected by this latest decree, and much of what the American delegation observed was a reflection of the energy and diligence with which Soviet library authorities were attempting to implement this latest official edict," the report states.

A Pravda editorial on the decree reported that: "Libraries must become genuine centers for the mass propagation of political, educational, scientific-technical, agricultural, and professional knowledge," and should be the "fulcrums for the Party organizations in the communist education of workers."

The American librarians also found that considerable emphasis is placed on readers' services by all Soviet libraries. Indeed, it is the major emphasis placed by most Soviet libraries on all their activities in their role as mass media for social education and political propaganda, the librarians report.

"With few exceptions the libraries... appear to be heavily used. The reading rooms of the scholarly libraries are often well occupied not only with students but also with serious adult readers... This seriousness of purpose is also evident in the mass libraries, where the use of scientific, technological, and other nonfiction books appears to be relatively high. The demand for foreign literature, expecially for language training, is conspicuous," according to the report.

(more)

Add 2. Soviet Libraries

Though the decree of 1959 stipulated that "all libraries must be mass libraries open to the public, " the report points out that "in most of these libraries, borrowing privileges and access to collections vary widely with the status of the readers," and only "a small proportion of the books in Soviet libraries is accessible on open shelves." The proportion, however, is increasing.

"Regarding reader access to library collections, one Soviet practice particularly interested the delegation: the practice of reserving the author catalog for staff use only. Over and over again, the delegation learned that a classified subject catalog was open to the public, but if a reader wanted a book by a specific author he was required to enlist the help of the library staff. The staff looked up the call number and the location of the book for him in the author catalogs closed to the public.

"Members of the delegation examined parts of the author catalog at the Lenin Library (the great National library of the Soviet Union) and even there found missing some authors whose works were objectionable to Soviet authorities. It was assumed that such books were kept in the special closed section which has its own catalog," the authors said. "This collection, called Spetskhran, is a common feature of large Soviet research libraries," the report adds. "Control of access to some materials is also achieved by the system of admittance to special reading rooms."

Hours of library service, the librarians found, were generous and adjusted to the needs of working people. Soviet librarians make every effort to keep their doors open when all classes of readers are most free to come. Larger libraries are open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily including Sunday, but are closed on Thursday; academic libraries are open from 8 a.m. or 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. every day of the week, except for five national holidays.

(more)

Add 3. Soviet Libraries

The librarians also reported: "It was clear to the delegation that the proportion of books used within the library... was greater in the Soviet Union than in the United States. American readers are less inclined to use the library reading rooms and prefer their own homes for settling down to enjoy good books. This fact might help to explain the larger numbers of readers in Soviet library reading rooms. Perhaps to some extent Soviet readers are allowed to take fewer books home; it is more likely that Soviet homes, crowded as they are known to be, are less conducive to comfortable reading."

Services to readers are extensive, and the Americans found a great outpouring of reading lists of every kind. "Libraries everywhere are enjoined to produce more and better book lists and reading guides as an element in the improvement of education...

"A variety of goals is served by these lists. Some are cultural: they promote reading in literature, the arts, and history... Others are social and political: they help people to become loyal citizens. Still others, perhaps the largest group of all, are technical: they help to make people useful."

The efforts of Soviet libraries to attract readers and to interest them in books and related cultural activities go far beyond the extensive book exhibits and reading lists, the Americans found. The mass libraries have especially strong promotion programs. Close relations are stimulated between the library and the reader, and community needs and interests of individuals are thoroughly studied. The library truly functions as a peoples' university with some actually offering formalized adult education courses.

Most libraries offer lectures, foreign language classes, concerts, book reviews, and author nights. These are widely publicized by posters, in newspapers, and on radio and TV.

(more)

Add 4. Soviet Libraries

Records of reading habits of both adults and children are often kept, presumably to help librarians guide and advise readers. In many libraries individual readers' folders are kept on file, listing every book borrowed. Some libraries meticulously record not only the title of every book used by each reader, but also how often and how well he reads and what he likes best.

Librarians enjoy high status in the USSR, the Americans found, comparable with other professions, but in the operation of the libraries the Americans concluded that standardization as practiced throughout the Soviet system tended to standardize undesirable practices as well as desirable. The emphasis was not so much on individual initiative in the development of new and more effective techniques as on group conformity.

"For this reason Soviet libraries in general seemed... less inventive... and less interesting than the libraries of most Western countries. Nevertheless, their power to carry out a national program... is highly impressive."

*Soviet Libraries and Librarianship, Report of the Visit of the delegation of U. S. Librarians to the Soviet Union, May - June, 1961, under the U. S. - Soviet Cultural Exchange Agreement, 1st edition, by Melville J. Ruggles and Raynard C. Swank, the American Library Association Publishing Department, 147 pages, paperbound, $4.

JN 26225

Sent to: Art Levin, Oscar Cohen, Sam Lubin, Ruby Hurley, Tartt Bell, Barbara Moffett, William Oliver (2 copies), Will Campbell, J. Oscar Lee, Edwin Lukas, Seymour Samet, and Roy Wilkins.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM September 24, 1958

To: Agencies Participating in the Joint Fact-Finding Project

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: Transmittal of Revised Draft of Findings.

At long last, we are in position to consider a revised draft of the report on violence, intimidation, and reprisals in the South. The enclosed draft has been amended and the incidents rearranged in accordance with the decisions of the last steering committee meeting. All that remains to be done is a final up-dating of the incidents, -- probably through June 30, 1958, although some later incidents might also be included.

Since some time has to be allowed for you and your associates to read and react to this draft, I propose that we reconvene the project steering committee again at the time of the next Southern Interagency meeting -- that is, on the evening of Thursday, October 9. The object will be to reach final agreement, so that we can proceed promptly with publication of the report. If your agency is not to be represented, please let us have your reaction by mail or telephone to the following questions:

(1) Do you approve the report substantially as it stands?

(2) If not, what changes do you feel are absolutely essential?

(3) Do you want the name of your organization to appear on the report as one of the sponsoring groups?

Decisions on such details as the printing, distribution, and publicity will have to be made by the committee on October 9th. Subsequently, we will send any unrepresented organizations a report on these decisions and on finances.

Best regards.

Postage for Fact-Finding Project mailing
(Revised Draft of Findings) - 9/24/58

2 copies to Wm. H. Oliver $1.92

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$11.52

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D R A F T

JOINT INTERAGENCY FACT FINDING PROJECT

ON

VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

by

Margaret Price

D R A F T

INTRODUCTION

In the long, hot summer of 1954 the South was in a state of shock. This was the period following the momentous May 17 when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

True, there were some editorials condemning the decision and the Court; some public officials maintained that no one could force integration and predicted that blood would flow if anyone tried. There was much talk of States Rights and maintaining the Southern way of life. Generally, however, while the early opposition was vigorous and loud, it was unorganized.

By the late summer and early fall of 1954, segregationists began to band together. In Sunflower County, Mississippi, the White Citizens Council was born, with the announced aim of maintaining segregation by all legal means and by the use of economic pressures. This movement, which began with the meeting of a few men in a private home in Indianola, spread across the South until in 1956 there were more than 300,000 members in resistance groups patterned after the original Citizens Council.

Even as the first shock wore off and private groups organized, officeholders throughout the region also began to mobilize and plan ways to circumvent the school decision. This was to result in a rash of state legislation setting up private school plans, outlining pupil assignment procedures, cutting off funds to integrated schools and, as a last resort, closing public schools.

Economic pressures and the legal means advocated by many persons were too slow for some individuals seeking a more direct method of resistance to integration. Gunpowder, dynamite and leather straps were quicker means of intimidation. For others, it would be the anonymous, threatening telephone call or the written warning.

The Ku Klux Klan, on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations and condemned by governors and the press of the South, gained advocates once again. Newspapers began carrying more and more accounts of sheeted parades and cross burnings.

In short, with the start of 1955, the basic battle plans of the resistance forces had been drawn. When the Supreme Court handed down its implementation order on May 31 of that year, requiring school districts to proceed with reasonable speed toward integration, the plans already had been put into action.

Since early 1955, legislatures have gone beyond the school question and directed their attention to other means of continuing the status quo or even turning back the clock for the Negro citizen. Several passed laws curbing or outlawing activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Voting laws were tightened in some states, making it even more difficult for Negroes to register.

The stresses and strains of the period have been apparent even to the most casual reader. Few could have missed accounts of the rioting that surrounded the enrollment of a few Negro high school students in Clinton, Tenn., and ended with the governor calling out the Tennessee National Guard and the Highway Patrol and the subsequent conviction of several opposition leaders. Neither was it easy to overlook the disturbances and emotions aroused by a Negro woman's entrance into the University of Alabama, the bus boycott in Montgomery, school disturbances in Hoxie, Ark., and Mansfield, Texas. As for events in Little Rock, few stories of the past decade have had a greater impact than the spectacle of mob action following the entry of Negro students into Central High School, causing President Eisenhower to send federal troops into the area to enforce a federal court order.

Along with these widely publicized stories, there has been a mounting list of violence, reprisal and intimidation. All these incidents point, we believe, to a temporary deterioration of race relations in the South and to a steady,

widespread erosion of civil liberties, for whites and Negroes.

The aim of this report is to present a list of specific instances which have occurred during the period January 1, 1955 - May 1, 1958, in the 11 states of the old Confederacy: Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina, Virginia and Texas.

The report lists 417 cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation. However, since some cases involve community wide action, this number cannot reflect how many hundreds of persons have been affected.

Only items which have appeared in the general press of the nation have been used. With this as the criterion, many private and individual reports of violations of civil rights, even though from reliable sources, have not been used. Also, an effort has been made to confine the listings to instances reflecting the heightened racial tensions following the Supreme Court school decisions. For this reason, crimes which are part of a continuing legal and social problem--murders without racial connotation, some police brutalities, rapes, robberies and juvenile delinquencies have been omitted.

No claim is made that this is a complete list of violations and threats to civil liberties during the period surveyed, but rather an indicative report, based on published press accounts, most of them in Southern newspapers. In two cases, field studies of Southern college professors have been drawn upon for details.

To avoid repetition, an alphabetical system is used to denote the source of the various items. The newspapers, wire services and magazines these letters represent are listed at the end of the report. The date of publication follows the items, although the actual event may have occurred on the previous day or even earlier. One source, Southern School News, is issued monthly and so only the month is used in items from this publication.

INTIMIDATION

Direct intimidation of Negro and white citizens in the South comes most often under cover --- the cover of night, hooded robes, speeding cars, crowds and the anonymity of the telephone.

Once again, crosses are being burned with increasing frequency from the delta to the piney woods. They are lighted in front of the homes of men and women who challenge segregation laws in the courts, before churches, private and public schools which admit Negroes, near Negro homes in once white neighborhoods and sometimes in places selected for reasons apparently known only to the self-appointed guardians of Southern customs.

Occasionally, threats are made in letters, but more often in telephone calls which are difficult to trace.

The Ku Klux Klan appeared again in sections where it had been dormant, or completely absent for years. In a report in April, 1958, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimated that the U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Eldon Edwards of Atlanta, had between 12,000 and 15,000 members and that the North Carolina Klan had between 2,000 and 5,000. The report said none of the seven other Klan organizations in the South is believed to have more than 1,500 members.

The League said the South has reacted with "intense hostility" and aversion to the revival of the KKK. It added, however, that "as a breeder of violence and an incitement to the worst criminal elements in society, the KKK is not to be dismissed or taken lightly."

Under whatever name the Klan operates, meetings follow the same general outline. Klansmen may parade or not, depending on local ordinances and police tolerance, and then meet on city property, again depending on local authorities, or in a private field. Crosses are burned, the Supreme Court is denounced and

the label "Communist" is applied to individuals and groups with which they disagree. Increasingly, notes of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism are creeping into the speeches. The Klan faces more obstacles than in its earlier years. Several states have anti-mask ordinances, although sometimes Klansmen now wear dark-rimmed eyeglasses without lens, as a partial disguise, along with their robes and hoods.

The question arises whether a mere Klan meeting comes within the scope of this report, for it is impossible to assess the degree of implied intimidation in an ostensibly peaceful gathering. Some meetings are listed where a note of intimidation seems clear, where something out of the ordinary occured or a particularly inflamatory statement was made. For the rest, a quick sampling gives an idea of the scope of the Klan.

In Florida, at least 1,000 attended a Klan meeting near Jacksonville in September, 1956, jamming suburban traffic for hours; the same month, Klan leaflets were distributed at Tarpon Springs on the west coast, where tension existed over reports Negroes planned to use a beach. In February, 1957, about 4,000 gathered at a private ranch outside Gainesville and heard one hooded speaker declare, "We are not a violence organization. But we are not a social club, either. We are not pussyfooting around." In August, 1957, Klansmen paraded at a downtown theater in Jacksonville protesting showing of the movie, "Island In The Sun," starring white and Negro actors. (A-G)

At Stone Mountain, Ga., long-time Klan meeting place outside Atlanta, an estimated 1,200 cars brought KKK members from five states for a rally in September, 1956. The same month about 300 members gathered in Macon. In November, about 3,500 persons again met at Stone Mountain, with the leader angered by the refusal of Atlanta police to provide an escort. About the same time, the mayor of Savannah denied the Klan use of the city park. In December, 1956, a "gigantic" rally brought only 40 Klansmen from four states to Columbus, where 50 city

policemen turned them away from the baseball park; by the time they moved to a vacant lot to burn a cross, only three Klansmen were on hand and they had to saw the cross to a size they could handle, while amused spectators watched. Knights of the KKK met at Warner Robins, near Macon. Maj. Gen. K. V. P. Anderson, commander of nearby Warner Robins Air Materiel Area, had warned earlier that the Air Force would initiate "additional security investigation" of any Robins AFB personnel identified as members of any Klan group. (A,E,D)

In Ozark, Ala., the city council on December 13, 1957, refused to let the KKK use the city park for an organizational meeting. Mayor Douglas Brown said, "We haven't had any trouble with the Negroes and the people here all get along. We hope we can get by without trouble if we don't have a Klan or a White Citizens Council." At Tuscaloosa, scene of mob rioting when a Negro, Autherine Lucy, enrolled at the University of Alabama, hooded men paraded through the streets the following month and another night about 75 burned a cross six miles from town. (A—April 8, 1956—B)

The Klan also turned up again in North and South Carolina. Many in those states thought the KKK had been stamped out between May 1952, and December, 1954, after a reign of terror in southeastern North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina which resulted in conviction of 101 persons in flogging and kidnapping cases. (B)

Nevertheless, in October, 1956, a "motley crowd of nearly 1,000 gathered, some out of curiosity" to watch for the first time a Klan meeting in Concord, N.C., according to the Charlotte Observer. The sheriff and his 15 deputies were on guard. In December, about 300 attended a Klan meeting in Greensboro to hear a speaker standing on a flatbed truck with no license plates. At Statesville, a Klan "wizard" received only scattered applause and some heckling from a group of young people in August, 1957. (C,O)

KKK activity began again in the eastern part of South Carolina in August, 1955, with a small group burning a cross in Florence County and about 1,000 converging at Manning. The following February, the first public Klan rally at Orangeburg in many years began with a motorcade of about 55 robed figures. In mid-June, some 1,000 attended a meeting staged by 75 robed Klansmen in the upcountry area between Greenville and Pickens. The next month, hooded and masked Klansmen sought $3 memberships from a crowd of 2,000 at Camden and claimed they signed up 800. In September, at least three Klan meetings were held--at Dillon, Gaffney, and near Hartsville. The largest Klan rally in South Carolina in years was held in Spartanburg in October; a Greenville News reporter estimated the crowd at from 6,000 to 10,000. That month smaller meetings were held near Pomaria and Rock Hill. In January, 1958, more than 200 robed Klansmen formed a human cross on the Statehouse steps to advertise a rally. (A,Q,B)

In April, 1957, approximately 1,500 gathered, about 500 in white robes, in Cleveland, Tenn., for a rally of the Knights of the KKK. Speakers denounced both Negroes and Jews. (A)

Following is a list of additional meetings and action by resistance groups, telephone and mail threats and other instances of intimidation. The list, if the 27 Klan meetings mentioned above and those which follow are counted, add up to a total of at least 115 instances of intimidation (in some cases an individual may have been threatened more than once but this is counted as a single instance).

Montgomery, Ala.: Two effigies were hanged in the court square, one representing a Negro labeled "NAACP" and the other a white man tagged "I talked for integration." Police and several hundred spectators milled around the gallows. (Aug. 5, 1956--M)

Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Angry white men watching a Ku Klux Klan rally caught a Negro man and tossed him in the air "like a baby," Police Captain J. P. West said. Another Negro told police he was injured by one of the robed Klansmen.

During the program about 25 Negroes approached the rear of a burning cross and shouted profanity, witnesses said. Unrobed white men chased them. State Sen. Albert Davis of Pickens County was applauded loudly when he said, "Give me segregation or give me death." (Aug. 26, 1956--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: About 1,000 persons, some 350 in robes, attended a KKK rally. Explosion of a firecracker started a stampede in an unsuccessful effort to catch the person who set it off; after a second explosion, one youth was searched roughly, but unsuccessfully. Alvin Horn, grand dragon of the Alabama Klan, told the crowd the way he felt about Negroes "who want to integrate is this: they don't want an education, they want a funeral." Earlier in the day about 100 robed Klansmen walked up and down Dexter Avenue; city authorities had refused permission for a Klan parade. (Nov. 25,1956--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: John Kasper, jailed for his part in the Clinton, Tenn., race riots, applauded the appearance of Ku Klux Klansmen at a Citizens Council rally and said, "we need all the rabble rousers we can get." Kasper told the rally of about 500 persons that pro-segregation groups must use every means available to stop integration and that, "we want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it." (September 13, 1956--C)

Montgomery, Ala.: About 1,200 attended a Klan rally and heard one speaker accuse "Catholics, Jews, Communists Negroes and northern agitators" of threatening the "destruction of the white heritage." Following the rally the Montgomery Ministerial Association passed a resolution registering "disapproval of undisciplined and intolerant remarks and acts at public meetings at which different groups of our citizenry, including religious groups, are slanderously set upon as targets for hatred and violence." (October, 1956--A)

Miami, Fla.: Six white persons were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct for marching in front of the home of Frank Legree, a Negro entertainer who lives in an all white section. They carried signs saying "we intend to

keep this neighborhood white," and "Did Clinton get too hot for you?" Several protest meetings had been held since the Legrees moved into the section. (March 24, 1957--B)

Bradenton, Fla.: The KKK asked permission for a motorcade through the city; Bradenton police agreed only if Klansmen remained unmasked, stayed out of the Negro area and passed through the city quickly. However, Sheriff Roy Baden provided an escort for the parade and his men were at the head of the line as it passed through the Negro section. After an investigation, Gov. LeRoy Collins wired Baden, "Your conduct and that of your deputies cannot be approved or condoned. Your actions gave the appearance of 'shepherding or leading the parade' and granted to it the apparent sanction of the law." The governor said the KKK is "a symbol for intolerance, to riot and disorder.... law enforcement officers should prohibit to the utmost of their authority demonstrations by this organizations."

Gray, Ga.: The local theater manager was threatened with a Klan visit because he allowed Negroes to sit in the balcony on a segregated basis. Later, Klansmen from neighboring Bibb County rode down the main street but denied any connection between the threats and the night ride, explaining the group was only advertising a future rally. (July 8, 1957--N)

Summerville, Ga.: About 100 cars bearing license plates from Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama moved through the city, past a section of Negro homes and to the nearby county fairgrounds for a rally. One robed participant in the parade displayed a breeched shotgun. Observers said some Negroes were disturbed and obtained shotguns also, although making no move to use them. (November 20, 1956--B)

Jackson, Miss.: W. D. Mangrum, a Jackson Negro, reported that several white boys tossed a stone through the windshield of his car on September 14, believing it to be the car of a Negro editor. (September 15, 1955--J)

Statesville, N.C.: Police guarded the vacant home of two white sisters officers said were found in a car with two Negro men. A crowd of between 500 and 600 demonstrated before the house the previous night. At the same time, police said that 14 Negroes were arrested downtown for disorderly conduct because they were crowding white persons off the sidewalk and making insulting remarks. (Nov. 16, 1957--B)

Elloree, S.C.: L. A. Blackman, contractor and president of the Elloree chapter of the NAACP, said friends told him speakers at a Klan rally had said it was "up to the colored people to see that Blackman gets out of town." Blackman said he had no intention of leaving. He was active in distributing petitions seeking integrated schools in Elloree. (Dec. 7, 1955--B)

Williamsburg County, S.C.: Firearms and firecrackers were discharged on June 12 when a group of white Catholic priests and assistants presented a film on the life of Christ for an all-Negro audience of about 200. Father Patrick Walsh, head of Our Lady of Springbank Dominican Friary, reported to police that he had been stopped and cursed for some 15 minutes while enroute to the film showing. Four white youths in a pickup truck stopped him, he said, and told him, "we run our own neighborhood and to hell with all authorities." Thereafter, the priest reported a pickup truck sped up and down the road alongside the area where the film was being shown. Firecrackers were discharged and several shots fired; several bullet holes were found in the projection screen. Three young men were held temporarily but released later in the absence of formal charges. (July, 1956--A)

Hartsville, S.C.: A crowd of 2,000 jammed a field to hear a speaker denounce President Eisenhower and shout, "Moderation has never been the answer to anything. It is the extremists--you and me--who are going to have to solve this problem." (July 28, 1956--B)

Mobile, Ala.: About 100 robed Klansmen burned a cross on the property of Mrs. Dorothy DaPonte, wealthy Mobile widow. Mr. DaPonte had tried unsuccessfully to enter a 12-year-old Negro girl, whom she raised and had been educating in Europe, into a white school. (Sept. 18, 1956—C)

Opelika, Ala.: A cross was burned in front of the home of the Rev. W. F. Wagner, white Baptist minister, after his church admitted a Negro high school group to hear the church's presentation of "The Messiah." (Jan. 1957—A)

Mobile, Ala.: White college boys at Spring Hill College, a Jesuit school, disbanded a group attempting to set fire to a cross in front of a dormitory. The Catholic college opened its doors to Negroes three years ago and now has about 40 in the student body. (Feb. 1957—A)

Little Rock, Ark.: A cross was burned October 27 at the home of Mrs. L. C. Bates, state NAACP president. Mrs. Bates received several anonymous telephone calls during the day. Another cross had been burned at her home October 11. (Dec. 1957—A)

Miami, Fla.: Four members of the Seaboard Citizens Council who tried to burn a cross on the lawn of a Negro living in a white Miami neighborhood were found guilty of unlawful assembly and intimidation. Municipal Court Judge Mitchell Goldman told them, "This is a heinous offense. Certainly we get enough trouble in this world without having something like this. You gentlemen have struck at the basis of our democracy." Three were sentenced to 60 days and fined $500 on each of two charges, the fourth was given a suspended 30 day sentence and fined $100; all appealed. (March 7, 1957—B)

Atlanta, Ga.: Two crosses were burned in front of Negro homes, and gasoline was burned in the street in front of one during October. (Oct. 14, 1957—E)

New Orleans: Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia was the main speaker at a Citizens Council rally in Pelican Park May 17. An audience of 4,000 heard speakers attack the Supreme Court, Urban League, the "soft on integration"

policies of Louisiana State University and Catholic Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans. Shortly after the rally a wooden cross was burned outside the archbishop's residence. There was no proven connection between the rally and the cross burning. (June, 1956—A)

Jackson, Miss.: A crudely made cross was burned in front of a Catholic Church, Christ the King. The Rev. P. H. Boer, pastor, learning of it later, commented, "That's the way they operate; they haven't got the guts to come out in the open and do it." He said the burning may have been because of a Negro school the church operates on the rear of its property. Several years before rotten eggs were thrown at the church entrance. (March 26, 1957—L)

Hillsboro, N.C.: A cross was burned before a home in which Dr. Frank Graham, special United Nations representative and former president of the University of North Carolina, was visiting. A 25-year-old student was arrested.( )

Camden, S.C.: Anonymous threats to destroy the buildings of Mather Academy forced Methodist officials to remove a group of young white and Negro church workers from the campus of the Negro school. Earlier, a cross was burned. Camden Mayor Henry Savage said he "certainly thinks" the threats came from a newly organized KKK Klavern in the Camden area. A cross was burned in front of the Mayor's home later, presumably, he said, because he had indicated he would call on the governor for troops if needed to prevent the bombing or burning of Mather school. The mayor and city council had provided what protection they could but had asked the group to abandon its integrated work project in the interest of preserving good order. (July 12, 1956—B; Sept. 1956—A)

Columbia, S.C.: Six white teen-agers were freed, with a warning, after they were arrested for burning a cross in front of a gate to Benedict (Negro) College. (Feb. 1957—A)

Rock Hill, S.C.: A wooden cross was burned in front of St. Anne's Catholic school, the only desegregated one in the state and in its third year of

integrated operation. Two months earlier a series of cross burnings in the area caused the Rock Hill Ministerial Union to pass a resolution unanimously saying, "Such acts... are the work of men of ill will and ought to be opposed by all right-minded citizens." (Feb. 1957--A; Nov. 8, 1956--R)

Greenwood, S.C.: Two white teen-aged boys had their probation revoked for burning a cross at a rural home and were sent to the State Industrial School. A third youth was placed on probation and a 22-year-old man was fined $50 in magistrate's court. (Aug. 1957--A)

Charleston County, Tenn.: A cross was burned in front of the home of a Negro candidate for the House of Representatives, John H. Wrighten, about a week before the election. It drew statements of condemnation from all three white candidates in the race. Wrighten ran second in a field of four but trailed far behind the leading candidate. (Jan. 1958--A)

Bonham, Texas: Police said a man who planted a burning cross in the driveway of House Speaker Sam Rayburn's home did not do it as a joke, that it was carefully made by an experienced carpenter. Bonham residents were mystified as to why Rayburn's two-story colonial mansion was selected as a target. The Speaker's brother and his wife, and his sister were in the house at the time. (July 27, 1956--C)

Beaumont, Texas: A 12-foot cross was burned on the campus of Lamar State College of Technology, after the school had been ordered to open its doors to Negroes in the fall. (Aug. 2, 1956--B)

Dallas, Texas: A cross was set afire on the lawn of Dr. Cosette F. Newton's home, which was offered for sale to a Negro. The cross was doused with water by the fire department before any damage was done to the home or to a barkyard pavilion ship which set off a bitter neighborhood feud. Doctor Newton offered to sell her fashionable home to a Negro after losing a battle fought to the Texas Supreme Court to keep her ship, which neighbors called an eyesore. (Jan. 26, 1956 --C)

Hillsboro, Texas: A cross was burned and in Leroy, small town near Waco, the effigy of a Negro was strung across the highway. (Oct. 1956--A)

Nashville, Tenn.: At least 12 crosses have been burned in or near Negro neighborhoods, according to police records. (Nov. 1957--A)

Charlottesville, Va.: The fourth cross since mid-August was burned on a local lawn, apparently in protest against the activities of the local chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The latest blazed on the lawn of Dr. Frank D. Daniel, financial chairman of the group; another was burned at the home of Mrs Sarah Patton Boyle, officer of the state group, and one at the home of Mrs. Morris Brown, vice president of the local chapter. The first cross was burned before the Westminster Presbyterian Church during a meeting of the Council. It was this meeting John Kasper, ex-secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, invaded to say his group had "declared war on you people" and would "run you out of town." (Dec. 9, 1956; Aug. 30, 1956--S)

Fairfax County, Va.: Police placed a 19-year-old white girl in protective custody because, when she sought refuge with a Negro family, a cross burning and exchange of shots resulted. The girl said she moved into the home because she had no place else to go. The night after a cross was burned unidentified persons drove in front of the house and fired five shots; a member of the Negro family fired one shot into the air. No one was injured. The girl later was released unconditionally. (She had been a ward of the county for 10 years, had served a vagrancy sentence and been released.) (Aug. 11, Aug. 16, 1956--S)

Sylacauga, Ala.: The Rev. Dan Whitsett reported a death threat was made against the family of a young minister who kicked over a KKK cross. Crosses were burned near the First Methodist Church, of which Whitsett is paster, and the First Baptist Church as Klansmen rallied at the high school football stadium. Whitsett, who was out of town, said the Rev. Newton Maloney, his associate pastor, kicked over the cross and stood briefly in front of a car occupied by

Klansmen. Later, Mrs. Maloney received a telephone call and heard a man warn that unless the Maloneys and Whitsetts were out of town in 10 days "your house and your child will be blown to bits." Whitsett speculated that the Baptist church was a target because of the recent Southern Baptist Convention stand for elimination of racial barriers among its churches. Whitsett's endorsement of moderation in race relations has made him a frequent subject for KKK criticism and his family has received a number of threatening telephone calls. (June 9, 1957--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Three of nine Negro families who signed a petition requesting integration of Birmingham schools reported they have been receiving threatening telephone calls. Another Negro, who said he had nothing to do with the petition, said he and his wife also had been threatened. (Aug. 26, 1957--B)

Atlanta, Ga.: Police reported a Negro family living in a white section received a threatening letter; it contained a newspaper clipping showing the picture of a home damaged by dynamite and the notation in red ink, "take warning from this." The family had rented an apartment in a vacant building between white residences. (March 30, 1956--E)

New Orleans: A Catholic Priest, the Rev. Eugene McManus, was threatened after he appeared as a speaker at a meeting on integration. He said at the meeting the segregation issue had turned "the fairminded people of our city into blinded, frenzied bigots." The following day an anonymous caller threatened "to get" the priest and used "unprintable language." (1956--M)

Raleigh, N.C.: Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Holt Sr., parents of a Negro youth seeking admission to an all-white high school, received telephone threats their home would be bombed "if you don't quit sending messages to the school board," the Raleigh Times reported. Letters containing veiled threats were sent the Raleigh School Board and Holt and were signed, "Executive Committee, Wake County Patriots of North Carolina," according to the Raleigh News and Observer. The

Patriots were formed in 1955 to maintain "the purity and culture of the white race and of Anglo-Saxon institutions." (July, 1957)

Greensboro, N.C.: The Rev. Julius T. Douglas, who heads an organization which offered defense for six Negroes charged with trespassing on Gillespie Park Golf Court said he was informed indirectly his home would be bombed. "The lady next door received an anonymous call saying that she should get out because my house was going to be bombed during the night," he related. (Dec. 21, 1955--B)

Montgomery County, N.C.: Elsie Horn, who with six others withdrew from a suit against the Montgomery County Board of Education, said he had been asked if he would like it if he sent his "kids to a white school and they came up missing or didn't come back at all." (Oct. 13, 1955--T)

Orangeburg, S.C.: Mrs. H. F. Pierce, vice president of the local NAACP chapter, reported threatening telephone calls and a letter with the words "you will die" penciled across a torn piece of newspaper. She turned over the letter to the FBI. Other Negroes have received threatening letters, presumably in connection with an economic battle over segregation issues. (Dec. 10, 1956--B)

Knoxville, Tenn.: Efforts were made to intimidate Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, an officer in the Virginia Council on Human Relations, when she appeared in Knoxville for a speaking engagement. Several telephone calls were made to her and her hostess by callers who identified themselves as members of the White Citizens Council. At midnight an ambulance driver appeared in answer to a phony summons from an unidentified person. (Charlottesville-Albermarle Tribune, Nov. 22, 1957)

Nashville, Tenn.: Parents of six of the 13 Negro first graders enrolled for integrated classes for the first time reported telephone threats of harm to their children on the eve of registration. Assistant School Superintendent W. H. Oliver said his family also was threatened. (Aug. 28, 1957--B)

Nashville, Tenn.: Chester Mason, chairman of the Parents School Preference Committee, told police he had received two anonymous calls threatening him. The

committee opposed integration of Nashville schools and has proposed a three part system, providing all white schools, all Negro and integrated ones for those who choose them. (March 21, 1958—U)

Nashville, Tenn.: Mrs. Mary Staton, whose family purchased a home in a previously white neighborhood, found cards in her yard carrying KKKK labels, one with the notation, "Your days are numbered. Move now." The president of the Knights of the KKK denied his group had anything to do with it, and said "some people have us confused with the old KKK (three Ks). (Jan. 24. 1958—U)

York County, S.C.: At a Klan meeting near Fort Mill, the principal speaker denounced Billy Graham, the President and Vice President and other government officials. He also listed local and national products and firms, which he said contributed to the NAACP or otherwise to causes for integration, and suggested they be boycotted. (July 1957—A)

Brimingham, Ala.: The KKK demonstrated throughout Jefferson county and distributed pamphlets calling on white employers to discharge all Negroes and warning businessmen that the Klan would boycott them if they continued to employ Negroes. (Nov. 15, 1957--B)

Lakeland, Fla.: As Klansmen burned a large cross and vowed to maintain segregation, a few miles away a Negro church offered prayers for them. (July 21, 1956—B)

Tahoka, Texas: The school board ruled that a 16-year-old Negro boy, Andrew Nance, could attend the white high school as a junior because the Negro school offered only 10 grades. A few hours after he entered the school his white classmates elected him vice president of the junior class. However, he later was accosted by three Tahoka men who threatened him with personal harm if he continued to attend the school. Subsequently, the Lynn County grand jury investigated the threats but failed to indict anyone. (Sept. 18, Sept. 23, 1955—B)

Jonesboro, Ark.: At a hearing on the Noxie school integration case (see Hoxie--Violence, mob action), a Negro told of threats. Clarence, 73, Hoxie, testified he sent his son Joseph, 16, to Pasco, Wash., to live because he had received a letter which contained a clipping on the Emmett Till slaying in Mississippi and a note which said, "Your boy can get the same thing." The son had been enrolled in the Hoxie schools. (Jan. 1956--A)

Union, S.C.: The legislative delegation of Union county announced it was arming against enforced integration. The delegation said it had ordered $1,000 worth of sub-machine guns--nine of them--and $300 worth of ammunition, or a thousand rounds. State Sen. John D. Long of Union said the weapons, for the sheriff and his eight deputies, were to be used to "repel any invasion by Federal troops or anyone else violating our laws." He explained that by "our laws" he meant those calling for separation of whites and Negroes in schools and elsewhere. (Oct. 17, 1957--B)

Charlottesville, Va.: Asa Carter, executive secretary of the North Alabama Citizens Council, told an audience of about 250, Southerners could not look to their politicians or their courts for a solution of the segregation problem. "This is not a legal problem," Carter said. "It won't be settled in the courts. It is up to you to say the Negro is not going to your schools and it is up to you to keep him out." (Sept. 3, 1956--B)

Prattville, Ala.: Six crosses have been burned in the Negro section. As a result, some Negroes who said they felt their lives were in danger armed themselves with shotguns, reporters found. (Oct. 27, 1957--G)

Mobile, Ala.: Police said they arrested two Negroes who were carrying two large crosses in the yard of a white church. Lieut. Walter Burch said the men told officers they planned to burn the crosses in front of a Negro private club a considerable distance from the church. A third cross was found near the church. (April 6, 1958--B)

REPRISALS

A comparatively new weapon fell into the hands of embattled segregationists within a few months of the 1954 school decisions--economic reprisal.

It was forged by the first White Citizens Council in Mississippi and was tested there. However, within the year it proved to be a two-edged sword.

At first it was used against those who signed petitions asking that steps be taken toward school integration to comply with the United States Supreme Court ruling and against Negroes who urged their people to register and vote. Negroes, and sometimes their white supporters, lost their jobs, found their credit cut off. School boards failed to renew teachers' contracts and wholesalers cut off supplies to Negro merchants.

In some cases, nationally known products were boycotted because of real or imagined support of the cause of integration. White merchants in some of the smaller town felt compelled to join the Citizens Council movement in order to keep their white customers.

Soon, this became a two-way fight. Negroes in some sections circulated the names of white merchants who belonged to Citizens Councils and they and their friends took their business elsewhere. Occasionally, entire towns became involved in boycott and counter-boycott, as in Ornageburg, S.C. In Tuskegee, Ala., after moves to curb their vote, Negroes shopped elsewhere.

In a few months time, a quarter of a million dollars was deposited in a Negro bank in Memphis by individuals and groups to aid Mississippi Negroes who were the victims of economic pressures.

Probably the most dramatic counter-measure came in Montgomery, Ala., where thousands of Negroes simply stopped riding buses in a year-long peaceful protest. It was the culmination of what they felt were years of abuse and discrimination and ended with the outlawing of bus segregation there by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Bus protests by Negroes in Tallahassee, Fla., and Rock Hill, S.C., followed somewhat the same pattern.

The following list includes 65 specific cases of persons who lost their jobs, in addition to 32 other instances of reprisals. The latter involved untold hundreds of men and women, since they cover city-wide protest movements.

Selma, Ala.: Economic reprisals against the signers of school desegregation petitions were reported in three counties--Dallas (65 per cent Negro), Bullock (74 per cent) and Butler (45 per cent). In Selma, seat of Dallas County and site of the first White Citizens Council to be organized in Alabama, WCC County Chairman Alston Keith estimated that of the 29 Negroes signing a desegregation petition in August, "about 16" had been fired by September 7. "Probably all of them who had jobs were fired," Keith said, explaning that some were self-employed. When the Dallas County WCC was formed, Keith announced that economic sanctions against Negroes favoring integration would be the prime weapons of the group. He claimed the 16 firings were "spontaneous," however, and that the WCC would accept neither "credit nor censure." Several petition signers in the three above mentioned counties later withdrew their signatures, explaining they misunderstood the purpose of the documents. (Sept. 7, 1955--B; Oct. 1955--A)

Montgomery, Ala.: State Sen. Sam Englehardt of Macon County reported to the State Senate Education Committee, "We've got 196 colored teachers in Macon County and the board tells me they'll fire everyone of them that takes part in this agitation for integration." (July 21, 1955--D)

Auburn, Ala.: An assistant professor at Alabama Polytechnic Institute charged he was dismissed "for exercising his right of free speech." Bud R. Hutchinson declared he had been notified that he would not be reappointed for the coming college year because of a letter he wrote to the school paper concerning segregation. Hutchinson disagreed with an editorial in The Auburn Plainsman critical of integration moves in New York. Dr. Ralph B. Draughon, Auburn president, said, "I felt that Mr. Hutchinson could not expect to advance in his career at this institution. Since he is in his first year, I felt it would be better for him and the institution that he seek employment elsewhere... The decision in no way reflects upon his character or his professional status." As a result, Auburn was one of five colleges censured by the American Association of University

Professors which claimed they had infringed upon academic freedom by dismissing teachers. (May 16, 1957, May 26, 1958--B)

Gwinnett County, Ga.: The State Board of Education ordered the pay of Mrs. Colleen M. Wiggins, a teacher at the Bethesda school, withheld pending an investigation of her racial views. About 150 persons had signed a petition asking her discharge because of her views on segregation. Mrs. Wiggins said she was asked to sign a statement saying she does not believe in racial integration but had refused. She explained that she obeyed Georgia laws on segregation but thought her own views were a private matter. She had told her high school class she would not object to teaching white and Negro students together if that were the practice. The County Board of Education held that Mrs. Wiggins "probably made unwise or indiscreet expressions" but that evidence did not justify her dismissal. This decision was appealed to the state board but before it could act Mrs. Wiggins resigned because she was expecting a baby. (Nov., Dec., 1956--A)

Lakeland, Ga.: Mrs. A. B. Baskin, who had taught in Lanier County schools for 17 years, was forced to resign because she allowed a white school boy, whose own bus had gone, to ride home in a Negro school bus. Mrs. Baskin emphasized that she believes in segregation and had suggested that the schoolboy take the Negro bus only as a final resort. The County Board of Education later ordered her reinstatement on the recommendation of state school officials. (April 9, 1958--Atlanta Journal)

Durant, Miss.: The Rev. Marsh Calloway reported that elders of the Durant Presbyterian Church fired him because he spoke against the Citizens Councils. (Nov. 30, 1955--J)

Jackson, Miss.: The Rev. Roy C. Delamotte, white Methodist minister, was not accepted by any congregation after protesting a resolution in the Mississippi Annual Conference calling for continued segregation. (June 21, 1955--Jackson Daily News)

Guilford, N.C.: A letter to the school board signed by 34 persons saying it would by "just and wise...to admit Negro pupils (to white schools)...if and when they make individual application" caused one white man to lose a part-time job. Another white signer resigned from a full-time job because of protests received by his employer, although the latter indicated that so far as he was concerned the man could continue on the payroll. (Sept. 6-7, 1955-T; Sept. 5, 1955--B)

Columbia, S.C.: Dr. Chester C. Travelstead, dean of the school of education at the University of South Carolina, disclosed he had been dismissed "in the best interest of the university" after making a speech calling for an end to public school segregation. Travelstead had told a campus gathering, "It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis....(the) fact that we have practiced segregation on the assumption that is was right and just does not make it right and just." Travelstead, a native of Kentucky, left to become dean of the School of Education at the University of New Mexico. ( )

Columbia, S.C.: A 23-year-old Engish major was fired as a legislative telephone page after writing an article in the Gamecock, student weekly at the University of South Carolina. His article said the State Senate was "intent on circumventing" integration and that Southern legislators and governors were "embarassing sound trucks for the South." (March 14, 1956—V)

Elloree, S.C.: Twenty-four Negro school teachers in the Elloree School District either resigned or their contracts were not renewed for refusal to sign a statement inquiring into NAACP menbership. (July 1956--A)

Clarendon County, S.C.: Three Negro teachers said they were not rehired by the Summerton School District of Clarendon County because their father and the husband of one signed integration petition. (Aug. 25, 1955—O)

Batesburg, S.C.: The Rev. George Jackson Stafford's resignation as pastor of the First Baptist Church was accepted because some of his anti-segregation views differed from his congregation. The move was reported to have been spearheaded by Federal Judge George B. Timmerman, father of the governor. (Nov. 1, 1955--V)

Columbia, S.C.: The Rev. John Murry, Methodist minister, transferred from Orangeburg County to Gilbert, S. C., because some of his parishioners protested his support of a resolution deploring economic sanctions against Negroes with integrationist views. (Nov. 1, 1955--V)

Lubbock, Texas: Segregation viewpoints figured in the removal of two faculty members at Texas Technological College. Dr. Byron R. Abernethy, professor of government, and Dr. Herbert M. Greenberg, assistant professor of psychology, were notified that the Board of Directors in executive session refused to renew their contracts. The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal said that Greenberg, who is blind, apparently was removed because of his publicly-statedviews backing integration. The other ousted professor had been active in liberal Democratic political circles. The school's president protested the closed-door procedure and said he had found no fault with the two professors' academic ability. The college has no Negro students, and so far as is known, none have applied. (Aug., 1957--A)

Appomattox County, Va.: The school board refused to renew the contracts of two eighth grade teachers. One said she believed it was because she voted in 1954 against an "inflamatory resolution" favoring segregation; she added that she didn't consider herself an integrationist but did believe the public school system should be preserved. The other said she was "falsely accused of being an integrationist." Eighteen of 19 teachers in the school protested to the board. Commenting on the case, the Richmond Times-Dispatch said, "the impression has been created...that it is becoming dangerous in Virginia for teachers to express even a mild dissent from majority community opinion on the race problem." (June, 1956--A)

Jacksonville, Fla.: The Community Chest United Fund withdrew support from the local chapter of the National Urban League. Officials of the League asserted the action was caused by pressures from the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. The executive director of the Chest denied this and said it was because the League had entered "into politics." The Urban League has been forced out of United Fund or Community Chest drives in Ft. Worth, Texas, and three others have withdrawn under pressure--in Little Rock, New Orleans and Richmond. The Urban League, formed in 1910 to improve the lot of the Negro economically and socially through interracial teamwork, has 62 chapters. (1956--K, various)

Atlanta, Ga.: Dr. Guy H. Wells was stripped of his honarary title of president emeritus of Georgia State College for Women because of his views on integration. Wells is executive director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, which was founded in 1919, and is now an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. The State Board of Regents withdrew the honorary title it had bestowed upon him two years before, shortly after he resigned as head of the college to accept a position with the federal government. The same day, the State Board of Education asked the Teacher Retirement Board to discontinue Wells' monthly pension. Trustees of the retirement system rejected the request as unconstitutional. (April, 1956--A)

Claiborne, La.: School boards in Claiborne and Bossier ordered Time, Life and Look magazines from high school libraries, charging they "distorted" racial news. (June, 1956--A)

Lexington, Miss.: The husband of a crusading weekly newspaper editor lost his job as administrator of the Lexington Community Hospital. Walter D. Smith, husband of Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, who criticized the alleged mistreatment of a Negro prisoner, was fired by the hospital's board of directors. In an editorial, the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Miss., commented, "Smith was ousted not because he was incapable but because some of the views of his vigorous newspaper-

woman wife were unpopular...She had the guts to criticize the then sheriff for shooting a Negro in the back for no good reason." Mrs. Smith is editor of the Lexington Advertiser and Durant News. (Jan. 11, 1956--X)

Montgomery, Ala.: On December 1, 1955, a bus carrying white and Negro passengers made a downtown stop. The driver asked four Negroes to give up their seats. Three did but Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, refused. She said later she acted on impulse. The driver called a policeman who took Mrs. Parks to the police station, where she was charged with violating city segregation laws. Almost overnight word flashed through the Negro community: Support Rosa Parks. Printed leaflets were circulated Saturday, December 3, asking Negroes to stay off the buses Monday, the day of Mrs. Parks trial. Almost 90 percent of them did. They went to work in Negro taxis, in wagons, on foot or bicycle. Mrs. Parks that day was found guilty and fined $14. That night, 5,600 Negroes crowded into the Holt Street Baptist Church and by the end of the evening the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was named president. It was the beginning of a year-long boycott which was to make the name Martin Luther King the symbol of peaceful resistance to his followers. At first, the Negroes asked only that Negro passengers be treated more courteously, that seating be on a first come, first serve basis and that Negro bus drivers be employed on predominantly Negro runs. Negotiations on these points failed and the boycott continued. The mayor and city commissioners joined the White Citizens Council; the Negroes operated a car pool; businesses were damaged by rumors circulated among white buyers that they had contributed to the NAACP or by rumors among Negroes they had contributed to the Citizens Council. King's home was bombed, he was arrested for speeding, a dynamite cap exploded in the yard of another leader. More than 100 Negroes were indicted on charges of violating Alabama's anti-boycott laws. Meanwhile, suit was filed in federal court, which eventually, on November 13, brought a unanimous ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that Montgomery's bus segregation laws were unconstitutional. In December, Negroes

called off the boycott and resumed riding on the newly de-segregated buses. The months since have not been smooth. Four Negro churches, the homes of two ministers and a taxi stand have been bombed. (Two white men were acquitted of charges of bombing one of the churches.) A white man was fined for hitting a Negro woman passenger; a Negro school girl was convicted of striking a white girl on another bus. Vandals knocked out a local broadcast of a national telecast featuring The Reverend King. Snipers have fired at city buses, in one instance wounding a Negro woman. (1956-57--A,B)

Monticello, Fla.: Dr. Deborah Coggins was dismissed as health officer of three north Florida counties because she had a business lunch with a Negro nurse. One of her defenders, Robert H. Browning, health educator who worked with Doctor Coggins, lost his job. The Jefferson County Commission simply abolished the post. Browning transferred to Palm Beach County. He had urged the county commission to "practice the kind of Christianity you profess" and retain Doctor Coggins. Mrs. Flo Way was asked to resign from the Jefferson County school system because she had defended the health officer in a public meeting. Mrs. Way refused to resign as a fifth grade teacher and since she had job tenure, she continued in her work. (October 4, 1956--B; Nov., Dec., 1956--A)

Miami, Fla.: Charges that he was too outspoken on the issue of segregation caused the dismissal of Florida's only Negro assistant state attorney. A leader of a segregation group had furnished State Atty. George A. Brautigam with a tape recording of a radio speech in which the Negro in question, Henry Arrington, said his work was not necessarily confined to Negro cases. Brautigam demanded his suspension on charges of "breach of confidence and misconduct." Gov. LeRoy Collins complied on the ground that Arrington had made "public statements in derogation of, and repugnant to, the duties imposed upon him." Arrington said the issue may have been created by "someone who wanted to make a political issue out of segregation." (April 1956--A)

Shellman, Ga.: A Baptist minister who publicly backed the Supreme Court ruling on school segregation was ousted from his church. The board of deacons demanded the resignation of the Rev. Henry A. Buchanan. The church secretary said the minister was not being cast out but that the church needed a change of leadership. "Why quibble with words?" was Buchanan's reaction. (Jan. 1955--A)

Terrell County, Ga.: The Rev. Robert Trotman resigned as minister of the Bronwood Baptist Church upon the request of the deacons after a sermon in which he advised acceptance of the U.S. Supreme Court's school ruling. (June 28, 1954--E)

Orangeburg, S. C.: Boycotts have cut both ways in this town of 17,000. Here the economic struggle began with a petition by 57 Negroes to the school board in July, 1955, asking that immediate steps be taken to "reorganize the public schools on a non-discriminatory basis." White residents responded by organizing a Citizens Council. Under the leadership of W. TW C. Bates, a local insurance agent, and Mayor R. H. Jennings, Jr., reprisals began against petitioners and their families and members of the local NAACP. Those who worked for white employers were fired; those who rented from white landlords were evicted. Credit was denied by white suppliers and merchants. Some no longer could buy, even for cash. Mayor Jennings, who was president of the local Coca Cola company, a bakery and the Orangeburg Ice & Fuel Co., cut off supplies to three Negro grocers and a gas station owner. The Coble Dairy stopped delivery of milk to the grocers and all the petitioners on its routes. A service station operator was forced out of business by the owner-distributor. The Negro residents retaliated with their own boycott. They stopped using products of the dairy and the Mayor's enterprises. They obtained the names of local merchants who belonged to the Citizens Council and someone distributed a list of the 23 firms at all Negro meetings. They started shopping in Columbia or by mail. Students at South Carolina State College, Negro, quietly supported the boycott. A white

grocer was forced out of business and other merchants suffered. Still other firms joined the reprisal movement against the Negro --- the Pepsi Cola, Royal Crown and Dr. Pepper bottlers, another bakery and another dairy. Because of the college students' action, Governor George B. Timmerman, Jr., ordered the State Law Enforcement Division to place the college under surveillance; 1,200 students staged a four-day walkout until they were promised a discussion of their grievances on one hand and threatened with expulsion on the other. By the end of the school year, the student council president and 15 other students had been expelled and five faculty members dismissed for their part in the boycott. The fall and winter of 1955-56 was a difficult time for the petitioners in Orangeburg and those in nearby Elloree and Summerton, where similar reprisals were taken. Various appeals brought in contributions of food, money and clothing from many sections of the country. During all this time, only one white person openly joined the fight alongside the Negroes in Orangeburg, a Catholic priest. By the spring of 1956, some disenchantment with the Citizens Councils was felt; pressures slackened somewhat but the basic controversy over school segregation remains unsolved. Both sides seem to agree that the reprisals and counter-boycotts have not been a satisfactory way of solving the problem. (Sept. 1955--A; The Reporter Magazine, Jan. 21, 1957)

Pine Bluff, Ark.,: Fifty members of a railroad metal crafts union announced a boycott of the Pine Bluff Community Chest because it supports the Negro Boys' Club. (Oct. 9, 1957--F)

Jackson, Miss.: Ellis Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens Council, said a letter from the Falstaff Brewing Co., probably would end a scattered boycott of Falstaff beer in Mississippi. Sales had dropped after a pro-segregation pamphlet accused the company of contributing to the NAACP. A letter

to Wright from a company official, the CC official said, explained that the company had made a single contribution as a membership fee for one of its Negro salesman and that "in error, apparently, the membership was issued in the name of Falstaff Brewing Corp." (Dec. 1, 1955—B)

Greensboro, N. C.: The furniture business of a couple signing a petition advocating compliance with the Supreme Court school ruling was boycotted. (Sept. 6, 1955—B)

Rock Hill, S. C.: A Negro woman refused to give up her seat by a white woman on orders from the bus driver; she said it was the only vacant one on the bus and the white passenger had invited her to take it. The incident touched off a boycott of the bus line by Negroes and brought threats to a Negro minister and others. A few months later, the bus line stopped operating. (Aug. 3, 1957—O; Jan. 1958—A)

Jackson, Tenn.: M. C. Jolly, operator of the Dr. Pepper Bottling Co., said 12 or 13 Negro merchants had canceled accounts with his firm after he joined in a suit seeking to bar state aid to a college which had admitted two Negroes. Lates, he said increased business from white merchants offset the Negro cancellations. (Feb. 1-2, 1956—B; March 1956—A)

Tuskegee, Ala.: A struggle over the Negroes' right to vote has brought lasting repercussions to this home of Tuskegee Institute, famed Negro college. To understand the situation, it is necessary to know the composition of the town. Tuskegee is in Macon County, which has the highest percentage (85%) of Negroes of any county in the nation. Nevertheless, there have been only 1,100 Negroes registered to vote in the county and 2,700 white citizens registered. The bulwarks of Macon County's economy have been Tuskegee Institute, with an annual payroll of $2.5 million, and a Veterans Administration hospital, with an annual payroll of $6.5 million. All the patients and most

of the staff at the hospital are Negro. In June, 1957, the Alabama legislature gerrymandered Tuskegee's city limits, cutting the town in half, redrawing its boundaries and in the process thrusting out of the town about 410 of the city's 420 Negro voters. Sam Englehardt, Macon County state senator and executive secretary of the White Citizens Council of Alabama, was author of the bill, designed to prevent Negroes from registering enough voters to gain control of the local government. Englehardt spoke proudly of gerrymandering the Negroes out of the town and indicated he was motivated by the new civil rights act. "If that Civil Rights Commission comes down here and forces mass registration of unqualified Negroes, there'll be bloodshed," he predicted. A prominent Negro leader denied the Negroes wanted to take over local affairs and said that if Negroes could have had one representative out of five on the school board, one out of five on the city council, one out of seven on the county board of revenue, "I think we'd have bragged of this community as a model one in race relations." In any event, what began as a move to limit voting by Negroes, quickly became an economic battle. Negroes in the town simply began in large part to shop elsewhere. How effective has this movement against white merchants been? A dry goods store owner reported his business was down 35 per cent, an auto dealer 40 to 60 percent below the previous year. The town's only movie theater has closed. In all, 10 white businesses have folded, and some others were expected to follow. Charles Gomillion, head of Tuskegee Institute's social science division and president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, a Negro group leading the resistance, has said, "If white citizens here feel Negroes shouldn't vote, then Negro citizens feel their money should not be spent with these folks." Negro leaders avoid use of the word boycott; they

they prefer to talk of "spontaneous reaction." The reason is the state's anti-boycott law. The state attorney general has had a temporary injunction issued against the Civic Association to stop fostering boycott. Merchants have said the move has not brought back their Negro customery. Pending is a move to abolish the county and divide it among the surrounding counties. (Nov. 5, 1957—I; Aug., Oct. 1957—A)

Birmingham, Ala.: "The Southerner," edited by Ace Carter of the North Alabama Citizens Council, carried a column headed, "To Buy Or Not To Buy (There should be no question)" and listing Ford, for its "vicious program of using dollars to integrate" and citing the Ford-Mercury sponsored Ed Sullivan program for his "insistence" that certain Negro entertainers "be showcased frequently." It also listed Phillip Morris and Marlboro cigarettes, accusing the company of contributing to the Urban League, and Kraft, because some of its television programs were "interracial and have sold the idea that the white Southerner is a bully, coward or something very distasteful." (Sept. — Oct. 1956)

Tallahassee, Fla.: On May 27, 1956, two girls from Florida A and M University, a Negro school, boarded a crowded city bus and sat in the only two vacant seats in the front of a bus, next to a white woman. The driver asked them to move to the rear. The girls declined but offered to leave if the driver would refund their fare. He refused and called the police, who arrested the girls. They were released under bond. (The charges later were dropped.) That night a cross was burned in front of the girls' home. The next day, the student body at the college decided in a mass meeting to refrain from riding the city buses for the two weeks remaining in the term. By mid-afternoon, Negroes in town joined the movement. On May 29, Negro citizens met in the Bethel Baptist Church and organized the Inter-Civic Council, with the Rev. C. K. Steele at

its head. Since that time, the situation has been complex. Bus service has been discontinued and resumed. Police arrested drivers in the Negro car pool on charges they were violating the state's "for hire" laws. Businesses have been harmed. The ICC accused the police of intimidating Negroes by taking them from their homes at all hours for questioning. Threats have been made, crosses burned, rocks and bricks thrown through windows of homes and cars. After the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation in Montgomery was unconstitutional, the Tallahassee boycott was ended officially. However, the bulk of the Negroes still do not ride the buses, apparently awaiting the outcome of several ponding court cases. (B, and "The Tallahassee Bus Protest", a field report by Charles U. Smith of Florida A. & M. University and Lewis M. Killian of Florida State University.)

Florence, S. C.: After two years of threats and pressure, the Florence Morning News, which repeatedly appealed for moderation and good will in solving segregation problems, banned the subject from its editorial page. For its views, the News had drawn violent abuse, reader complaints and its circulation dropped. The city editor had been punched while covering a Klan meeting; the church editor, a minister, had his tires slashed and two cars had tried to run him off the road. Editor John H. O'Dowd, 29, native of Florence and son of the owner-publisher, had been threatened and chased at night by a car. Finally, O'Dowd announced a "retreat from reason" and wrote, "We have ...sought men of good will...but men seeking the fair solution have not, in two years, come forward." He announced segregation stories would continue to be printed in the news columns. Later, O'Dowd left florence to take a job in a northern city on a larger newspaper. (Time magazine, April 2, 1956)

Choctaw County, Ala.: On September 21, 1956, Life magazine carried another story in its series on segregation. Included was an account of the life of a Negro couple, Willie and Allie Lee Causey in the 95 per cent Negro community of Shady Grove. It told how Causey earned a good living as a woodcutter and farmer, running a small but successful business with a truck, power tools and his own work crew. It also told how Mrs. Causey taught school in a ramshackle building and quoted her opinion on racial problems: "Integration is the only way through which Negroes will receive justice. We cannot get it as a separate people...." Life, in an issue the following December, reported the consequences. Causey's truck was confiscated, merchants refused to sell the family anything, Mrs. Causey was fired. The Causeys had to move from the community and, with the help of Life, resettle in another part of the South. (Life Magazine--1956)

Little Rock, Ark.: Advertisers threatened to boycott the Arkansas Gazette because of its support of the school board's plan of gradual integration of schools in Little Rock. A bakery was boycotted because the high school-age daughter of its owner was quoted as favoring integration in the schools and because a member of the Little Rock school board worked there. Business dropped off in a men's clothing store owned by James T. Karam, a friend of Governor Orville Faubus and described in some quarters as a leader in the violence at Central High School. His store once did a thriving business with Negro customers. These and other measures and counter-measures grew out of the crisis at Central High School. (March 1958--A)

Yazoo City, Miss.: The White Citizens Council published a full-page advertisement in a local paper carrying "an authentic list of the purported

signers to a NAACP communication to our school board." Many of the signers lost their jobs and under this pressure the majority removed their names from the petition. A plumbing contractor was taken off two construction jobs he had underway, refused plumbing supplies by a wholesale house and notified that a loaf of bread would cost him a dollar. (Journal and Guide, Sept. 24, 1955)

Alcorn, Miss.: Prof. Clennon King, controversial professor whose pro-segregation writings touched off a student boycott at Alcorn A & M College for Negroes last year, said he had been dismissed. In a statement, King said, " I stand for academic freedom...(and) freedom of speech." He displayed a letter from the president of the college dated May 1 stating only that King's contract had not been renewed. A majority of the 450 students at the college boycotted classes last year in protest against a series of newspaper articles by King critical of the NAACP. (May 3,1958—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A Negro minister was charged with disorderly conduct because he refused to give up his pastorate. The Rev. U. J. Fields said a group within the congregation of the Bell Street Baptist Church which "does not believe in taking a stand on what our people are pressing for" voted for his dismissal. George Durden, deacon in the church, swore out the warrant for Fields' arrest. Durden said the congregation voted to remove Fields solely in the interest of harmony in the church and that the removal was not connected with the minister's activity in the prolonged bus boycott here in protest of racial segregation. However, Fields charged that "pressure was put on some of my parisioners from outside" becauso of his progressive stand on racial questions. (March 25, 1956—B)

Tallahassee, Fla.: John M. Boardman, white graduate student at Florida State University, was refused permission to continue his studies after the

present semester because he entertained Negro students from neighboring Florida A & M on the campus. Boardman was one of six students -- three fo them Negro -- arrested for sitting together on a Tallahassee bus in violation of a driver seating assignment. (March, 1957--A)

VIOLENCE: DYNAMITE, STONES AND GUNPOWDER

Segregationists often talk of the current threat to the Southern way of life. Other citizens, however, are faced with a threat to the more basic, national way of life.

Many of our most cherished traditions and fundamental rights are challenged or denied some of our citizens: the right to live, vote, worship and assemble peacefully.

Probably the majority of Southerners, including "moderates," prefer not to become directly involved in the problems of this transitional period in race relations. Others work for new laws which will hold the segregation barrier as long as possible. There are others who resort to violence and intimidation and it is with those this report is concerned.

The following list of 103 separate incidents in the Jan. 1, 1955---May 1, 1958 period sheds light on their methods.

It includes 32 dynamitings of homes. This figure actually represents more than that number of houses, however. For example, in one dynamiting in Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast.

Six homes were burned under circumstances police consider suspicious. Another 18 homes were struck by gunfire and 11 were stoned.

Three schools were bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville and Chattanooga. Attempts were made to bomb two others, in Charlotte and Clinton, Tenn. A third, in Mecklenburg County, N. C., was threatened. (The threat against Little Rock's Central High School are included in the report on that disturbance.)

One white church and five Negro churches were bombed, four of them in Montgomery, Ala. Another Negro church, valued at $150,000, was destroyed by fire in Memphis and one church was stoned.

Three temples or Jewish centers were bombed, in Miami, Nashville and Jacksonville and attempts were made on three others in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham and Charlotte.

A YWCA was dynamited in Chattanooga. Five other public buildings or stores were either burned or bombed. At least 11 automobiles were damaged by acid.

Koinonia Farm in Georgia was the victim of at least 12 separate instances of violence--shootings, fires and dynamitings.

Details of the incidents follow:

Birmingham, Ala.: Four homes purchased by Negroes in the once all-white section of Fountain Heights were dynamited over a period of several months. One of the homes later was damaged by fire which police blamed on arsonists. White property owners in the area have formed an association designed to prevent sales of homes to Negroes. (Nov. 2, 1957, Dec. 7--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: The home of a Negro family which moved into a white neighborhood and ignored a warning fiery cross was damaged by a bomb explosion. The house, in East Birmingham, was occupied by the Otis Flowers family. The blast blew out a wall of the house and Arthur Flowers, 12, suffered a cut hand. Detectives said it was the second bombing of a Negro home within a week. (Dec. 31, 1957--B)

Mobile, Ala.: The fifth of a series of recent bombing attempts in the city was reported by Walter Johnson, Negro cook, who said he supposed the small bomb thrown by a white boy on a bicycle, was the result of his living "in a mixed neighborhood." Little damage was done. (March, 1957--A)

Birmingham, Ala.: The home of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister and leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which staged a one-day defiance of city bus segregation laws, was heavily damaged by dynamite Christmas night. (Jan. 1957--A)

Little Rock, Ark.: Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the NAACP, reported an attempt to bomb her home on New Years Eve. The bomb, a crude device in a bottle, went off in the driveway and caused no damage. Two weeks later someone threw a rock through a bedroom window. (Feb. 1958--A)

Miami, Fla.: The school-recreation annex of Temple Beth El was dynamited, causing at least $30,000 in damage. The Miami incident was the first of its kind since a wave of terrorism in 1951 when several synagogues and Negro homes were bombed and dynamite was found at a Catholic church. (March 17, 1958,B)

Atlanta, Ga.: An explosion damaged a home into which a Negro family moved a few days earlier and caused minor damage to a neighboring home owned by a white man. The blast shattered a corner foundation, tore a hole in the living room and a piano toppled into the cavity. Five Negroes in the house escaped injury. (March 25, 1956--B)

Atlanta, Ga.: An explosion heavily damaged a Negro-occupied house in a predominantly white neighborhood and broke six windows in a white-occupied house next door. The Negro couple, who had rented the house recently, escaped injury. The blast ripped off portions of the front porch and the walls of two

front rooms shortly before dawn. About 45 minutes after the explosion, the woman occupying the damaged house next door received an anonymous call telling her, "You will be next." (July 2, 1956—B)

Gastonia, N. C.: Thirty sticks of dynamite were found at a synagogue. A fuse had burned to within 1½ inches of the dynamite, then gone out. (Feb. 9, 1958—B)

Greensboro, N.C.: An explosion at the home of a Negro man whose two children attend a previously all-white school was reported. Police first said it was dynamite then that it could have been a large firecracker. Mud and small rocks were thrown on the porch and a small piece of siding was knocked off the house; the noise was heard five blocks away. (Oct. 2, 1957—B)

Charlotte, N.C: Three members of a KKK klavern, which was broken up by a police undercover agent, began serving prison sentences for plotting to plant a homemade bomb at a Negro school Feb. 15. Two others were acquitted. (March 21, 1958—B)

Charlotte, N.C.: Police Chief Frank N. Littlejohn disclosed that an unsuccessful attempt was made to dynamite a synagogue and that after 10 days of intensive investigation the KKK "is definitely suspected." Littlejohn said six unexploded sticks of dynamite with a partially burned 14-foot fuse were found outside the Temple Beth-El Nov. 12 (Nov. 22, 1957—C)

Gaffney, S. C.: Five men identified by police as members of the KKK were charged with bombing the home of a white physician whose wife wrote an article urging a "moderate" approach to the racial integration crisis. No one was injured in the blast at the home of Dr. and Mrs. James H. Sanders Nov. 16. Mrs. Sanders, a native of Charleston, contributed to a publication entitled "South Carolinians Speak—a Moderate Approach to Race Relations."

The Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, S.C., one of the publishers, reported that former Rep. James Richards (D-S.C.) praised the publication as a "real contribution" to freedom of expression. (Dec. 7, 1957—B)

Cowpens, S.C.: A blast damaged the dwelling of a Negro tenant farmer. The white owner of the house could give no reason. The Spartanburg Herald-Journal announced it would pay $2,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of person or persons responsible. The following day, the Gaffney City Council added $500 reward for information about the blast at neighboring Cowpens. Early the next morning a cross was burned near the home of one councilman. (Dec. 1957—A)

Charlotte, N.C.: A bomb scare at a Mecklenburg County Negro grammer school proved a dud. Police Capt. G. A. Stevens said an anonymous caller warned police that a bomb was set to explode in a school at Paw Creek, about five miles away. Officers searched the school but found no bomb, although they did find a cross burning in the school yard shortly after the call. Stevens said both incidents were acts of intimidation. (Feb. 6, 1958—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: A small charge of dynamite damaged a house owned by R. H. Craig, Negro lawyer who recently appeared before the County Council to urge more jobs for Negroes in county government. Earlier, two crosses were burned on the property and the house was shot into. Craig said the house, inherited by his wife, always had been owned by Negroes although it was in a section otherwise white. The Craigs continued to live in their own home and only visited the house which was bombed. (May 25, 1957—D)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: Police investigated the third dynamite incident in Negro sections in less than two weeks. In the latest explosion, a vacant house was practically destroyed and several hundred dollars damage done to another. The houses are in a new subdivision designed exclusively for Negroes. None of the

65 houses is occupied. On October 27 an explosion ripped a hole in a field near a Negro area and the follwing night a house rented by a Negro couple was damaged by a dynamite blast in the front yard. Officer had no theories. (Nov. 5, 1957—B)

Chattahooga, Tenn.: An explosion was set off outside the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the YWCA, a community building for Negroes. The blast was the second in eight days near a Negro institution. (Jan. 27, 1958—B)

Nashville, Tenn.: A dynamite explosion at the Jewish Community Center ripped down the ceiling of the reception hall and broke windows, causing damage estimated at $6,000. Almost as soon as the roar of the explosion ended, Rabbi William B. Silverman of the Jewish Temple received a call from a man identifying himself as a member of the "Confederation underground" who warned that the "temple is going to be next" and that a Federal judge "would be shot down in cold blood." The latter threat was against District Judge William E. Miller whose orders brought first step desegregation to Nashville schools. Guards were posted at the Temple and Gov. Frank Clement offered a $5,000 reward for information leading to arrest and conviction. The city of Nashville offered a $1,000 reward and other rewards were offered by citizens. The Associated Press said that "so far as is known, none of Nashville's Jewish citizens has been active on either side in the school desegregation issue. The center has been used frequently for interracial meetings, chiefly by agencies of the United Givers Fund." (March 17, 1958—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: One of the largest Negro schools in the state was rocked by a blast from a homemade bomb. Damage to the $3 million doller Howard school was estimated at $1,000. (Feb. 1958—A)

Knoxville, Tenn.: A dynamite explosion reverberated through a municipal building where Louie Armstrong's band was playing for a segregated audience.

The blast, apparently from a single stick of dynamite tossed from a passing car, tore a four-foot hole in mud about 200 feet from the building. As for Armstrong, the Negro trumpeter merely remarked, "That's all right, folks. It's just the phone." (Feb. 19, 1957--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Fifty-four sticks of dynamite left in a sachel at Temple Beth-El failed to go off when a fuse went out. The Dynamite sticks had enough power to demolish the synagogue. Harry Horwitz, administrative director of the Temple, said he could offer no explination. (April 28, 1958--B)

Jacksonville, Fla.: Dynamite explosions damaged a Negro school and s synagogue. The blasts at the tow buildings, about four miles apart, occured within a half hour. Police estimated damage to the James Weldon Jones High School at $20,000. The explosion blew in windows and doors of the Jewish center and shattered windows of homes two blocks away. The Florida Times Union received a call from a man who said he was a member of the "Confederate underground" and that there would be three bombings. He said, "we want no more Jews in Florida except at Miami Beach." Rabbi Sydney M. Leftkotitz reported a call from a man who said, "This is the Confederate Center of Information. We have just blown up your Jewish center. All integration in the South must stop." (April 28, 1958--B)

Bessemer, Ala.: A dynamite explosion knocked out windoes and the side of a Negro church during a service and another blast damaged the home of a Negro civic leader and union officer. No one was injured, although there were 200 persons inside at the time the explosive was ignited in an alley behind the Allen Temple Methodist Church. Police knew of no motive. Neither the minister nor the man whose house was bombed had been active in any integration drive. (April 29, 1957--C)

Montgomery, Ala.: The home of a young white minister who was active in Montgomery's bus boycott by Negroes was bombed. The Rev. Robert Graetz and his family were away from home at the time. Graetz, 27, the white pastor of the all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church, has actively supported the boycott and been a member of the Montgomery Improvement Association. (Aug. 25,1956--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: Four Negro churches and the home of a Negro minister, in addition to the home of a white minister (see Graetz, above) were bombed, less than 12 hours after another racially integrated city bus was ambushed with gunfire. No injuries were reported. (Jan. 10,1957--B)

Prichard, Ala.: The Rev. Joshua Barney, 68-year-old preacher and carpenter, who sought a city council post, narrowly escaped harm when four shots were fired into his home. Barney was warned anonymously to get out of the race, as was another Negro running for the council in Huntsville. Both Negroes were defeated. (Sept. 7, 1956--B)

Carrollton, Ala.: Robed nightriders fired into the home of a Negro tenant and ordered him to move within 48 hours. Sheriff R. R. Shields waited at the house, which is near Palmetto in north Pickens County, as the deadline approached but the men did not reappear. The sheriff said he had been told of a false rumor circulating that the Negro's children were going to ride a white school bus. (Jan. 5, 1957--B)

Mobile, Ala.: A Negro's home in a white section was damaged by fire, less than 24 hours after it was peppered by a shotgun. Fire Inspector J. B. Foster said it apparently was arson. Booker T. Gulley, the owner, said windows had been smashed frequently by bricks and he had received threatening telephone calls since moving into the house a few weeks earlier.

He said that he had used all his money as a downpayment for the house after a Negro real estate agent told him, "the white people were going to move out and the colored people move in." Nevertheless, after the fire, Gulley said he would move out as soon as he could sell the house. (Sept. 27, 1956—B)

Selma, Ala.: A white couple poured gasoline on a Negro woman's home and set it ablaze. (Sept. 23, 1955—D)

Sorrento, Fla.: The father of children whose right to attend white schools was upheld by a circuit judge reported several men tried to burn his rural home with gasoline bombs. The family put out the fire. Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall, who contends the children have Negro blood, commented, "Anybody could have done this. The people are mad about the court's ruling." The father denied that the children were part Negro and said he and his wife were of Cherokee and Irish descent. The children were admitted to a private church-supported white school. (Nov. 12, 1955—B)

Rossville, Ga.: A one-room frame shack, center of a rural racial dispute, was in ashes, destroyed by an unexplained fire. The owner of the place, who had moved to the farm a week earlier, planned to let a Negro man live in the shack while working as a laborer. Then a man drove into his yard and told the Negro he had better not be working at the place the next day. The following night a crowd of about 300 converged on the farm; finally, after a 40 minute talk, the white owner agreed he would not allow the Negro to live on the farm. The crowd dispersed. Two hours later the shack was in flames. The Walker County sheriff's office said no investigation was being made, that the incident had not been reported. (Jan. 9, 1957—B)

Atlanta, Ga.: A 51-year-old white man was sentenced to six months in jail after a court was told he threw a rock, and paid to have another one thrown, into the home of a Negro who moved into a white neighborhood. (June 6, 1957—E)

Jackson, Miss.: The home of Dr. A. A. McCoy, NAACP leader, was fired upon. (Sept. 15, 1955—J)

Greenwood, Miss.: Police reported a rifle shot was fired into the home of a Greenwood woman who is a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Elizabeth Wheatley and her husband, D. S. Wheatley Sr., cotton buyer, were at home but neither was wounded. (March 13, 1957—B)

Greensboro, N.C.: A five pound rock was thrown through the window of City School Supt. Ben L. Smith's home. It was one of a series of incidents since Greensboro admitted six Negroes to white schools in the city last year. (Feb. 1958—A)

Manning, S.C.: Billy Fleming, 33-year-old Negro leader, reported that his home was hit with buckshot for the second time in two months. He believed the attacks stemmed from his NAACP activities. (Nov. 30, 1955—B)

Columbia, S.C.: A dozen buckshot pellets were fired into the home of James M. Hinton, state NAACP president. Mrs. Hinton, who was home alone, reported she was not injured. The shots smashed a mirror and pierced potted plants, walls and the stairway. The Hintons said that in previous months they had received "a lot of threats over the phone." (Jan. 20, 1956—V)

Fountain Inn, S.C.: Two shots were fired into the home of the Rev. Joseph S. Jones, Presbyterian minister who is "unalterably opposed to the mixing of the races." He said he believed it was "a deliberate attempt" on this life. Later, local and state police said the house might have been hit accidentally by hunters. (Feb. 15—B; Feb. 16, 1956—C)

Lake City, S.C.: The Rev. J. A. DeLaine, one of the Negroes who helped organize the original Clarendon County school suit, reported to police that his home had been the target three times of rocks and empty bottles. He

also turned over a letter warning him to get out of the state. Later, LeLaine admitted firing upon a passing car, maintaining he did so to "mark the car" after his house was fired upon from the vehicle. Four white occupants insisted they had not discharged any shots and were fired upon without cause. The minister was charged with assault and battery and three days later a bench warrant was issued for his arrest. However, he had fled to New York, where the governor refused to extradite him. (Nov. 1955—A)

Jersey, Tenn.: The home of a Negro couple was dynamited and a shotgun fired into the home of another. The first was the target of shotgun fire five weeks earlier and the second adjoins a restaurant where a dynamiting had been attempted a few days earlier. Six weeks earlier the home of a Negro teacher was fired upon. The Chattanooga Times said editorially the incidents "undoubtedly are connected with racial feeling by a tiny, moronic few." (Aug. 13, 1957—D)

Knoxville, Tenn.: Three white men were convicted of firing a shotgun into a Negro home in June during a racial disturbance which died down after all available city policemen were called out. They were accused of firing a steel ball from a shotgun into the home after two Negro boys scooped up a stray baseball from a white game and ran to the home with it. Negro and white games had been in progress on adjoining diamonds. After the shotgun blast, about 2,000 whites and Negroes, armed with clubs, sticks and other weapons converged in the area. No one was injured. (Oct. 5, 1956—B)

Bessemer, Ala.: A dynamite blast damaged the home of a Negro attorney who is attempting to open two public parks in Bessemer to Negroes. Windows in the home of David Hood Jr. were shattered and he said some of the glass fell on him as he slept on a living room couch with a loaded rifle nearby.

Hood said he had received telephone threats against his life and only two nights earlier he had dismissed three guards who had protected his home for three weeks. The house is circled with floodlights. Hood recently was convicted of violating the state firearms law by carrying a pistol. He said he had a permit which expired and that he had been unable to get it renewed. (Nov. 1, 1957—B)

Nashville, Tenn.: A blast caused major destruction to one wing of the Hattie Cotton school in East Nashville. The school reopened the next week, but without the six-year-old Negro child who had been admitted as part of the city's first step toward an integrated school system. (Oct. 1957—A)

Clinton, Tenn.: In February, a suitcase loaded with dynamite exploded in the heart of the town's Negro district. Windows in 30 homes were shattered and windows were blasted from a restaurant operated by the foster father of a Negro student expelled from Clinton High School, scene of turmoil when the school was integrated the previous fall. White residents of Clinton launched a fund drive to help Negroes restore property damaged by the blast. (March 1957—A)

Clinton, Tenn.: One man was convicted, one acquitted and the state dropped charges against a third in a case involving charges of conspiring to dynamite integrated Clinton High School. The charges were filed after two sacks of dynamite were found across a river from the school last fall. Investigators said they learned the three had planned to blow up the school at night. Two of the men told the sheriff they were offered $500 to blast the school. (Feb. 13, 1958—C)

Little Rock, Ark.: Fire destroyed the gymnasium of the Arkansas Baptist College for Negroes and an anonymous telephone caller boasted to newsmen that segregationists set the fire. A nearby house, ignited by the wind-whipped

fire, burned to the ground and three other houses were damaged. The Rev. O. A. Rogers, Jr., president of the college, estimated damage at $80,000. He said he couldn't believe segregationists had set the fire, for "everyone in Little Rock is sympathetic towards our school." (Feb. 8, 1958—B)

Memphis, Tenn.: Fire destroyed a $150,000 Negro church, one week after a cross was burned in the front yard of the pastor, whose home is in a white neighborhood. Fire Marshall Edgar Lovell said the fire looked "suspicious... This could have been caused by two things—it could have been burning a long time or it could have been set."

Austin, Texas: Three students from a white high school which this year admitted its first Negro students were arrested for throwing rocks, eggs and water filled ballonns at a Negro housing project. No damage was done and the boys were released after a warning from police. (April, 1956—A)

Alexandria, Va.: The night after a Negro family moved into an all-white residential block a rock was thrown through the dining room window while the family ate. About six weeks later a bullet ripped through a front window. A few weeks later the mother and her daughter were sleeping in a second floor bedroom when a shotgun explosion awoke them; pellets sprayed the walls above their heads. The police promised them protection and they planned to stay, the Evening Star (Washington, D. C.) reported. (April 1, 1958)

Yorktown, Va.: About 20 white men tossed stones and fired at the home a Negro widow recently rented for her family in a previously all-white section of York County. (Nov. 9, 1957—B)

Lake City, S.C.: Walter Scott, head of the NAACP chapter here, said two shotgun blasts ripped into his home. Two weeks earlier Scott reported a similar incident to police. (March 4, 1956—B)

Ringgold, Ga.: Police said an attempt to dynamite the tenant home of a Negro World War I veteran failed when an 18-inch fuse burned out before reaching the explosive. Seven sticks of dynamite were found under the front poarch. The Negro, Phillip Huggins, said his farm home was visited two months earlier by a group of robed men who kicked him and ordered him to leave the county. (Nov. 29, 1957--B)

Ringgold, Ga.: A Negro tenant, Jim Reynolds, was told to leave the county by a group of robed men Aug. 16, the same night another Negro was threatenedd. (see above) Police said he refused. On Aug. 18 his home burned. (Nov. 29, 1957--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A bomb which exploded at the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader in the fight against bus segregation, blew out windows and damaged the front porch. Mrs. King, their daughter and a visitor were in the house but were uninjured. (Jan. 31, 1956--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A second attempt to blow up the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King misfired. Twelve sticks of dynamite tied around a metal tube were tossed on the porch but the bomb failed to explode. (Jan. 27, 1957--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A bomb tossed between a Negro house and a filling station exploded, damaging both buildings. Three Negroes suffered cuts and scratches. This, along with the attempted bombing of the King home (see above) were another in a series of outbreaks of violence which began shortly after bus segregation was ended by Federal Court order in December. (Jan. 27, 1959--B)

Tallahassee, Florida: For the second time, rocks have smashed windows in the homes of the Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of this city's

bus integration movement. Earlier, a cross was burned on the lawn. (Jan. 14, 1957--B)

Tallahassee, Florida: A shotgun was fired into a Negro grocery store, during the period of unrest caused by bus integration troubles. (Jan. 1957--B)

Beaumont, Texas: An explosion at a Negro residence in an integrated neighborhood ripped a hole in the lawn and shattered front windows. Another explosion damaged the sidewalk in front of the home of a Negro physician, and former NAACP official. Both explosions happened within a week. (Jan. 10, 1957--B)

Beaumont, Texas: In November, 1956, bricks and stones were thrown through windows of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, where an annual youth rally of white and Negro students was in session. During the week church members had received telephone calls protesting the integrated meeting, although no protest had been made before during the several years the rally had been held. The incident followed disturbances during the integration of Lamar State College of Technology in Beaumont (see Crowd and Mob action). (From a field study by Dr. Warren Breed of Tulane Univ.)

Americus, Ga.: Shortly after the Supreme Court's school decision, troubles, heretofore minor, began in earnest for Koinonia Farm, an interracial religious cooperative founded in Sumpter County by a group of Southerners in 1942. Merchants in nearby communities refused to buy the farm's products or sell it anything (see reprisals). But acts of violence began after the Rev. Clarence Jordan, a Baptist minister, co-founder of Koinonia and a resident of the farm, announced in April, 1956, he was

willing to sign an entrance application to a state white college for two Negroes. Later in the month, pistol shots were fired at the roadside produce stand. On July 23, the farm's roadside market was dynamited, causing an estimated $3,000 in damage. The following November, several rounds of buckshot were fired into the market, ruining a refrigerator case valued at $300. In December, shots were fired into the community's electric gas pumps, destroying the mechanism; a sign was riddled by bullets from a speeding car on New Year's day. On Jan. 14, a charge of dynamite destroyed the entire market, valued at $7,000. On Jan. 17, an anonymous phone call advised the community to be on watch that night; about 2 a.m. flames leaped from a vacant house on the farm. Other mysterious fires have occurred from time to time in the buildings of neighbors who have befriended members of the community, one loss amounting to $30,000. On Jan. 30, a submachine gun was fired from an auto into the side of one of the community's residences, the bullets missing people there by inches. At 9:15 p.m. on Feb. 1, a dozen shotgun blasts from speeding cars peppered a volley ball court where children were playing under lights. One shot went through a residence window, barely missing an 11-year-old child. Two weeks later two flood lights at the entrance to the farm were shot out. On March 5, 1957, an unarmed Koinonia guard was fired on, the light he was carrying was shattered and two bullets struck a car by which he was standing. Meanwhile, so many crosses have been burned no one could keep count. In October, 1957, shots again were fired from a speeding car into the farm area. (Christian Science Monitor, March 1, 1957, and other sources.)

Montgomery, Ala.: Acid was thrown on 10 cars within the past week. All but one belonged to Negroes. The exception was a car-trailer owned by a white minister from Atlanta who participated in a Negro-sponsored racial institute. He reported that his parked vehicle, emblazoned with slogans of brotherhood, was struck by acid on two successive nights. (Dec. 10, 1956--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: Acid was thrown on the car of a bus boycott leader. The complaint was made to police by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, pastor of the Negro First Baptist Church. (Dec. 19, 1956--W)

Beaumont, Texas: Three homemade bombs caused damage estimated at several thousands of dollars. One exploded under a truck owned by State Sen. Rufus Kilpatrick. A second bomb was aimed at the home of a retired car dealer, who said he believed it was because of his "middle of the road" stand on integration. A third damaged the entrance at St. Michael's Orthodox Church. The Rev. Daniel Montgomery, pastor, said he had taken no stand on integration but that he had been warned by an anonymous woman telephone caller that "we want to get the foreigners." (March 1957--A)

A white baseball player rides with white and Negro teammates....

A Negro urges other Negroes to register and vote....

A white band leader stops to change a tire....

A Negro preacher drives along a lonely country road....

A white woman walks to church to recite a rosary....

Innocent, every day events these seem. But they ended in death for one and bullets or beatings for the rest.

Throughout the South some men have placed themselves above the law. Some have set out to administer punishment to those whose views and actions they dislike. Others are bent only on violence as a means of intimidation and their victims are selected for no apparent reason.

In the period surveyed, at least 25 Negroes have been beaten, 19 of them in Alabama. Four Negroes have been killed and 14 wounded by gunfire. One was emasculated and charges of police brutality against two Negroes appeared in public print.

The violence did not always stay within racial bounds. Four white men were shot and wounded and four white persons beaten, in all but one instance in white-against-white action, for some racial reason.

In addition, a gun battle which grew out of racial tensions left one Negro dead, another injured and six white men wounded, one critically.

A total of 78 persons suffered in the attacks listed.

Some of the cases have been in the national headlines—the emasculation of a Birmingham Negro, an attack on singer Nat King Cole and the beating of a white band director in South Carolina. The widely publicized trial of two men in Mississippi for the slaying of a Negro boy, Emmett Till, although it ended in acquittal, is listed not only because of the wide publicity it

received but because of the racial tension it reflected and engendered. Some other cases are listed because they seem to be part of the current picture of racial antagonisms.

The details:

Fort Deposit, Ala.: A young Negro, Rogers Hamilton, 19, was found shot to death near his farm home. Lowndes County Sheriff Frank Ryals said that according to the youth's mother, two unidentified men "called at the house for the boy and took him away in a truck." She told officers she followed the truck for a short distance and saw her son shot to death, but that she was some distance away and could not identify the men. The sheriff said the mother first claimed the men were white, then changed her story; he said she also thought her son might have been attacked as a result of an argument over a woman. "Reports reaching the Northern press tagged the death last October 22 a lynching," the sheriff said. "However, our investigation has revealed nothing that leads us to believe these reports." (Nov. 13, 1957—G)

Marion, Ala.: A Bibb County white man was shot in the arm during a nightrider raid on the home of a part-time Negro preacher. Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeon said Nathaniel Benson, 40, the Negro whose home was raided told this story: Robed white men in three cars tossed sulphur bombs in his house at midnight and then shot at him when he went outside with his shotgun. Benson said he went out the back door shooting his shotgun "in the air" and ran into woods nearby. The incident came to light when the white man was admitted to a hospital. (Aug. 31, 1957—G)

Dade City, Fla.: A white player for the Tampa baseball team was wounded slightly by birdshot fired at an automobile carrying two other white players and three Negro members of the Florida State League team. The shooting

occurred soon after the car was moved from in front of a drive-in at the request of an employee because it carried both white and Negro men. (Aug. 9 —B)

Umatilla, Fla.: A union official charged that four hooded men fired shotgun blasts into a labor rally and wounded 12 Negroes in this former KKK stronghold. Gov. LeRoy Collins called on Sheriff Willis V. McCall for an investigation of the shots fired through the windows of a Masonic Lodge where 26 Negroes were listening to a labor organizer. A deputy reported earlier that McCall had left on a three-day cruise down the Kissimmee River and told his aides not to disclose the violence to reporters until he returned. (Oct. 22, 1955—C)

Sumner, Miss.: Elmore O. Kimbell, white cotton gin operator, was acquitted of murder charges in the shotgun slaying of a Negro service station attendant. Kimbell swore he shot Clinton Melton in self-defense at a Glendora filling station in December, 1955, after three shots were fired at him. Three witnesses testified that Kimbell had threatened Melton, that he drove away and returned in 15 minutes with his shotgun and killed the Negro. Lee McGarrh, Melton's white employer, swore the Negro had no gun. He told investigators that after Melton sold gasoline to Kimbell the white man argued about getting a full tank when he ordered only a few gallons. McGarrh said Kimbell complained the Negro "acted smart" and then drove away with a promise to return. McGarrh said he warned Melton to flee and then he was in his car about to do so when Kimbell returned and opened fire. (March 13, 1956—B,C)

Sumner, Miss.: A case that captured headlines across the nation and stirred racial antagonisms North and South ended with the acquittal of two white half-brothers in the slaying of a Negro boy, Emmett Till. The

defendants, Roy Bryant and John W. Milam, were accused of the August 28, 1955, kidnap-slaying of the vacationing 14-year-old from Chicago, in what became known as the "wolf whistle" case. Till was kidnapped from his uncle's cottonfield shack. Four days earlier, Mrs. Bryant said, a Negro had tried to date her, uttered an obscenity and wolf-whistled at her. In pre-trial statements, authorities offered the incident at the Bryant store in the hamlet of Money as a motive for the murder. The defense at the trial cast doubt that a body taken from the Tallahatchie River three days after the abduction was Till's. The jury foreman said the issue of the body's identification was the chief motive behind its verdict. Bryant and Milam maintained they released young Till after his abduction because he was not the boy who did the whistling. In November, a Leflore County grand jury declined to indict the two men on charges on kidnapping Till. (Sept. 23, 1955, Nov. 9, 1955--B)

Clanton, Ala.: Armed with hand grenades, rifles and tear gas, sheriffs and highway patrolmen from eight counties, accompanied by 150 to 200 white townspeople, converged at a barricaded Negro home. One Negro was killed and two others captured. They moved on the house the day after a deputy sheriff and another white man were wounded by gunfire from ambush. The affair began one Thursday night in November, 1957, when a cross was burned near the Negro section in Lomax, a small community three miles from the Central Alabama town of Clanton, Then, according to police, some of the Negroes armed themselves Friday and Saturday night in fear of Klan violence. They were watching the hill in Lomax when Deputy Sheriff Floyd Porter stopped a white motorist to make a routine driver's license check. Suddenly, a shotgun blast ripped over the car and several pellets struck a passenger. (One officer later speculated the deputies might have been mistaken for Klansmen.)

Porter gave chase through an open field and as he rounded a small Negro church he was struck by a shotgun blast which almost tore off a hand and punctured his left lung. Authorities borught bloodhounds from the state prison to the church and followed a trail to the home of Willie Dunigan, 43-year-old Negro farmhand. In the subsequent gun battle, Dunigan was killed, his wife wounded seriously and four deputies suffered minor wounds. Later, police reported they were holding at least eight Negroes for questioning. Sheriff Hugh Champion denied there was evidence of any basic racial trouble and said, "It was just an unfortunate in cident arising out of a tense atmosphere." (Nov. 18, 21, 1957—B, G, G)

Birmingham, Ala.: A city bus with 30 passengers aboard was hit four times by gunfire. Six Negro boys were arrested in connection with the shooting. Earlier, shots were fired into the Negro section of a bus and two white youths were reported seen fleeing from the scene. (Jan. 1957—A)

Belzoni, Miss.: Gus Courts, Negro grocer, was shot and seriously wounded by a gunman who fired through his store window from a car. Courts said the violence came after an unsuccessful drive by the Citizens Council in Belzoni to force him out of business by economic pressure. Courts added that this was because of his efforts to persuade Negroes to registed to vote in this delta town of 4,000. "We haven't even mentioned integration," Courts said. He was president of the local NAACP chapter at the time of the shooting. His predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed the previous year after he refused a request to remove his name from the voters registration list, newspapers reported. (Nov. 28, 1955—B)

Brookhaven, Miss.: Lamar Smith, Negro reported to have urged other

Negroes to cast absentee ballots in a gubernatorial race, was shot to death on the courthouse lawn. Three white men were charged with his murder but a grand jury failed to indict them. (Aug. 17, 1955--B)

Selma, Ala.: Four white persons forced a Negro porter into a car and drove 10 miles into the country before releasing him. The abductors apparently believed him to be another individual accused of insulting a white woman. (Oct. 23, 1955--D)

Prattville, Ala.: Three Negroes were beaten by a robed KKK group during a Klan rally here. Police Chief O. C. Burton said the beatings occured after the Negroes "shouted and cursed" during a talk by one of the speakers. He said one of the Negroes then claimed about "25 or 30" Klansmen attacked him and his companions. The men required medical treatment but were not seriously hurt, the police chief added. No arrests were made and Burton said the Klansmen he questioned denied any knowledge of the beatings. (May 23, 1957--C)

Evergreen, Ala.: Four Negroes were beaten by a mob in Klan regalia. The victims said the robed men accused them of NAACP membership. Two of those beaten were ministers. They apparently were chance passerbys at a spot where Klansmen were gathered. The other two were accused of neglecting their children. (Sept. 1957--A)

Birmingham, Ala.: Two young Negro men told of being kidnapped, taken into a woods and beaten with rubber hoses. Harold Cunningham, 19, and Henry Silent, 21, said they were beaten after being questioned about where they were "two Saturdays ago." Cunningham said, "I don't know what they were talking about. Henry and I were working together for a paper company

two Saturdays ago." The young men and their dates said they went to a white drive-in ice cream stand, but left becasue it was too crowded. Then, the girls told police, they were followed by two cars, which forced their automobile to stop in a section of north Birmingham. Four white men were in each car and they had "some pistols." The men forced the Negro youths to get down on the floor of a car and told them, "One of you is going to talk before you leave." After being beaten and threatened with hanging and shooting, the Negroes escaped when all but one of the men returned to the cars. (June 11, 1957--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: A Negro school janitor said he was abducted and beaten Tuesday night by a group of white men who identified themselves as Ku Klux Klansmen. Woodrow Johnson told school authorities three white men ordered him into a car in Bessemer, telling him he was under arrest. He became suspicious when they drove into a woods instead of to jail. The men asked him if he were working for racial integration and also if he were the Rev. (Martin Luther) King. Johnson said he was struck from behind and knocked unconscious and during this time was hit in the eye. The janitor said the men put him back in the car and drove him part way back to Bessemer. He said the first three men were joined by at least five others in the woods. (Dec. 7, 1957--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: James Henry Brock, 27, a Birmingham Negro, told police he was abducted by a group of hooded white men and beaten near Prattville, about 20 miles north of Montgomery. Brock was hospitalized with multiple bruises and cuts over his face and body which he said were caused by whips trimmed from trees. Brock said he and his wife were visiting his parents

in Autauga County when two carloads of white men drove behind a car in which he sat with three other Negroes in Prattville late Saturday night. The Negro said the men, who were wearing coveralls with hoods over their heads, told them, "Don't move--stand still or we'll shoot." The other Negroes ran and "the men started shooting at them with shotguns and pistols." Apparently none was injured. Brock said he was pulled from the car, beaten and kicked, then driven into woods where he was beaten again. He quoted one of the assailants as saying finally, "Run if you want to live--and if you get back to Brimingham, tell those niggers this is what we do to them down here." Brock ran and walked about five miles to a farm homo and the owner took him to a hospital. The Autauga County sheriff said he was making a full investigation and promised Negroes would be given "full protection" against any such future incidents. Later, he indicated some doubt the whipping had occurred. (July 8, 1957--C,G)

Birmingham, Ala.: Two discharged Brimingham police officers and a city jail warden were acquitted in federal court of depriving a Negro prisoner of his civil rights. Indictments were brought against the three men after Charles Patrick claimed he was beaten by the officers in the jail while the warden was present. He had been jailed after the wife of one of the policemen complained the Negro had threatened her during an argument over a parking space. He later was cleared of the charges. The warden was suspended from his post for 10 days. (April 18, 1955--B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Nat King Cole, Negro singer and pianist, was attacked by a group of white men as he played for a white audience in Municipal Auditorium. Six white men rushed the band leader, knocking Cole and the microphone to the floor. Police rushed from the wings, grabbed the attackers and

took them to jail. Cole apparently was not injured, only stunned. Later, police said they had learned that it had been planned that 100 or 150 white men would meet at the auditorium, infiltrate the audience, overpower the band, the police and anyone else who interfered. "But the expected mob failed to show," Detective C. B. Golden said. About a week later Recorders Court Judge Ralph E. Parker imposed maximum jail sentences on four of the attackers, members of the White Citizens Council; two others were fined. (April 10, April 18, 1957--B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A group of Negroes beat a 20-year-old white man after a Negro woman was struck by a car he was driving, the highway patrol reported. Six or seven Negro men pulled Jimmy B. Rigsby of Montgomery from his car following the accident, beat him about the head and kicked him in the ribs, the patrol said. The report said the Negro woman apparently got out of a car and was searching for a loose part when she was struck by an outside rear-view mirror on the Rigsby car. She suffered a broken arm and abrasions. The attackers had fled when patrolmen arrived. (Dec. 13----B)

Centreville, Ala.: White men horsewhipped a Negro preacher north of here. Bibb County Sheriff Carl A. Griffin said the Rev. T. D. Wesley gave this account: After preaching at a Negro church, he was driving along a country road when men in two or three cars stopped him, handcuffed him and tied him with rope. They drove him up a side road and beat him with a horsewhip, then left him, still bound, in the unlocked truck of his car. He managed to free himself and drive to Centreville, where he was taken to a Selma Hospital. Wesley said one of his assailants wore a kind of hat or hood which came over his face. The sheriff said no explanation for the beating had been uncovered. He added that he was informed Wesley was threatened once before and that his

assailants vowed to get him if he talked. (Nov. 5, 1957—W)

Birmingham, Ala.: A mob of rock-throwing whites, yelling threats attacked a white integration leader who later was fined $30 for reckless driving in making his escape. Lamar Weaver, the victim, had just left the Terminal Railroad Station where a Negro couple had tested the integration policy in a waiting room, when he was slugged with a suitcase and stoned. He was convicted at a special hearing of running a red light and reckless driving as he drove his damaged car from a parking lot through a gauntlet of his tormentors. (March 6, 1957—C)

Maplesville, Ala.: Six Negroes were beaten in what a newspaper account said appeared to be a senseless outrage. The six men, one a soldier on leave, were watching television in the home of one of them when Ku Klux Klansmen arrived. The masked men beat the Negroes from the rear, using rubber hoses or blackjacks; four of the victims then were taken out into the road and started running, while four or five shots were fired. They hid in a wooded area. Earlier in the evening, 22 carloads of Klansmen pulled up in front of the town hall, donned robes and marched through town. After the beatings, two of the Negroes left town. Apparently the only thing which prevented a mass exodus of other Negroes from the small town was that several solid citizens, like Raymond Stremming, operator of a veneer company, promised there would be no repitition of the Klan incident. "It is going to be easier to run the Klan off than it is for the Klan to run the Negroes off," said Stremming. Later, Stremming was threatened and warned to leave town, The town police chief, a county deputy sheriff and several of his employees stood armed guard after the threat, Stremming said. (August, 1957—B,G)

Stanton, Ala.: The Saturday night flogging of a white sawmill worker spurred a county-wide investigation of possible connection with recent Klan activities in the area. The victim, a 37-year-old father of six, told county authorities he was beaten by 12 or 13 white men, strangers to him, in the front yard of his home after his assailants told him, "we're tired of the way you're been treating your wife and family and we're tired of you associating too freely with Negroes. The flogging came three weeks after the beatings in Maplesville (see above), six miles to the north.

Birmingham, Ala.: A 34-year-old Negro was kidnapped and emasculated by a group of white men wearing hoods and robes. The man, Judge Aaron, was taken to a Veterans Administration hospital, where doctors said he had been severely beaten and "100 percent" emasculated. Two months later, two members of the Ku Klux Klan, Bart Floyd and Joe Pritchett, both 31, were convicted of mutilation and sentences to 20 years, the maximum punishment provided in Alabama. A Third Klansman, Jesse Mabry, later also was sentenced to 20 years. Witnesses said Pritchett commanded a night-riding detail which set out to prove the worthiness of Floyd, who was to be promoted to captain in the Klan lair. Floyd was described as the Klansman who mutilated Aaron. In sentencing Floyd, Circuit Court Judge Alta L. King said the deed was the "most cowardly, atrocious and diabolical crime ever to come to my attention." (Sept. 4, Nov. 7-8, 1957--C,B)

Little Rock, Ark.: Six white teen-agers were attacked by a group of 15 to 20 Negro youths, police said. The white boys suffered cuts and bruises. Officers said the white boys reported they were walking home when the Negroes attacked, armed with clubs and bricks. Police believed they were the same Negroes who, about two hours earlier, ganged two other white youths a block

away. About 12 Negroes were picked up on police but the victims couldn't identify them as the assailants. (Nov. 1, 1957--F)

Suwannee County, Fla.: A Negro farmer was kidnapped and flogged and an expectant Negro Mother beaten. In an editorial, the Tampa Morning Tribune, attributed lack of action by law enforcement agencies to resentment over the Supreme Court school ruling. (June 6, 1955)

Erath, La.: Bishop Jules B. Jeanmard excommunicated three Roman Catholics for beating a woman teacher who instructed Negro and white children in the same catechism classroom. The bishop said the decree was directed at three women who attacked the lay teacher as she was on her way to recite a rosary. (Nov. 27, 1955--B)

Clarksdale, Miss.: A Negro citizens organization charged Clarksdale police with "physical and verbal abuse" of Negroes in enforcement of a curfew and an investigation of recent criminal assaults on white women. The mayor denied the charge and said policemen had been instructed to "defent themselves" but were told not to beat anyone. Negro spokesmen said members of their race had been subject to both "physical and verbal abuse" in connection with investigations of a series of rape cases. A Negro bricklayer charged police beat him into unconsciousness; he said the alleged beating occured in connection with the curfew ordered the previous month after three rape cases were reported in the city. (Oct. 26, 1956--X)

Old Fort, N. C.: Albert Joyner, who had attempted to enroll five Negro children in a local elementary school, was knocked into thecity fountain by a white railroad employee. (Sept. 6, 1955--O)

Camden, S. C.: Guy Hutchins, director of the Camden High School band, was beaten by hooded men. Hutchins said he was surrounded by four or five

men while he was changing a tire, that they pulled a sack over his head, drove him around and then tied him to a tree while each hit him a half dozen times with a board. He said he felt a pistol at his neck several times and that one of the men had a shotgun. Hutchins was hospitalized with severe bruises. He said the attackers falsely accused him of making a pro-integration speech to a civic club. Subsequently, the Kershaw County grand jury refused to indict six men in the flogging. The grand jury first heard Judge G. Duncan Bellinger spend more than an hour denouncing the U. S. Supreme Court for "asinine" decisions and the outlawing of school segregation. He said the segregation decisions were "devoid of intellectual and judicial integrity." (Dec. 28, 1956--B; June 24, 1957--C)

Camden, S. D.: A 65-year-old-man was shot in the arm and chest by four or five hooded men who criticized his personal conduct. The attack preceded by about a week the beating of a band director (see above). Officers and the hospital where the shooting victim was treated would not identify him. (Dec. 28, 1956--B)

Greenville, S.C.: Four admitted members of the Ku Klux Klan were convicted for conspiring to flog a Negro, Claud (sic) Cruell, at his home July 21, 1957. Two also were convicted for flogging the 58-year-old Negro landowner and Baptist deacon because of his association with a white family who rented a house on his 100-acre farm. Cruell and his wife were caring for the seven children of the white tenant when a group of white men stormed into the house. They wrapped a chain around Cruell's arm, dragged him to another room and beat him. The white tenant had left the children with the Negro couple while he visited his wife in a hospital. The leader

of the attackers was given six years, another three years and the other two a year each. Two others were acquitted and charges were dismissed against five. (Jan 23, 1958--B; Feb. 3, 1958--G)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: A Negro man reported to police that he and his sister-in-law were kidnapped and beaten by white men. The man said he was stopped by two men while he was driving on a surburban street and forced into their car and that his sister-in-law was picked up by the men as she was walking along the street. The man, Lemmie Henderson, said they were transferred into two of four cars in which 11 men were riding, taken to a remote section where they were beaten with a rubber hose and his clothes were slashed with a knife. Henderson said that the men, before abandoning them, asked if he or the woman were associated with the NAACP. Henderson told them he was not a member. The incident was the second of its kind reported to police in recent months. (Dec. 1, 1957--B)

Houston, Texas: A white oilman punched a Negro attorney who tried to buy a cup of coffee in the Harris County courthouse. The lawyer was testing a federal court order which held the cafeteria could not continue to refuse service to Negroes. After the assault, the cafeteria was closed.(1956--C)

Henderson, Texas: An African ministerial student, hit by a blackjack by a policeman after he refused to move to rear of a bus, was released from jail after an official of the college he is attending paid his $25 fine. The officer said he was investigating reports a Negro refused to move back in the bus. The officer said when the student, a native of Nigeria, told him in a British accent he did not understand the order, he grabbed him by the arm and took him to the rear. Then, when he reached in his pocket, "I had to tap him with a slapjack," the policeman said. The student said he

was reaching for his passport to show the officer. (Aug. 25, 1957--B)

Prattsville, Ala.: A Negro minister reported to the Autauga County sheriff that two gunshots were fired into his car as he drove from a regival in Prattville. The Rev. J. W. Bonner, pastor of the First Christian Methodist Episcopal church in Montgomery, said neither he nor any of his three passengers were injured. A bullet was recovered from the upholstery of Bonner's automobile. The minister said the shots were fired from a car which "contained six or seven white people" as it passed him on the highway. During the boycott of city buses in Montgomery, the minister was one of 90 Negroes charged with violating Alabama's anti-boycott law. (Sept. 6, 1957--G)

Dora, Ala.: Walker County deputies sought three to five white men for questioning in the shotgun wounding of a Negro man. Deputy Alvin Phillips said Joe Harris was taken to a doctor in Praco after being wounded in the arm and side. Three other Negroes sitting in a car with Harris in front of a store in downtown Dora gave this account: The four Negro men were talking when a car carrying theee to five youths between 18 and 21 years old pulled alongside Harris' car. One of the white youths pulled out a shotgun and fired one blast. The pellets struck Harris. (April 14, 1958--H)

Carrollton, Ala.: Three white men were charged with a misdemeanor in the kidnapping of a 21-year-old Negro, who was hit with a shotgun in a mistaken identity reprisal. Pickens County Sheriff R. R. Shields said he arrested the men on a highway last night after they had released the beaten and frightened Negro, Mutt Jones. Shields described the three white men as "being well thought of around here." Asked why the men had kidnapped Jones,

Shields explained, "It was just a case of mistaken identity. A Negro hit one of the men's father with a blackjack and they thought it was Jones." Shields described Jones as an ex-convict and added, "Jones didn't have a mark on him. They did hit him two or three times on the head and shoulder with an automatic shotgun, though." (Sept. 13, 1955—C)

Bushnell, Fla.: Seven white men were acquitted of flogging Jesse Woods, a Negro, when the state's case collapsed and the chief prosecutor complained his main witnesses changed their stories. Circuit Judge T. G. Futch ordered the acquittal after State Attorney A. P. Buie asked that four of the seven be freed. The judge said the state failed to prove the men were guilty of aggravated assault and false imprisonment of Woods, who was taken from the nearby Wildwood city jail and flogged Nov. 28. The Negro had been arrested on city charges and police said he made a "hello there, baby," remark to a white school teacher. The state's case cracked open when Buie said soon after court opened, "I have sworn testimony from these witnesses sufficient to make a strong prima facie case against every defendant we have charged. These same witnesses who named these defendants have changed their stories. I do not know why." (Dec. 12, 1956—B)

Greenville, S.C.: A free-lance photographer was roughed up and another cameraman had his film confiscated by the Klan at a rally near Greenville. Several Klansmen grabbed Joe F. Gordan, who was representing the United Press and a Spartanburg television station, and threatened to drag him off the field where the rally was being held. Jordan had snapped a picture of robed, but unmasked, Klansmen confiscated film exposed by James P. Burns of Greenville station WFBC-TV. Jordan later demanded and received an apology from one of the Klan leaders. (Aug. 31, 1957—C)

Birmingham, Ala.: Hooded Klansmen slugged a television newsman and knocked him to the ground when he attempted to take pictures at a public rally. Leo Willette, news director for WBRC-TV, arrived at the rally in East Lake Park as some 500 Klansmen listened to a speaker denounce the press as "Communist inspired." Four or five men grabbed Willette. By the time police dispersed the crowd around him his camera was missing. Willette's face was bruised and his clothing muddied. (An announcement was made at the end of the rally that the camera had been turned over to policemen and would be returned to the newsman. (March 23, 1957—B,C)

VIOLENCE: MOB ACTION

Twenty-four towns and cities across the South have faced the danger of mob passions and violence since 1955.

The incidents ranged from comparatively minor clashes between white and Negro youths, a type of delinquency with racial undertones but not confined to the South, to alarming outbreaks of violence before newly integrated schools.

The 10 most serious instances of mob action all stemmed from school integration or the expectation of it and at least four others were connected.

In effect, the mob won in Mansfield, Texas, where white and Negro students continued to attend separate high schools, and achieved a temporary victory not entirely of its own making at the University of Alabama. It has managed to hold the segregation line in Birmingham public schools.

However, despite mob violence and demonstrations, some Negroes continued to attend school with white children, notably in Little Rock and Hoxie, Arkansas, Nashville and Clinton, Tennessee, and at a college in Beaumont, Texas.

The details:

Hoxie, Ark.: This is one of the towns in the South which operates a summer session for its pupils, then recesses for a period in the fall for cotton picking. In July, 1955, 25 Negroes for the first time went to Grammar and high school with 1,000 white students. All went fairly well for about three weeks until protests started rolling in. School officials

said the protest campaign began with the arrival of letters and literature from Citizens Council groups in Mississippi and other Southern states. Soon, the town was ripped apart emotionally. Bitter arguments, two-way economic boycotts, a boycott of the school and petitions that the school board restore segregation followed. The turmoil led the school board to end the summer session two weeks early to let the situation cool off. Schools were reopened in October on the same integrated basis and with officials armed with a temporary restraining order to keep pro-segregation forces from interfering with the operation of schools. The reopening was without incident but with a high rate of absenteeism. In January, 1956, U. S. District Judge Albert L. Reeves in Jonesboro ruled for the Hoxie school board, holding that the U. S. Supreme Court had in effect nullified Arkansas segregation laws. (Sept.,Nov.; Jan., 1955-56--A)

Pompano Beach, Fla.: A rumor that Negro students would attempt to enroll in the high school caused police to throw a barricade around the building. The tense situation eased shortly but the Fort Lauderdale Daily News reported both white and Negro students were carrying concealed weapons. All students driving or riding to school were required to leave their cars and walk the final block through police lines. When no Negro students showed up at the white school, the barricades were removed but police continued to patrol the area. Police Chief James Boggs said his men were not ordered to keep Negro children from the school but to "keep the peace." Later, police said they were investigating reports that a "prominent white man" was encouraging Negroes to enroll in the white school and that if the report could be substantiated the individual would be charged with inciting to riot. (Oct. 1957--A)

Birmingham, Ala.: The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was beaten and threatened with death by an angry mob when he attempted to enroll four Negro children at all-white Phillips High School. Police arrested three white man and battled a dozen more until the Negro minister could escape. Two hours later four Negro men drove by the school and tossed rocks at a window. The next day Phillips was evacuated after a bomb threat which proved to be a hoax. The same day crowds gathered around Phillips, Woodlawn High and Graymont elementary school. Police kept order except for a demonstration at Woodlawn, where the crowd threw rocks at passing cars and busses occupied by Negroes. The three schools were the ones to which eight Negro children had asked admittance. The following day, 76 Negro high school pupils were taken from their bus and questioned by police after rock throwing incidents. Later, one was convicted of throwing a soft drink bottle at a car and sentenced to six months in jail and fined $100, the maximum sentence. Six others were turned over to juvenile authorities. Three white men were charged with assault with intent to murder in the beating of the Negro minister. Shuttlesworth is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a pro-integration group formed in Birmingham. (Sept. 10,11,14, 1957--B)

Wadley, Ala.: An integrated meeting at Southern Union College was broken up by 30 men who threatened that if the Negroes did not leave, "we'll blow up the place." College President Clyde C. Flannery said all those at the meeting were Southerners and members of the Congregational Christian Church, which operates the college. He said there was a widespread belief in town the delegates were to discuss school segregation but that actually

they met to talk about international relations and primarily the menace of Communism. Flannery said he could identify six of the 30 men but would consult his attorney to decide whether legal action should be taken. Apparently, the men were not identified publicly nor was any action brought. (July 22, 1955--C)

Tuscaloosa, Ala.: After a three-year court fight, a young Negro woman, Autherine Lucy, was admitted to the University of Alabama in February, 1956. Friday, February 3, she went to her first class as campus police manned the corridors. That night, a crowd of 1,200 students attracted by a burning cross assembled on University Avenue but after exploding firecrackers, singing"Dixie" and marching through a women's dormitory area, they dispersed. The next night students massed before the Student Union Building. Outsiders were noted, trying to whip the crowd into action. The University News Bureau director said three or four outside groups were in evidence--high school pupils, workers from a nearby plant and members of an extreme pro-segregation group from Birmingham. Monday, a crowd of about 3,000 roamed the campus, jeering and cursing university officials accompanying Miss Lucy and pelting them with eggs, rocks and mud. She was removed from the campus under heavy police escort. With demonstrations reaching uncontrollable proportions, University officials suspended Miss Lucy indefinitely, expressing fear for her life. In mid-February, two Negro brothers were arrested for kicking and beating a University student in what one said was an attempt to "get even" for "the way they treated Miss Lucy." At the end of the month, U. S. District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered she be readmitted. Hours later, the University Board of Trustees expelled her

permanently because of her "outrageous, false and baseless accusations" in allegations that the university had "conspired" in the violent demonstrations which resulted in her temporary suspension. Later, the board announced a student leader in the campus riots had been expelled, four suspended and 25 students disciplined. Judge Grooms denied Miss Lucy's petition to re-enter the university and ruled the expulsion was justified. (March, April, Sept., 1956--A)

Crestwood, Fla.: A crowd of 100 gathered at the Crestwood High School near Eglin Air Force Base when Sheriff Ray Wilson received a call asking protection for Negro children who wanted to enroll. When no Negroes appeared, Wilson said the call apparently was a hoax. He added he would consider any attempts to desegregate the schools as "inciting a riot." (Nov. 1957--A)

Little Rock, Ark.: In September, 1957, the city school board began putting into effect its gradual desegregation program by admitting nine Negro students to Central High School. The result has been told by the press around the world. In brief, on the opening day of school, Sept. 4, the nine Negroes were prevented from entering by state guardsmen under orders of Gov. Orval Faubus, who said he was acting to maintain order. Leter that month a federal court directed that the nine children must be admitted, On Sept. 23, a mob of 1,000 whites cursed, fought and wept outside the school as the nine entered a side door of Central High. By noon, the Negroes were removed for their safety. The next day President Eisenhower ordered the guardsmen federalized and sent a thousand men of the 101st Airborne Division from Camp Cambell, Ky., to Little Rock to rout the mob, and guard the Negro pupils. Since that time, the federal troops have been withdrawn and only a token number of federalized National Guardsmen remained until

the end of the school year. The situation remains uneasy. A hard core of white students operates a systematic campaign of intimidation and coercion aimed both at the Negroes and the white students and teachers who are trying to abide peacefully, and gracefully, by the federal court ruling. The Negro pupils have been spat upon, tripped, called names, pushed downstairs, shoved and kicked. One Negro girl retaliated and was expelled permanently. A white girl was expelled for have attacked a woman vice principal physically and circulating inflamatory cards. She denounced police and the school over a statewide television hook-up paid for by adult segregationists. She was readmitted to Central High. In the city itself there have been numerous instances of intimidation and some businesses have suffered. Central High has been plagued by a rash of bomb scares. Harry Ashmore, executive editor of The Arkansas Gazette, which has fought for law and moderation, summed up the current situation: "This is an intolerable situation....The local people are cowed. They have no support from the city government, strong opposition from the state government, and no support from the Federal Government. What can the decent,law-abiding people do...? Today, the small, militant, bitter minority is in complete control..." (March 23, 1958--K)

North Little Rock, Ark.: Thirty white pupils bombarded Negroes with snowballs near North Little Rock High School, causing an eye injury to a 58-year-old woman. An elderly Negro man fled, crying for help. Police broke up the fracas but made no arrest. One white boy was suspended from classes for four days. North Little Rock's school board planned to start gradual integration this fall but postponed the program indefinitely

after white pupils blocked the attempted entry of several Negroes. (Nov. 23, 1957--B)

Atlanta, Ga.: A crowd of Georgia Tech students demonstrated before the Executive Mansion in protest against Gov. Marvin Griffin's attempt to prevent the Sugar Bowl Football game between Tech and the University of Pittsburgh, because the latter had a Negro player. Another crowd of about 2,500 students marched on the State Capitol and left considerable damage. Three days later, on December 5, the State Board of Regents decided to allow Tech to play in the Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans. (Jan. 1956--A)

Maxton, N. C.: A Klan meeting with robed Klansmen and spectators scrambling for safety broke up as hooting Indians emptied rifles, shotguns and rifles into the meeting field. The Indians were outraged by reports the Klan intended to warm them against "race mixing" and by the burning of two crosses near Indian homes the previous week. Four men were wounded, none seriously. There are about 40,000 whites, 30,000 Lumbee Indians and 25,000 Negroes here in Robeson County. One Klansman was convicted of public drunkeness and carrying a concealed weapon. He was given a suspended sentence upon payment of a fine and court costs. Klan Wizard James Cole of Marion, S.C., leader of the Klan meeting, was sentenced to serve 18 to 24 months in prison for inciting a riot. (Jan. 20, 23, March 14, Jan. 23, 1958--B.C.)

Greensboro, N.C.: For the third time, eggs were tossed at Josephine Boyd, only Negro in Greensboro High School. She also has been the victim of tuants and obscene remarks since entering the school. She was one of six Negroes admitted to Greensboro white schools this year. (Sept. 17, 1957--B)

Tchula, Miss.: Two men accused of favoring "racial mingling" heard a suggestion from their neighbors that they move from this little Mississippi town. About 700 white men and women packed into a high school gym, adopted a resolution expressing the community's "opinion" that Dr. D. R. Minter, a physician who devoted much of his time to helping low income groups, and A. E. Cox, cooperative farm manager, should leave the area. "We don't want a Sumner here," said State Rep.-elect J. T. Love in a reference to the Emmett Till murder trial 55 miles from here. The meeting was called to discuss reports that Minter and Cox favored racial "mingling" and that Negroes and whites went swimming together at Providence Farms, Cox's 2700-acre plantation near here. Mintner said there had been "no mixed swimming to my knowledge" at the cooperative, where four white families and two Negro families lived. He added that neither he nor Cox had any immediate plans for leaving the cooperative. (Since that time, however, both men have left.) (Sept. 29, 1955--C)

Charlotte, N.C.: Dorothy Counts, the first and only Negro student to enroll in white Harding High School, was greeted with insults, tossed pebbles and was spat upon as she registered. The next week the 15-year-old girl again was spat upon and hit by objects thrown by fellow students. An object hurled from a crowd of white youths broke the rear window of her brother's car as he picked her up at the school at noon. By the end of the month, after more taunts and shoves, she left for Philadelphia to attend a private, interracial school. She was one of four Negro pupils assigned to four different white schools for the first time this fall. (Sept. 11--B; Sept. 30, 1957--C)

Anderson, S. C.: Police reported they have had to break up rock fights and other violent actions between youthful groups because of Negro-white friction in the community. (Dec. 1957--A)

Spartanburg, S. C.: The City Council passed an ordinance in November requiring municipal approval for outdoor public meetings. The action came after fights broke out between whites and Negroes during a streed "rock and roll" party sponsored by a local radio station. (Dec. 1957--A)

Nashville, Tenn.: The day before schools were to open under the city's new first-step integration program, the police chief announced he would arrest anyone who tried to intimidate children or parents. The next day, 115 policemen were on guard or on call as 19 Negro 6-year-olds appeared at seven previously all-white schools. Pickets soon appeared, there was some scuffling and the beginnings of a school boycott by white parents. That night there were sporadic racial incidents. Segregationist John Kasper appeared at several schools and spoke to a downtown rally. Then, shortly after midnight, the Hattie Cotton school was dynamited. At dawn, Police Chief Douglas E. Hosse told police detachments, "This has gone beyond a matter of integration. These people have ignored the laws and they have shown no regard for you or any citizen." Police then deployed before the desegregated schools and dealt sternly with any who could not explain their presence. Barricades were errected a block from each school; police kept crowds dispersed and their leaders were arrested. Squad cars transported 19 persons, white and Negro to police headquarters. Kasper was arrested on four charges. By mid-September, attendance in the desegregated schools had returned to normal. As the month ended, there were 11 Negroes attending five formerly all-white schools. (Oct. 1957--A)

Clinton, Tenn.: Following a federal court order, 12 Negro pupils entered Clinton High School with about 800 white students in August, 1956. All the children thus were thrown into a community crisis that probably brought more violence and mob action than any other crisis in the post-school decision South. The Saturday before school opened, John Kasper, who identified himself as executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council from Washington, D. C. arrived in town. For the next several days he seemed perpetually engaged in going from house to house urging school picketing, conducting meetings, or going to or from jail. Meanwhile, mobs and crowds grew daily and violence increased. A Negro boy was chased by a mob and struck repeatedly, two others were rescued by two members of the school football team. Cars of Negro tourists passing through town were attacked, along with local ones. A mob threatened to dynamite the mayor's home; reporters and photographers were attacked; five dynamite blasts were set off in a Negro section of a neighboring community and Negroes in an automobile were fired upon. Police arrested several attackers, a mob demonstrated at the jail. On one occasion the sheriff slipped the Negro students out a back door of the school to keep them from harm. During all this time, heckling and fist fights continued at the school. A Baptist minister who escorted Negro children to school was badly beaten. On Saturday, Sept. 1, city officials declared Clinter in a state of emergency and called on the governor for help. That night, 110 Highway Patrolmen began arriving, to be joined the next day by 600 Tennessee National Guardsmen. By September 11, they had withdrawn. In November, a cheering courtroom greeted the acquittal of John Kapper in

Anderson County criminal court on charges of sedition and inciting to riot, but he still was under appeal bond on a federal conviction for violating an injunction. That month, parents of Negro pupils at Clinton High demanded protection against new racial outbursts at the school. By the following fall, eight Negro students could enter school without a jeer or taunt and join white classmates, while a long policeman guarded the school. John Kasper was sentenced to six-minths in federal prison and six others were placed on probation in a trial in August, 1957, on charges of violating a federal injunction prohibiting interference with peaceful integration at Clinton High. Earlier, Kasper was sentenced to a year in jail for contempt of court. When last seen in Tennessee, Kasper was being escorted to a federal prison in Florida, carrying a copy of "Mein Kampf." (1956-57--A, B, C.)

Rock Hill, S. C.: Police confirmed reports of a clash between about 30 Negroes and a smaller group of whites at the York County Fairgrounds. (Nov. 1957--A)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: At a band concert, white 'teen-agers in a balcony started throwing pop bottled and chairs on Negroes below. Before the melee was over, six persons were in the hospital and 10 persons had been taken to jail. (Jan. 31, 1956--Washington Daily News)

Trenton, Tenn.: About 300 Negroes gathered in the streets late at night and milled about for nearly four hours. Alarmed police called in all off-duty officers and sheriff's deputies and alerted the Tennessee State Patrol. The crowd gathered after hearing police had shot a Negro in the leg while trying to arrest him for drunkenness. Officers said the man fled from three

policemen who had been summoned to a Negro cafe and that in the ensuing struggle when they overtook him he was shot in the leg.

Texarkana, Texas: A crowd of men and boys gathered on the Texarkana Junior College campus early in September when two Negro girls and one Negro boy tried to enroll. Four Texas Rangers were on hand to maintain order. Seven Negro boys were arrested for throwing rocks at a car carrying white youths. During the unrest, an effigy of a Negro was hanged on the campus and a cross burned. A shotgun blast was fired at a filling station owned by a Negro integration leader. U. S. District Judge Joe Sheehy later dismissed a contempt action against two officials of the college after the Negro applicants at the school told the court they did not ask for the suit to be filed. The judge reprimanded an NAACP lawyer. (Oct. 1956--A)

Dallas, Texas: Gunfire and knife fights erupted among some of the 6,000 white and Negro rock 'n roll fans outside an auditorium. Six persons were stabbed or beaten. Three white summer students from North Texas State College at Denton were slashed. Police said the students were attacked by a Negro after an argument. In another case a Negro boy suffered severe stab wounds. A girl also was slashed. Police said a 17-year-old white youth suffered face and eye injuries when he and his companions were accosted by a carload of Negro youths some distance from the auditorium after the show. Three bullet holes were found in the white boy's car. (July 16, 1957--B)

Beaumont, Texas: In September, 1956, for the first time Negroes---26 of them---entered Lamar State College of Technology as a result of a Federal District Court order. During the first week of school, a small group of whites picketed peacefully in protest but by the end of the second week violence and intimidation erupted. A taxi bearing Negro students was reported pushed into a ditch and bottles were thrown at taxis carrying other Negro students. Pickets also began using threats in attempting to recruit white students, but only two joined the protest movement. Cars were stopped at campus entrances, whether driven by Negro or white persons. White students and faculty were jeered by pickets. Then the morning newspaper, the Enterprise, asked in an editorial, "Who is running our city --- the legally constituted authorities or a handful of the fringe of the citizenry?" That day the college president called on the editor and the mayor. By afternoon, the mayor ordered police to stop non-peaceful picketing. They arrested two men and a woman. Pickets then marched peacefully for a few days until they were pulled off by a Citizens Council official from Kilgore. ("College Desegregation Without Popular Support," a field study by Dr. Warren Breed of Tulane University, 1956)

Mansfield, Texas: In the summer of 1956, as the city awaited final court word on integration of Mansfield schools, two crosses were burned in the Negro community, an effigy of a Negro was hung over the main street and a Negro leader reported telephone threats. On Aug. 30, U. S. District Judge Joe Estes ordered Mansfield to admit Negroes to its high school. Mansfield had lost its court effort to prevent integration when both the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court rejected a plea for a one-year

postponement. Three Negro children had been reported ready to register for the 1956-57 term. As the school opened, a crowd estimated at from 200 to 400 gathered in front of the school. Merchants were asked by the protest leaders to cooperate by closing their businesses and appearing at the school. Most, if not all, complied. The sheriff and some of his men joined local police at the school. The second day the crowd hung an effigy of a Negro from the school flagpole. An observer from the Tarrant County district attorney's office was kicked by the mob until rescued by police and a minister was jeered. Vigilante squads stopped all cars coming into town and turned back those suspected of being sympathetic to the Negro cause. Gov. Allan Shivers sent two Texas Rangers to Mansfield with orders to arrest anyone, white or Negro, who threatened the peace. He gave the school board authority to transfer out of the district any student whose presence might prompt a riot. No Negroes appeared at the school to register that fall or the next and those of high school age continued to attend school at nearby Fort Worth Negro junior and senior high schools.
(Sept., Oct. 1956, Sept., 1957--A; various)

CODE

A --- Southern School News

B --- Associated Press

C --- United Press

D --- Chattanooga Times

E --- Atlanta Constitution

F --- The Arkansas Gazette

G --- Montgomery Advertiser

H --- Birmingham News

I --- Wall Street Journal

J --- Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger

K --- New York Times

L --- Jackson (Miss.) State Times

M --- International News Service

N --- Columbus (Ga.) Ledger

O --- Twin City (Winston-Salem) Sentinel

P --- Charlotte Observer

Q --- Orangeburg (S. C.) Times and Democrat

R --- Rock Hill (S. C.) Evening Herald

S --- Washington Post and Times Herals

T --- Winston Salem Journal

U --- Nashville Tennessean

V --- The State (Columbia, S. C.)

W --- Birmingham Post Herald

X --- Delta Democrat-Times

Atlanta, Georgia
January 20, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project for the year ended December 31, 1958.

The following Exhibit and Schedule, with comments, are submitted herewith:

EXHIBIT A - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

SCHEDULE 1 - Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company

COMMENTS

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., acting as coordinator and secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project, agreed to serve as custodian of funds for a joint fact-finding project on Intimidation and Violence. Exhibit A shows the receipts and disbursements of those funds for the year ended December 31, 1958.

Receipts were traced to bank deposits. All disbursements were made by check. The bank balance was confirmed by correspondence with the depository.

Respectfully,

L. E. Campbell

L. E. Campbell, C.P.A.

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1958

RECEIPTS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$ 500.00	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	500.00	
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	500.00	
United Automobile Workers of America	250.00	
Americans Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Regional Office	250.00	
Americans Friends Service Committee, National Office	250.00	
National Council of Churches	300.00	
American Jewish Committee	250.00	
Total Receipts		$ 2,800.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary, Project Director	$ 772.50	
Salary, Special Clerical Assistant	151.15	
Travel	215.99	
Supplies	104.66	
Social Security Taxes	20.77	
Telephone and Telegraph	13.92	
Postage	17.17	
Office Expense	20.00	
Total Disbursements		1,316.16
Balance, December 31, 1958		$ 1,483.84

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Reconciliation--Citizens Trust Company

December 31, 1958

Balance per bank and per books	$ 1,483.84

SCHEDULE 1

rec'd

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

March 24, 1959

To: Mr. Tartt Bell
Mr. Will Campbell
Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mr. William Oliver
Mr. Charles Wittenstein

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Re: Publication of Report on Violence, Intimidation and Reprisal.

It was the consensus of the participating groups that we should proceed with the printing of the above report under the joint imprint of the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council.

Accordingly, the manuscript was put into the hands of the printer; galley proofs should be ready by next Monday. The report has been updated to January 1, 1959.

The total amount of project funds remaining is $1,426.59. (A 1958 audit is attached.) The proposed printing of 4,000 copies will cost $1,450, which will more than exhaust the balance. Postage, promotion, and whatever other expenditures we decide upon will have to be met otherwise — unless we get enough advance orders to lower the unit cost substantially.

If 500 copies are set aside for promotion and publicity, and the rest are evenly divided among us, each agency will get 500 copies. SRC is considering ordering additional copies on its own hook. If you are also interested, let me know as soon as you conveniently can, so that we can get the financial benefit of as large an initial printing as possible.

We will have a very few extra sets of galley proofs for non-participating agencies that may want to place orders. Your help on this is also solicited.

P. S. (To Will Campbell and Tartt Bell): Attached is a draft of a news release. Please give it the benefit of your scrutiny and whatever else is necessary for agency approval. We probably should confer about publicity and promotion before the booklet is released.

H.C.F.

NEWS RELEASE

In the past four years, the South has experienced widespread erosion of individual liberties, a report released today asserted.

It listed 531 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959.

The report was issued jointly by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches and the Southern Regional Council.

The cases were drawn from the general press of the nation and in large part from Southern newspapers. The list was confined to occurrences attributable to the increased racial tensions of the past few years. Crimes which are part of continuing social and legal problems were not used.

The sponsoring agencies emphasized that while the report dealt only with the angry, violent reactions to the desegregation decisions, another account could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both whites and Negroes.

However, it was added, "We feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record--dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility."

The record, cited as evidence of the deterioriation of law and order in the South since the 1954-55 school

Sent to Will Campbell & Tartt Bell
3/24/59 re: Report of Violence...

desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, includes:

6 Negroes killed.

29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents.

44 persons beaten.

5 stabbed.

1 Negro emasculated.

30 bombings of houses (in one of these incidents, at Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast); attempted blasting of 5 other homes.

15 homes struck by gunfire and 7 homes stoned.

4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga, and Clinton, Tennessee.

2 conspiracies to bomb schools, in Charlotte and Clinton.

7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another church.

1 church burned, in Memphis, and another church stoned.

4 synagogues or Jewish centers bombed, in Miami, Jacksonville, Nashville, and Atlanta.

3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham and Charlotte.

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited.

2 schools burned.

Also, at least 20 towns and cities in the South were threatened in varying degree by mob action.

In all, the violence section of the report listed 226 acts against individual liberties and public peace. Included were the widely publicized incidents involving the appearance

of Negroes at formerly white schools and colleges -- the stories of Little Rock; the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas. Here, too, the Klan-Indian fight at Maxton, N.C., and the multiple attacks on Koinonia Farm in Georgia were recounted.

The section dealing with reprisals covered 95 cases. It was pointed out that this figure, as well as the overall total of 531 cases, could not tell the whole story for some of the instances counted as a single item involved untold hundreds of men and women. For example, listed as one item were the voting purges of Louisiana, where names of thousands of Negroes were removed from registration lists.

Also, city-wide protest movements were counted as units. These include the stories of the bus boycott in Montgomery; economic protest movements in Tallahassee; Tuskegee, Ala., and Orangeburg and Rock Hill, South Carolina.

On a more widespread practice, the report commented:

"Some Southerners since 1954 have elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has deprived Negroes and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses."

The 210 instances of intimidation include mail and telephone threats, and at least some of the rash of bomb

scares, Klan meetings and cross burnings. They range also from the arrest of Negro ministers in Alabama to police detention of a white Methodist minister who lectured on peaceful means to attain civil rights. Negroes seeking their rights under law and some white persons who have voiced their support of this Negro move for legal equality; churches; ministers, priests and rabbis; Negroes who have bought homes in predominantly white neighborhoods--all were among the victims.

The report said that while there have been men and women across the South who have expressed anger and disapproval over the intimidation, "too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced."

:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

June 10, 1959

To: Mrs. Ruby Hurley
B. Tartt Bell
Arthur J. Levin
Charles Wittenstein
William H. Oliver
Will D. Campbell

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: RELEASE OF VIOLENCE REPORT

:

Inconceivable as it seems, the joint report on violence, intimidation, and reprisal is in print, copy enclosed. If your copies (500 each) haven't reached you yet, they should shortly; the printer was instructed to deliver or mail direct.

Also enclosed is the news release for next Monday morning papers, which we are distributing to the wire services, major dailies, news magazines, and so on. This is the release agreed upon by the three publishing agencies.

In addition to the pro-rata share of 500 copies each, SRC printed at its own expense another 1,000 copies from which we can fill any quantity or individual orders that arise.

Once the public release is out of the way, we should coordinate our plans for promotional mailings, transmission to government agencies, and the like. Let me have your ideas.

Best regards.

:

File copy

NEWS RELEASE

FOR MORNING PAPERS
MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1959

Southeastern Office
American Friends Service Committee
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JA. 2-8764

In the past four years, the South has experienced widespread erosion of individual liberties, a report released today asserted.

It listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959.

The report was issued jointly by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council.

The cases were drawn from the general press of the nation and in large part from Southern newspapers. The list was confined to occurrences attributable to the increased racial tensions of the past few years. Crimes which are part of other continuing social and legal problems were not used.

The sponsoring agencies emphasized that while the report dealt only with the angry, violent reactions to the desegregation decisions, another account could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both whites and Negroes.

However, it was added, "We feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record--dangers for

which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility."

The record, cited as evidence of the deterioration of law and order in the South since the 1954-55 school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, includes:

6 Negroes killed;

29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents;

44 persons beaten;

5 stabbed;

1 Negro emasculated;

30 bombings of houses (in one of these incidents, at Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast); attempted blasting of 5 other homes;

15 homes struck by gunfire and 7 homes stoned;

4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tennessee;

2 conspiracies to bomb schools, in Charlotte and Clinton;

7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another church;

1 church burned, in Memphis, and another church stoned;

4 synagogues or Jewish centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta;

3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham, and Charlotte;

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited;

2 schools burned.

Also, at least 17 towns and cities in the South were threatened in varying degree by mob action.

In all, the violence section of the report listed 225 acts against individual liberties and public peace. Included were the widely publicized incidents involving the appearance of Negroes at formerly white schools and colleges--the stories of Little Rock; the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas. Here, too, the Klan-Indian fight at Maxton, N. C., and the multiple attacks on Koinonia Farm in Georgia were recounted.

The section dealing with reprisals covered 95 cases. It was pointed out that this figure, as well as the overall total of 530 cases, could not tell the whole story, for some of the instances counted as a single item involved hundreds of men and women. For example, listed as one item were the voting purges of Louisiana, where names of thousands of Negroes were removed from registration lists.

Also, city-wide protest movements were counted as units. These include the stories of bus boycott in Montgomery; economic protest movements in Tallahassee; Tuskegee, Ala., and Orangeburg and Rock Hill, S. C.

On a more widespread practice, the report commented:

"Some Southerners since 1954 have elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has

deprived Negroes and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses."

The 210 instances of intimidation include mail and telephone threats, and at least some of the rash of bomb scares, Klan meetings and cross burnings. They range also from the arrest of Negro ministers in Alabama to police detention of a white Methodist minister who lectured on peaceful means to attain civil rights. Negroes seeking their rights under law and some white persons who have voiced their support of this move for legal equality; churches; ministers, priests and rabbis; Negroes who have bought homes in predominantly white neighborhoods--all were among the victims.

The report said that while there have been men and women across the South who have expressed anger and disapproval over the intimidation, "too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced."

-END-

Intimidation Reprisal and Violence

in the South's Racial Crisis

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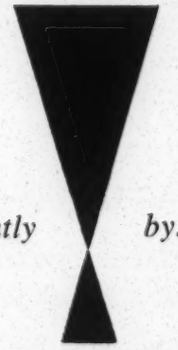

Published Jointly by:

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
1818 South Main Street, High Point, N. C.

DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

introduction

This is a report of racial violence, reprisal and intimidation in eleven Southern states from Jan. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1959. Altogether, 530 cases, taken from the general press of the South and the nation, are listed.

They are evidence of the deterioration of law and order within the South since the school desegregation decisions of 1954 and 1955 by the Supreme Court of the United States.

They are reports of actions taken by private groups and individuals, and sometimes by mobs, who have wielded violence and economic power in a bitter and defiant protest against a new order of race relations.

Resistance groups, typified by the White Citizens Council born in Mississippi in 1954, have spread across the South. By 1956 they had an estimated 300,000 members. Their characteristic tactics have been economic pressure, propaganda and lobbying.

Other groups, such as a revivified but disjointed Ku Klux Klan, and some extremist off-shoots of the Citizens Councils, have advocated and participated in cruder methods of intimidation. Gunpowder and dynamite, parades and cross burnings, anonymous telephone calls, beatings and threats have been the marks of their trade. These attacks have been directed not only at Negroes, but at some white persons who have strayed from local customs. Also, overt anti-semitism flared, and synagogues have been attacked.

This record is one aspect, and the ugliest, of the intolerance of dissent, the dedication to conformity which has pervaded the South these last few years. It points to a widespread erosion of individual liberties. Although the political leaders of Southern states have declared their opposition to lawlessness, one may fairly ask whether legislative and executive policies of evasion and defiance of decisions of the federal courts have not set an example whose contagion is uncontrollable. A prominent lawyer and civic leader, Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, N. C., has said:

> Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence such as this. They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condemn. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law—that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects the life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

This report classifies and numbers the losses of civil liberties. It cannot show the coincident erosion of patience, of good nature, of relaxed social atmosphere. It recounts 530 cases. One tells of the school bombing in Clinton, Tenn., another of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., a third of Little Rock. These stories are known by all the world, but there are 527 others within the time-span of this record. Though most have been less publicized, in their cumulative force they are just as indicative of the weakness of discipline and the strength of lawlessness menacing the South today.

The list is derived from the pages of the general press of the country. Other reports, however reliable the source, have not been used. The list is confined to occurrences attributable to increased racial tensions after the Supreme Court's school decisions; other cases of alleged or proven murder, rape, theft, juvenile delinquency and police brutality, that are part of a general social problem, have not been included.

An alphabetical system is used to denote the source of each item; a key, giving the names of the newspapers and wire services, is at the end of the report. The date given for each item is that of publication; the event may have occurred on an earlier day. One periodical, *Southern School News,* is issued monthly, and therefore only the month is noted for items taken from it. In two instances, field studies of academic researchers have been drawn on for details.

Finally, this is not a comprehensive survey of Southern reactions to the desegregation decision. It describes only their angry, violent side. Another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both Negroes and whites. Though this aspect of the South is not in view in the report, it is an authentic and undimmed face of the South, to which each of the sponsoring agencies has paid tribute more than once. But we feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record that follows—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility.

PART ONE | INTIMIDATION

There is a Southern tradition which equates "preserving order" with "keeping the Negro in his place." During Reconstruction and for many years afterwards, it was almost the "law of the land" in the region. Even respectable people could believe in it, though usually its enforcement was delegated to men lower in the social structure. The "law" is no longer so openly proclaimed, but neither has it been finally repealed. And though respectable Southerners do not actively encourage its enforcement, too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced in it. However, throughout the South, others have shown anger and disapproval over the intimidation of Negroes.

In any event, intimidation has continued. The old methods have had, however, a new refinement. Roving troublemakers have appeared, perhaps an expected development in this age of specialization. This group has included even a few inverted carpetbaggers, of whom John Kasper has been the most notorious.

During his period, there has been a growing number of bomb threats, particularly to schools and other public institutions. Police have been called to search an untold number of buildings throughout the South, usually without finding any trace of a bomb. A sampling of these threats is included in this report. Those without any obvious racial connotation, even though they may stem from the climate of defiance, have been eliminated.

The Ku Klux Klan, dormant for years, has made disorganized efforts at revival. It has been badly led, often merely ridiculous and ludicrous in its actions; it has been unpopular and unwelcome in most communities. Nevertheless, its very recklessness earns it the distinction of being taken seriously. In April 1958 the Anti-Defamation League estimated the membership of the U.S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Eldon Edwards of Atlanta, at between 12,000 and 15,000; the North Carolina Klan was thought to have between 2,000 and 5,000 members, and each of the seven other Klan organizations not more than 1,500. The ADL said the South has responded to them with "intense hostility" and aversion, but added that, "as a breeder of violence and an incitement to the worst criminal elements in society, the KKK is not to be dismissed or taken lightly." The Klan of the 1950's has obstacles which did not exist in earlier years. Several states have anti-mask laws (sometimes Klansmen now wear dark-rimmed eyeglasses without lenses along with their robes and hoods), and many towns and cities enforce against it their ordinances regulating demonstrations and incitement to riot.

The question arises whether a mere Klan meeting comes within the scope of this report, for it is impossible to assess the degree of implied intimidation in an ostensibly peaceful gathering. Some meetings are listed where a note of intimidation seems clear, where something out of the ordinary occurred or a particularly inflammatory statement was made. For the rest, a quick sampling gives an idea of the scope of the Klan.

In Florida, at least 1,000 attended a Klan meeting near Jacksonville in September 1956, jamming suburban traffic for hours; the same month, Klan leaflets were distributed at Tarpon Springs on the west coast, where tension existed over reports that Negroes planned to use a beach. In February 1957, about 4,000 gathered at a private ranch outside Gainesville and heard one hooded speaker declare, "We are not a violence organization. But we are not a social club, either. We are not pussy-footing around." In August 1957, Klansmen paraded at a downtown theater in Jacksonville protesting showing of the movie, "Island in The Sun," starring white and Negro actors. (A,G)

At Stone Mountain, Ga., long-time Klan meeting place outside Atlanta, an estimated 1,200 cars brought KKK members from five states for a rally in September 1956. The same month about 300 members gathered in Macon. In November, about 3,500 persons again met at Stone Mountain, with the leader angered by the refusal of Atlanta police to provide an escort. About the same time, the mayor of Savannah denied the Klan use of the city park. In December 1956, a "gigantic" rally brought only 40 Klansmen from four states to Columbus, where 50 city policemen turned them away from the baseball park; by the time they moved to a vacant lot to burn a cross, only three Klansmen were on hand and they had to saw the cross to a size they could handle, while amused spectators watched. Knights of the KKK met at Warner Robins, near Macon. Maj. Gen. A.V.P. Anderson, commander of nearby Warner Robins Air Materiel Area, had warned earlier that the Air Force would initiate "additional security investigation" of any Robins AFB personnel identified as members of any Klan group. (A,E,D)

In Ozark, Ala., the city council on Dec. 13, 1957, refused to let the KKK use the city park for an organizational meeting. Mayor Douglas Brown said, "We haven't had any trouble with the Negroes and the people here all get along. We hope we can get by without trouble if we don't have a Klan or a White Citizens Council." The Klan had earlier appeared in Tuscaloosa, scene of mob rioting when Miss Autherine Lucy enrolled at the University of Alabama in February 1956. Hooded men paraded the streets the next month, and in April about 75 burned a cross six miles from town. (A, B)

The Klan also turned up again in North and South Carolina. Many in those states thought the KKK had been stamped out between May 1952 and December 1954, after its activities in southeastern North Carolina and northeastern South Carolina which resulted in the prosecution of 101 persons in flogging and kidnapping cases. (B).

Nevertheless, in October 1956 a "motley crowd of nearly 1,000 gathered, some out of curiosity" to watch for the first time a Klan meeting in Concord, N. C., according to

the *Charlotte Observer*. The sheriff and his 15 deputies were on guard. In December, about 300 attended a Klan meeting in Greensboro to hear a speaker standing on a flatbed truck with no license plates. At Statesville, a Klan "wizard" received only scattered applause and some heckling from a group of young people in August 1957. (C, O)

KKK activity began again in the eastern part of South Carolina in August 1955, with a small group burning a cross in Florence County and about 1,000 converging at Manning. The following February, the first public Klan rally at Orangeburg in many years began with a motorcade of about 55 robed figures. In mid-June, some 1,000 attended a meeting staged by 75 robed Klansmen in the up-country area between Greenville and Pickens. The next month, hooded and masked Klansmen sought $3.00 memberships from a crowd of 2,000 at Camden and claimed they signed up 800. In September, at least three Klan meetings were held—at Dillon, Gaffney, and near Hartsville. The largest Klan rally in South Carolina in years was held in Spartanburg in October; a *Greenville News* reporter estimated the crowd at from 6,000 to 10,000. That month smaller meetings were held near Pomaria and Rock Hill. In January 1958, more than 200 robed Klansmen formed a human cross on the Statehouse steps to advertise a rally. (A,Q,B)

In April 1957, approximately 1,500 gathered, about 500 in white robes, in Cleveland, Tennessee, for a rally of the Knights of the KKK. Speakers denounced both Negroes and Jews. (A)

Following is a list of additional meetings and action by resistance groups, telephone and mail threats and other instances of intimidation. The list, including the 27 Klan meetings mentioned above and those which follow, add up to a total of at least 210 instances. (In some cases an individual may have been threatened more than once but this is counted as a single instance.)

ALABAMA

Montgomery, Ala.: Two effigies were hanged in the court square, one representing a Negro labeled "NAACP" and the other a white man tagged "I talked for integration." Police and several hundred spectators milled around the gallows. (August 5, 1956-M)

Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Angry white men watching a Ku Klux Klan rally caught a Negro man and tossed him in the air "like a baby," Police Captain J. P. West said. Another Negro told police he was injured by one of the robed Klansmen. During the program about 25 Negroes approached the rear of a burning cross and shouted profanity, witnesses said. Unrobed white men chased them. State Sen. Albert Davis of Pickens County was applauded loudly when he said, "Give me segregation or give me death." (August 26, 1956—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: John Kasper, jailed for his part in the Clinton, Tennessee, race riots, applauded the appearance of Ku Klux Klansmen at a Citizens Council rally and said, "We need all the rabble rousers we can get." Kasper told the rally of about 500 persons that pro-segregation groups must use every means available to stop integration and said, "We want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it." (September 13, 1956—C)

Mobile, Ala.: About 100 robed Klansmen burned a cross on the property of Mrs. Dorothy DaPonte, wealthy Mobile widow. Mrs. DaPonte had tried unsuccessfully to enter a 12-year-old Negro girl, whom she raised and had been educating in Europe, into a white school. (September 18, 1956—C)

Montgomery, Ala.: About 1,200 attended a Klan rally and heard one speaker accuse "Catholics, Jews, Communists, Negroes and Northern agitators" of threatening the "destruction of the white heritage." Following the rally the Montgomery Ministerial Association passed a resolution registering "disapproval of undisciplined and intolerant remarks and acts at public meetings at which different groups of our citizenry, including religious groups, are slanderously set upon as targets for hatred and violence." (October 1956—A)

Montgomery, Ala.: About 1,000 persons, some 350 in robes, attended a KKK rally. Explosion of a firecracker started a stampede in an unsuccessful effort to catch the person who set it off; after a second explosion, one youth was searched roughly, but unsuccessfully. Alvin Horn, grand dragon of the Alabama Klan, told the crowd the way he felt about Negroes "who want to integrate is this: they don't want an education, they want a funeral." Earlier in the day about 100 robed klansmen walked up and down Dexter Avenue; city authorities had refused permission for a Klan parade. (November 25, 1956—B)

Opelika, Ala.: A cross was burned in front of the home of the Rev. W. F. Wagner, white Baptist minister, after his church admitted a Negro high school group to hear the church's presentation of "The Messiah." (January 1957—A)

Montgomery, Ala.: The FBI disclosed that a cross was burned on a federal judge's lawn the night Montgomery city buses were integrated on a court order the judge signed. Two boys, 16 and 17, whom the FBI declined to identify were charged with the cross burning on the lawn of U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. Fred Hallford, FBI agent in Mobile, announced that the boys were charged with obstruction of justice by trying to intimidate a federal judge in the discharge of his duties. (Jan. 28, 1957—B)

Mobile, Ala.: White college students at Spring Hill College, a Jesuit school, disbanded a group attempting to set fire to a cross in front of a dormitory. The Catholic college opened its doors to Negroes three years ago and now has about 40 in the student body. (February 1957—A)

Tuscaloosa, Ala.: A group of about 70 robed Klansmen gathered at the Methodist Student Center to protest against a meeting called to discuss racial relations. Gathered inside were members of the Open Forum, a faculty-student group at the University of Alabama, to discuss "The Impact of Segregation on the South." Two months later Klansmen again gathered outside a church-owned student center where members of the Open Forum had assembled to discuss "Academic Freedom." The University group was meeting at Canterbury Chapel, an Episcopal student center adjoining the campus. Following the first Klan demonstration, the University Student Legislature recalled the charter of Open Forum. (March 14—B; May 10, 1957—G)

Sylacauga, Ala.: The Rev. Dan Whitsett reported a death threat was made against the family of a young minister who kicked over a KKK cross. Crosses were burned near the First Methodist Church, of which Whitsett is

pastor, and the First Baptist Church as Klansmen rallied at the high school football stadium. Whitsett, who was out of town, said the Rev. Newton Maloney, his associate pastor, kicked over the cross and stood briefly in front of a car occupied by Klansmen. Later, Mrs. Maloney received a telephone call and heard a man warn that unless the Maloneys and Whitsetts were out of town in 10 days "your house and your child will be blown to bits." Whitsett speculated that the Baptist church was a target because of the recent Southern Baptist Convention stand for elimination of racial barriers among its churches. Whitsett's endorsement of moderation in race relations has made him a frequent subject for KKK criticism and his family has received a number of threatening telephone calls. (June 9, 1957—B)

Pratt City, Ala.: A cross was burned in front of a fireman's house. Police said the cross was found at the new home of Daryel H. Leatherwood. Leatherwood advertised his old home as being in a Negro neighborhood, neighbors said, after he had been unable to sell it to a white purchaser. (July 20, 1957—W)

Montgomery, Ala.: A legislator said he had reliable information that some white planters in Alabama held Negroes in bondage by paying them with welfare funds. State Sen. George Little of Barbour County said he had been told at least three big landowners encouraged unwed Negro mothers to qualify for aid to dependent children, threatening at the same time to have the payments stopped unless their families continued working. Little said the practice amounted to "peonage, pure and simple." He added that the landowners paid "little or no wages." State welfare authorities said there was no legal way a landowner could have a tenant cut off the welfare rolls unless he could show the Negroes refused to accept suitable work. But Little said an influential plantation owner could "get around that by claiming the Negroes refused to work or that they stay drunk." (Aug. 8, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Three of nine Negro families who signed a petition requesting integration of Birmingham schools reported they have been receiving threatening telephone calls. Another Negro, who said he had nothing to do with the petition, said he and his wife also had been threatened. (August 26, 1957—B)

Mobile, Ala.: A five-foot cross was burned beside Alba High School in Bayou La Batre, a fishing community near the Gulf. No Negroes had tried to enter the school. It was the third such incident in a week at Mobile County schools. Earlier, a small cross was burned on the campus of Vigor High School and a similar one was burned at the entrance to Murphy High School. (Oct. 2, 1957—B)

Mobile, Ala.: Seven crosses, planted in different sections of the city, were burned in Mobile within an hour. Most were near Negro homes. (Oct. 25, 1957—B)

Prattville, Ala.: Six crosses have been burned in the Negro section. As a result, reporters found some Negroes who said they felt their lives were in danger and had armed themselves with shotguns. (October 27, 1957—G)

Birmingham, Ala.: The KKK demonstrated throughout Jefferson county and distributed pamphlets calling on white employers to discharge all Negroes and warning businessmen that the Klan would boycott them if they continued to employ Negroes. (November 15, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Crosses were burned at 18 all-white schools the week-end before the beginning of the fall term. Police said the cross burnings apparently were well organized; all were set afire at about the same time. Although a school integration suit was pending before the Supreme Court of the United States, there had been no official reports of planned attempts to enroll Negro children in white schools. (Sept. 2, 1958—Y)

Montgomery, Ala.: The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. accused police of brutality after he was arrested on a charge of loitering. The Negro leader of the local bus boycott was jailed for 15 minutes after two officers said he had refused to move when they ordered a crowd to disperse. King was allowed to sign a $100 bond for his release. He said police had "tried to break my arm. They grabbed my collar and tried to choke me, and when they got me to the cell, they kicked me in." Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers denied this and said the minister was "treated as anyone else would be." The commissioner, a member of the pro-segregation Citizens Council, described the minister's charge as "just the kind of statement I would expect from King." The minister was arrested at the courtroom entrance at City Hall where he had gone to attend a hearing for a Negro accused of attacking the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, an integration leader. The courtroom was filled and King, with about 50 other Negroes, waited on a sidewalk outside. Two days after the arrest, King was fined $14 for refusing to obey a police officer. When he refused to pay the fine, Sellers paid it so the defendant would not go to jail a "martyr." (Sept. 3-5, 1958—B)

Mobile, Ala.: A fourth arrest has grown out of a cross-burning in front of the home of a Mobile minister who was one of a group urging bus integration. Three other men were arrested earlier. Sheriff Ray D. Bridges said the fourth man arrested was a Klansman. (Oct. 1, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Three Montgomery Negro ministers, who were leaders in the bus boycott in their home city, were arrested after visiting at the home of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister of Birmingham. They were arrested for vagrancy, questioned and later released without charge. The Montgomery ministers were identified as the Rev. S. S. Seay, executive secretary of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Rev. A. W. Wilson and the Rev. H. H. Hubbard. Following their arrest, Public Safety Commissioner Eugene Connor warned that "outside agitators coming to our city and dabbling in our affairs" face arrest. (Oct. 28, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers asked a Federal Grand Jury in Birmingham to investigate the arrest of three Negro ministers on vagrancy charges. (See above.) Rogers told a news conference he had ordered the United States Attorney to present known facts to the jury and to ask that it make a vigorous investigation of its own after Birmingham's Police Commissioner Eugene Connor had refused to discuss the incident with the FBI. (Nov. 14, 1958—S)

Birmingham, Ala.: After being held for five days, two ministers were handed jail terms and 12 other Negroes suspended sentences for violating Birmingham's bus seating law. Recorders Court Judge William Conway sentenced the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth to 90 days and fined him $100. The Rev. J. S. Phifer was given 60 days and fined the same amount. The Negroes were charged with violating a new ordinance adopted in an effort to preserve segregated buses in Birmingham. It authorized bus drivers to tell passengers where to sit and replaced the old ordinance

requiring segregated seating. Later, Birmingham Circuit Court Judge George Lewis Bailes upheld the bus-seating law in affirming the convictions. The Negroes gave notice of further appeal. (Oct. 28, Dec. 3, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: A Negro minister was arrested and charged with urging a bus boycott. The Rev. Calvin W. Woods, pastor of the East End Baptist Church, was released several hours later under $500 bond. Another Negro previously arrested was fined $1,000 and sentenced to six months in jail after he was convicted of distributing boycott literature. The Negro, John Harvey Kelly, gave notice of appeal. (Nov. 25, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: A white Methodist minister charged that Birmingham police detained him against his will, fingerprinted him, photographed him and took personal papers from him without a warrant. The Rev. Glenn Smiley, field secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made his charges in Nyack, N. Y. He said he had conducted several workshops for Negro groups in connection with the Montgomery bus boycott and had been invited to Birmingham to lecture before the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. He added that he had lectured Birmingham Negroes on previous trips on how to resist segregation without violence. Birmingham Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene (Bull) Connor confirmed that Smiley had been questioned, fingerprinted and photographed and commented: "I've said before and I repeat, we're not going to stand for anybody, white or black, coming into this city and stirring up trouble between our people by trying to create a boycott." The minister said Police Capt. George Pattie and an unidentified detective called on him Dec. 14 at his room in the Redmont Hotel. He said Pattie insisted that he go with him to a police station, although the minister demanded a warrant. Smiley quoted Pattie as saying, "We will use whatever force necessary to see your file." He said the police refused to allow him to call a lawyer. The minister said the officers took several letters from a file he kept in a suitcase and later photostated them. The letters were returned to him. Smiley said he was questioned for about two hours. He said he had reported the incident to the FBI. (Dec. 21, 1958—B)

ARKANSAS

Jonesboro, Ark.: At a hearing on the Hoxie school integration case (see Violence), a Negro told of threats. Clarence Braxton, 73, testified he sent his son Joseph, 16 to Pasco, Washington, to live because he had received a letter which contained a clipping on the Emmett Till slaying in Mississippi and a note which said, "Your boy can get the same thing." The son had been enrolled in the Hoxie schools. (January 1956—A)

Little Rock, Ark.: A cross was burned October 27 at the home of Mrs. L. C. Bates, state NAACP president. Mrs. Bates received several anonymous telephone calls during the day. Another cross had been burned at her home October 11. (December 1957—A)

FLORIDA

Lakeland, Fla.: As Klansmen burned a large cross and vowed to maintain segregation, a few miles away a Negro church offered prayers for them. (July 21, 1956—B)

Miami, Fla.: Four members of the Seaboard Citizens Council who tried to burn a cross on the lawn of a Negro living in a white Miami neighborhood were found guilty of unlawful assembly and intimidation. Municipal Court Judge Mitchell Goldman told them, "This is a heinous offense. Certainly we get enough trouble in this world without having something like this. You gentlemen have struck at the basis of our democracy." Three were sentenced to 60 days and fined $500 on each of two charges; the fourth was given a suspended 30 day sentence and fined $100. All appealed. (March 7, 1957—B)

Miami, Fla.: Six white persons were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct for marching in front of the home of Frank Legree, a Negro entertainer who lives in an all white section. They carried signs saying "We intend to keep this neighborhood white," and "Did Clinton get too hot for you?" Several protest meetings had been held since the Legrees moved into the section. (March 24, 1957—B)

Bradenton, Fla.: The KKK asked permission for a motorcade through the city; Bradenton police agreed only if Klansmen remained unmasked, stayed out of the Negro area, and passed through the city quickly. However, Sheriff Roy Baden provided an escort for the parade and his men were at the head of the line as it passed through the Negro section. After an investigation, Gov. LeRoy Collins wired Baden, "Your conduct and that of your deputies cannot be approved or condoned. Your actions gave the appearance of 'shepherding or leading the parade' and granted to it the apparent sanction of the law." The governor said the KKK is "a symbol for intolerance, to riot and disorder . . . . law enforcement officers should prohibit to the utmost of their authority demonstrations by this organization." (April 1958—A)

St. Petersburg, Fla.: A cross was burned near the city-owned Spa Beach. It was closed after eight Negro college students swam there. It was the first time Negroes had taken advantage of a Federal Court decision the previous year which officially desegregated the beach. City Manager Ross Windom closed the beach in accordance with a prearranged plan. (June 7, 1958—Y)

Tampa, Fla.: Negro students were evacuated from Blake High School because of a bomb threat, the second such incident in Tampa in a week. Police found no sign of a bomb. (Nov. 8, 1958—Y)

Miami, Fla.: Anonymous callers threatened four more Miami area establishments with bombings. The new threats, to a Roman Catholic church, two Miami Beach hotels and a restaurant which serves Negroes at the back door, brought to eight the number of establishments receiving bombing threats in a two day period. Two Protestant churches, which had been visited by uninvited Negroes, a Catholic church and a Catholic hospital were threatened the previous day. (Nov. 19, 1958—Y)

GEORGIA

Atlanta, Ga.: Police reported a Negro family living in a white section received a threatening letter; it contained a newspaper clipping showing the picture of a home damaged by dynamite and the notation in red ink, "take warning from this." The family had rented an apartment in a vacant building between white residences. (March 30, 1956—E)

Summerville, Ga.: About 100 cars bearing license plates from Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama moved through the city, past a section of Negro homes and to the nearby county fairgrounds for a rally. One robed participant in the parade displayed a breeched shotgun. (November 20, 1956—B)

Gray, Ga.: The local theater manager was threatened with a Klan visit because he allowed Negroes to sit in the balcony on a segregated basis. Later, Klansmen from neighboring Bibb County rode down the main street. They denied any connection between the threats and the night ride, declaring the group was only advertising a future rally. (July 8, 1957—N)

Atlanta, Ga.: Two crosses were burned in front of Negro homes, and gasoline was burned in the street in front of one during October. (October 14, 1957—E)

Atlanta, Ga.: A total of 11 bomb threats aimed at six schools and one against Grady Hospital were among those reported to police. In each case, a search was made but no bombs were found. At the height of the bomb threats, however, officers did find a dynamite cache in a suburban area about 10 miles from the synagogue which was bombed Oct. 12. (Oct. 25, 27, 1958—Atlanta Journal, B)

LOUISIANA

New Orleans, La.: Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia was the main speaker at a Citizens Council rally in Pelican Park May 17. An audience of 4,000 heard speakers attack the Supreme Court, Urban League, the "soft on integration" policies of Louisiana State University and Catholic Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans. Shortly after the rally a wooden cross was burned outside the Archbishop's residence. (June 1956—A)

New Orleans, La.: A Catholic priest, the Rev. Eugene McManus, was threatened after he appeared as a speaker at a meeting on integration. An anonymous caller threatened "to get" the priest and used "unprintable language." (March 22, 1956—M)

New Orleans, La.: A cross was burned on the lawn of U.S. District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright, who signed orders to end segregation on New Orleans buses. The incident occurred during the first hours the bus integration order went into effect. Judge Wright attributed the incident to "just someone looking for publicity" but said that, "I figured it had to be a Ku Klux Klan thing. It wasn't done by an amateur." (May 31, 1958—B)

New Orleans, La: A 23-year-old white draftsman, Elster Besselle, Jr., was convicted of assault in the first racial incident reported since court-ordered integration began on the city's transit system two weeks previously. Municipal Court Judge Andrew G. Bucaro ruled that Besselle was guilty of pushing a Negro woman out of the seat when she sat down beside him on a bus. She had said he pushed her from the seat and tried to strike her. The man testified he brushed against her accidentally and denied that he tried to strike her. The judge said he doubted that the incident was an outgrowth of the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation on city transportation. He said he doubted that Besselle tried to hurt the woman, "but I have no doubt he intended to push her out of the seat." (June 14, 1958—B)

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson, Miss.: W. D. Mangrum, a Jackson Negro, reported that several white boys tossed a stone through the windshield of his car on September 14, believing it to be the car of a Negro editor. (September 15, 1955—J)

Jackson, Miss.: A crudely made cross was burned in front of a Catholic Church, Christ the King. The Rev. P. H. Boer, pastor, learning of it later, commented, "That's the way they operate; they haven't got the guts to come out in the open and do it." He said the burning may have been because of a Negro school the church operates on the rear of its property. Several years before rotten eggs were thrown at the church entrance. (March 26, 1957—L)

NORTH CAROLINA

Montgomery County, N. C.: Elsie Horn, who with six others withdrew from a suit against the Montgomery County Board of Education, said she had been asked if she would like it if she sent her "kids to a white school and they came up missing or didn't come back at all." (October 13, 1955—T)

Greensboro, N. C.: The Rev. Julius T. Douglas, who heads an organization which offered defense for six Negroes charged with trespassing on Gillespie Park Golf Course, said he was informed indirectly his home would be bombed. "The lady next door received an anonymous call saying that she should get out because my house was going to be bombed during the night," he related. (December 21, 1955—B)

Hillsboro, N. C.: A cross was burned before a home in which Dr. Frank Graham, special United Nations representative and former president of the University of North Carolina, was visiting. A 25-year-old student was arrested and paid a $10.00 fine. (February 1957—A, March 1957—A)

Raleigh, N. C.: Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Holt Sr., parents of a Negro youth seeking admission to an all-white high school, received telephone threats their home would be bombed "if you don't quit sending messages to the school board," the *Raleigh Times* reported. Letters containing veiled threats were sent the Raleigh School Board and Holt and were signed, "Executive Committee, Wake County Patriots of North Carolina," according to the *Raleigh News and Observer*. The Patriots were formed in 1955 to maintain "the purity and culture of the white race and of Anglo-Saxon institutions." (July 1957)

Statesville, N. C.: Police guarded the vacant home of two white sisters officers said were found in a car with two Negro men. A crowd of between 500 and 600 demonstrated before the house the previous night. At the same time, police said that 14 Negroes were arrested downtown for disorderly conduct because they were crowding white persons off the sidewalk and making insulting remarks. (November 16, 1957—B)

Charlotte, N. C.: A bomb scare at Mecklenburg County Negro grammar school proved a dud. Police Capt. G. A. Stevens said an anonymous caller warned police that a bomb was set to explode in a school at Paw Creek, about five miles away. Officers searched the school but found no bomb, although they did find a cross burning in the school yard shortly after the call. Stevens said both incidents were acts of intimidation. (February 6, 1958—B)

Charlotte, N. C.: Harding High School, scene of integration incidents last year, was evacuated after an anonymous caller telephoned that a bomb was hidden in the building. No bomb was found. Police said the warning apparently was a follow-up by a prankster to the previous day's bomb scare at Mount Pleasant High School near *Concord, N. C.,* some 20 miles away. (Nov. 25, 1958—Y)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Elloree, S. C.: L. A. Blackman, contractor and president of the Elloree chapter of the NAACP, said friends told him speakers at a Klan rally had said it was "up to the colored people to see that Blackman gets out of town." Blackman said he had no intention of leaving. He was active in distributing petitions seeking integrated schools in Elloree. (December 7, 1955—B)

Williamsburg County, S. C.: Firearms and firecrackers were discharged on June 12 when a group of white Catholic priests and assistants presented a film on the life of Christ for an all-Negro audience of about 200. Father Patrick Walsh, head of Our Lady of Springbank Dominican Friary, reported to police that he had been stopped and cursed for some 15 minutes while enroute to the film showing. Four white youths in a pickup truck stopped him, he said, and told him, "We run our own neighborhood and to hell with all authorities." Thereafter, the priest reported a pickup truck sped up and down the road alongside the area where the film was being shown. Firecrackers were discharged and several shots fired; several bullet holes were found in the projection screen. Three young men were held temporarily but released later in the absence of formal charges. (July 1956—A)

Camden, S. C.: Anonymous threats to destroy the buildings of Mather Academy forced Methodist officials to remove a group of young white and Negro church workers from the campus of the Negro school. Earlier, a cross was burned. Camden Mayor Henry Savage said he "certainly thinks" the threats came from a newly organized KKK Klavern in the Camden area. A cross was burned in front of the Mayor's home later, presumably, he said, because he had indicated he would call on the governor for troops if needed to prevent the bombing or burning of Mather school. The mayor and city council had provided what protection they could but had asked the group to abandon its integrated work project in the interest of preserving good order. (July 12, 1956—B; September 1956—A)

Hartsville, S. C.: A crowd of 2,000 jammed a field to hear a speaker denounce President Eisenhower and shout, "Moderation has never been the answer to anything. It is the extremists—you and me—who are going to have to solve this problem." (July 28, 1956—B)

Rock Hill, S. C.: A wooden cross was burned in front of St. Anne's Catholic school, the only desegregated one in the state and in its third year of integrated operation. Two months earlier a series of cross burnings in the area caused the Rock Hill Ministerial Union to pass a resolution unanimously saying, "Such acts . . . are the work of men of ill will and ought to be opposed by all right-minded citizens." (February 1957—A; November 8, 1956—R)

Orangeburg, S. C.: Mrs. H. F. Pierce, vice president of the local NAACP chapter, reported threatening telephone calls and a letter with the words "you will die" pencilled across a torn piece of newspaper. She turned over the letter to the FBI. Other Negroes have received threatening letters, presumably in connection with an economic battle over segregation issues. (December 10, 1956—B)

Columbia, S. C.: Six white teen-agers were freed, with a warning, after they were arrested for burning a cross in front of a gate to Benedict (Negro) College. (February 1957—A)

York County, S. C.: At a Klan meeting near Fort Mill, the principal speaker denounced Billy Graham, the President and Vice-President and other government officials. He also listed local and national products and firms, which he said contributed to the NAACP or other pro-integration causes, and suggested they be boycotted. (July 1957—A)

Greenwood, S. C.: Two white teen-aged boys had their probation revoked for burning a cross at a rural home and were sent to the State Industrial School. A third youth was placed on probation and a 22-year-old man was fined $50 in magistrate's court. (August 1957-A)

Union, S. C.: The legislative delegation of Union county announced it was arming against enforced integration. The delegation said it had ordered $1,000 worth of sub-machine guns—nine of them—and $300 worth of ammunition, or a thousand rounds. State Sen. John D. Long of Union said the weapons, for the sheriff and his eight deputies, were to be used to "repel any invasion by Federal troops or anyone else violating our laws." He explained that by "our laws" he meant those calling for separation of whites and Negroes in schools and elsewhere. (October 17, 1957—B)

Charleston, S. C.: A cross was burned in front of the home of a Negro candidate for the House of Representatives, John H. Wrighten, about a week before the election. It drew statements of condemnation from all three white candidates in the race. Wrighten ran second in a field of four but trailed far behind the leading candidate. (January 1958—A)

TENNESSEE

Nashville, Tenn.: Parents of six of the 13 Negro first graders enrolled for integrated classes for the first time reported telephone threats of harm to their children on the eve of registration. Assistant School Superintendent W. H. Oliver said his family also was threatened. (August 28, 1957—B)

Nashville, Tenn.: At least 12 crosses have been burned in or near Negro neighborhoods, according to police records. (November 1957—A)

Knoxville, Tenn.: Efforts were made to intimidate Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, an officer in the Virginia Council on Human Relations, when she appeared in Knoxville for a speaking engagement. Several telephone calls were made to her and her hostess by callers who identified themselves as members of the White Citizens Council. At midnight an ambulance driver appeared in answer to a fraudulent call from an unidentified person. (Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune, November 22, 1957)

Nashville, Tenn.: Mrs. Mary Staton, whose family purchased a home in a previously white neighborhood, found cards in her yard carrying KKKK labels, one with the notation, "Your days are numbered. Move now." The president of the Knights of the KKK denied his group had anything to do with it, and said, "Some people have us

confused with the old KKK (three Ks)." (January 24, 1958—U)

Nashville, Tenn.: Chester Mason, chairman of the Parents School Preference Committee, told police he had received two anonymous calls threatening him. The committee opposed integration of Nashville schools and has proposed a three part system, providing all white, all Negro, and integrated schools for those who choose them. (March 21, 1958—U)

TEXAS

Tahoka, Tex.: The school board ruled that a 16-year-old Negro boy, Andrew Nance, could attend the white high school as a junior because the Negro school offered only 10 grades. A few hours after he entered the school his white classmates elected him vice-president of the junior class. However, he later was accosted by three Tahoka men who threatened him with personal harm if he continued to attend the school. Subsequently, the Lynn County grand jury investigated the threats but failed to indict anyone. (September 18 and 23, 1955—B)

Dallas, Tex.: A cross was set afire on the lawn of Dr. Cosette F. Newton's home, which was offered for sale to a Negro. The cross was doused with water by the fire department before any damage was done to the home, or to a backyard pavilion ship which had set off a bitter neighborhood feud. Doctor Newton offered to sell her fashionable home to a Negro after losing a battle fought to the Texas Supreme Court to keep her ship, which neighbors called an eyesore. (January 26, 1956—C)

Bonham, Tex.: Police said a man who planted a burning cross in the driveway of House Speaker Sam Rayburn's home did not do it as a joke, that it was carefully made by an experienced carpenter. Bonham residents were mystified as to why Rayburn's two-story colonial mansion was selected as a target. The Speaker's brother and his wife, and his sister were in the house at the time. (July 27, 1956—C)

Beaumont, Tex.: A 12-foot cross was burned on the campus of Lamar State College of Technology, after the school had been ordered to open its doors to Negroes in the fall. (August 2, 1956—B)

Hillsboro, Tex.: A cross was burned and in Leroy, small town near Waco, the effigy of a Negro was strung across the highway. (October 1956—A)

Wichita Falls, Tex.: Classrooms were evacuated briefly at integrated Midwestern University after the second threatening telephone call in two weeks. A man called a university telephone operator and told him to "get everybody out of there by 11 o'clock." Dr. Travis White, president of the city-owned school, said Negroes have attended the school for five years without previous incidents. (Oct. 22, 1958—B)

Houston, Tex.: A cross was burned in the front yard of Mrs. Charles White, who was elected as the first Negro member of the Houston School Board the previous week. Mrs. White's husband, an optometrist, quickly extinguished the blaze. Mrs. White ran on an integration platform, urging an orderly program. No school desegregation steps have been made in Houston. (November 11, 1958—B)

Houston, Tex.: Mrs. Charles E. White (see above) told police today that air pellets struck the windshield of her automobile. The car was parked at a church. (Dec. 9, 1958—B)

Houston, Tex.: While they searched for a bomb, police barricaded for 20 minutes the Houston music hall where Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus was scheduled to speak. No bomb was found. Police said they had received a call that a bomb had been planted and was timed to explode while Faubus spoke on a "bill of rights" program. (Dec. 13, 1958—Y)

VIRGINIA

Fairfax County, Va.: Police placed a 19-year-old white girl in protective custody because, when she sought refuge with a Negro family, a cross burning and exchange of shots resulted. The girl said she moved into the home because she had no place else to go. The night after a cross was burned unidentified persons drove in front of the house and fired five shots; a member of the Negro family fired one shot into the air. No one was injured. The girl later was released unconditionally. (She had been a ward of the county for 10 years, had served a vagrancy sentence and been released.) (August 11, 16, 1956—S)

Charlottesville, Va.: The fourth cross since mid-August was burned on a local lawn, apparently in protest against the activities of the local chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The latest blazed on the lawn of Dr. Frank D. Daniel, financial chairman of the group; another was burned at the home of Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, officer of the state group, and one at the home of Mrs. Morris Brown, vice president of the local chapter. The first cross was burned before the Westminster Presbyterian Church during a meeting of the Council. It was this meeting John Kasper, ex-secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, invaded to say his group had "declared war on you people" and would "run you out of town." (December 9, 1956; August 30, 1956—S)

Charlottesville, Va.: Asa Carter, executive secretary of the North Alabama Citizens Council, told an audience of about 250 that Southerners could not look to their politicians or their courts for a solution of the segregation problem. "This is not a legal problem," Carter said. "It won't be settled in the courts. It is up to you to say the Negro is not going to your schools and it is up to you to keep him out." (September 3, 1956—B)

Arlington County, Va.: A burning cross was found in a cemetery adjoining a Negro church. The Rev. John F. Monroe, pastor of the Calloway Methodist Church, reported the incident to police, who found the smoldering cross when they arrived about 2:15 a.m. (June 23, 1958—S)

Arlington County, Va.: The ninth Arlington County case growing out of Virginia's controversial segregated seating law was thrown out of court. Mrs. Robert A. Eldridge Jr., a Negro who refused to leave her white friends at a Unitarian Church picnic at a park, was cleared of disorderly conduct charges. She was arrested after police received a telephone complaint from an unidentified person that the seating law was being violated. Members of the church posted collateral and some critics termed her arrest harrassment. Mrs. Eldridge's son was one of seven Negro children who applied for entry to white schools the previous fall. County officials, who said they must respond to complaints of racial seating law violations, have been unable to win a conviction in any of nine cases where arrests were made in the previous two years. Arlington County circuit court judges have differed on the constitu-

tionality of the seating law but the question has not been resolved by higher courts. Most of the cases were dismissed on technicalities. In the case of Mrs. Eldridge, County Court Judge Paul D. Brown held there was no disorderly conduct because "the defendant was seated with persons of her own Unitarian Church, present under a permit, and who did not object to her presence." In an editorial (June 13, 1958), the *Washington Post and Times Herald* said, "... let any arrests in this controversial area (segregated seating) be made under the law itself rather than under such subterfuge as disorderly conduct and let the application of the law receive a fair court test. Either there ought to be a chance to appeal, or there ought to be no arrests of this nature. What has been happening in Arlington amounts to a runaround that involves a substantial denial of justice." (June 10, 1958—S)

Arlington County, Va.: A bomb threat suspended Sunday services at the Arlington Unitarian Church. Rabbi Emmett A. Frank of Alexandria, Va., who previously had criticized Virginia's "massive resistance" policies, was to have appeared at two services. The first service went off without incident but about 15 minutes before the second, a caller telephoned the church office to warn, "You better clear the children out of the building. We are going to blow up the place." Rabbi Frank's talk at the first service had been a general discussion of Judaism, with no mention of politics or integration. The Rev. Ross A. Weston, minister of the church, said the Rabbi would be invited back the next Sunday. (Oct. 20, 1958—Z)

Richmond, Va.: An anonymous bomb threat preceded the season's opening performance of the Richmond Symphony Orchestra at the Mosque Auditorium. Police found no trace of a bomb. It was the fourth bomb scare in Virginia within a week. Previous threats involved a synagogue in Bristol, a Unitarian Church in Arlington (see above) and a Negro school in Richmond. The threat to the auditorium was reported to police a few hours before Gov. Lindsay Almond in a speech in Richmond assailed those who would bomb churches, synagogues and other buildings. (Oct. 21, 1958—B)

PART TWO | REPRISALS

Intimidation is a technique more natural to a rural than an urban, industrialized society. Perhaps the changed economic life of the South has been the principal reason articulate Southerners have condemned the crude methods of repression, although without succeeding in stamping them out. However, one of the old methods has had more currency among leaders and other respectable elements of the white community. This is the employment of superior economic strength to discipline the Negro. There is nothing new in this practice; even in slave times it was used against free Negroes, and Negroes ever since have known well the conditions for credit or land tenure. Some Southerners since 1954 have, however, elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has deprived Negroes and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses.

The policy of reprisal against whites was perhaps most clearly stated by Roy Harris of Augusta, Ga., president of the Citizens Councils of America, Inc., at a Citizens Council rally in Orlando which attracted 600 segregationists from Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Mississppi. Amid shouts of "amen, brother," Harris called for:

1. Reduction of all political campaign issues in all state and local elections to a single question, "who's the strongest man for segregation?"
2. A boycott of merchants who fail to join and actively support racial segregation.
3. A "straightening out" for clergymen who preach "the brotherhood of man."
4. Chasing Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, "clean out of the state of Georgia."
5. A fight against all agencies of mass communication—newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations.
6. Absolute defiance of all federal court rulings favoring racial integration "by every means and at every cost."

Harris labelled all persons who disagreed with his views as "traitors and quislings." (September 22, 1958—E, F)

Reprisal is, of course, a weapon which Negroes now have the strength also to wield, and they have done so. The pages which follow include descriptions of the bus boycott of Montgomery, the virtual strangulation of Tuskegee,

and such other widely reported stories as those of Orangeburg, S. C., Tallahassee, Fla., and Rock Hill, S. C.

In short, it is necessary to reckon with the determination that inspires both whites and Negroes. For twelve months the world saw a rare portrayal of the resources of human fortitude, as day after day 50,000 Negroes walked in Montgomery during their bus boycott. The fact is sometimes overlooked that the boycott did not defeat the city of Montgomery; segregation was maintained on the buses, until a federal court outlawed it. Nor has the boycott of Tuskegee merchants led to their capitulation: here is a town apparently preferring financial suicide to reform of its racial policies. And the determination of the Negroes of Tuskegee to have reform seems equally strong.

It is, then, a deeply disturbing history which this section of the report sketches.

The following list covers 95 cases. This figure, however, does not tell the whole story for some of the instances counted as a single item involve untold hundreds of men and women, since they cover city-wide protest movements. Listed as one item, also, are the voting purges in Louisiana, where names of several thousand Negroes were removed from registration lists.

ALABAMA

Montgomery, Ala.: State Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County reported to the State Senate Education Committee, "We've got 196 colored teachers in Macon County and the board tells me they'll fire every one of them that takes part in this agitation for integration." (July 21, 1955—D)

Selma, Ala.: Economic reprisals against the signers of school desegregation petitions were reported in three counties—Dallas (65 per cent Negro), Bullock (74 per cent) and Butler (45 per cent). In Selma, seat of Dallas County and site of the first White Citizens Council to be organized in Alabama, WCC County Chairman Alston Keith estimated that of the 29 Negroes signing a desegregation petition in August, "about 16" had been fired by September 7. "Probably all of them who had jobs were fired," Keith said, explaining that some were self-employed. When the Dallas County WCC was formed, Keith announced that economic sanctions against Negroes favoring integration would be the prime weapons of the group. He claimed the 16 firings were "spontaneous," however, and that the WCC would accept neither "credit nor censure." Several petition signers in the three above mentioned counties later withdrew their signatures, explaining they misunderstood the purpose of the documents. (September 7, 1955—B; October 1955—A)

Birmingham, Ala.: "The Southerner", edited by Ace Carter of the North Alabama Citizens Council, carried a column headed, "To Buy Or Not To Buy (There should be no question)" and listing Ford, for its "vicious program of using dollars to integrate," and citing the Ford-Mercury sponsored Ed Sullivan program for "insistence" that certain Negro entertainers "be showcased frequently." It also listed Phillip Morris and Marlboro cigarettes, accusing the company of contributing to the Urban League, and Kraft, because some of its television programs were "interracial and have sold the idea that the white Southerner is a bully, coward or something very distasteful." (September-October 1956)

Choctaw County, Ala.: On September 21, 1956 *Life Magazine* carried another story in its series on segregation. Included was an account of the life of a Negro couple, Willie and Allie Lee Causey, in the 95 per cent Negro community of Shady Grove. It told how Causey earned a good living as a woodcutter and farmer, running a small but successful business with a truck, power tools and his own work crew. It also told how Mrs. Causey taught school in a ramshackle building and quoted her opinion on racial problems: "Integration is the only way through which Negroes will receive justice. We cannot get it as a separate people . . ." *Life,* in an issue the following December, reported the consequences. Causey's truck was confiscated, merchants refused to sell the family anything, Mrs. Causey was fired. The Causeys had to move from the community and, with the help of *Life,* resettle in another part of the South. (Life Magazine—1956)

Montgomery, Ala.: On December 1, 1955, a bus carrying white and Negro passengers made a downtown stop. The driver asked four Negroes to give up their seats. Three did but Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, refused. The driver called a policeman who took Mrs. Parks to the police station, where she was charged with violating city segregation laws. Almost overnight word flashed through the Negro community: Support Rosa Parks. Printed leaflets were circulated Saturday, December 3, asking Negroes to stay off the buses Monday, the day of Mrs. Parks trial. Almost 90 per cent of them did. They went to work in private automobiles, Negro taxis, in wagons, on foot or bicycle. Mrs. Parks that day was found guilty and fined $14. That night, 5,000 Negroes crowded into the Holt Street Baptist Church and by the end of the evening the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was named president.

It was the beginning of a year-long boycott which was to make the name Martin Luther King the symbol of nonviolent resistance to his followers. At first, the Negroes asked only that Negro passengers be treated more courteously, that seating be on a first-come, first-serve basis, and that Negro bus drivers be employed on predominantly Negro runs. Negotiations on these points failed and the boycott continued. The mayor and city commissioners joined the White Citizens Council; the Negroes operated a car pool; businesses were damaged by rumors circulated among white buyers that they had contributed to the NAACP or by rumors among Negroes they had contributed to the Citizens Council. King's home was bombed, and a dynamite cap exploded in the yard of another leader. More than 100 Negroes were indicted on charges of violating Alabama's anti-boycott laws. Meanwhile, suit was filed in federal court, which eventually on November 13, brought a unanimous ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that Montgomery's bus segregation laws were unconstitutional. In December, Negroes called off the boycott and resumed riding on the newly de-segregated buses. The months following were not smooth. Four Negro churches, the homes of two ministers and a taxi stand have been bombed. (Two white men were acquitted of charges of bombing one of the churches.) A white man was fined for hitting a Negro woman passenger; a Negro school girl was convicted of striking a white girl on another bus. Vandals sabotaged a local telecast of a national program featuring the Rev. Mr. King. Snipers have fired at city buses, in one instance wounding a Negro woman.

A 15-year-old Negro girl was beaten by several young white men near a city bus stop. She suffered head injuries. A white man on the bus said he saw the girl on her knees on the pavement with upraised arms trying to protect herself. In April, 1958, a scuffle with a white passenger over a seat on a city bus sent a Negro woman to jail for several hours before she was released on $200 bond. (1956-57-58—A, B)

Auburn, Ala.: An Assistant professor at Alabama Polytechnic Institute charged he was dismissed "for exercising his right of free speech." Bud R. Hutchinson declared he had been notified that he would not be reappointed for the coming college year because of a letter he wrote to the school paper concerning segregation. Hutchinson disagreed with an editorial in *The Auburn Plainsman* critical of integration moves in New York. Dr. Ralph B. Draughon, Auburn president, said, "I felt that Mr. Hutchinson could not expect to advance in his career at this institution. Since he is in his first year, I felt it would be better for him and the institution that he seek employment elsewhere. . . The decision in no way reflects upon his character or his professional status." As a result, Auburn was one of five colleges censured by the American Association of University Professors, which claimed they had infringed upon academic freedom by dismissing teachers. (May 16, 1957; May 26, 1958—B)

Tuskegee, Ala.: A struggle over Negroes' right to vote has brought lasting repercussions to this home of Tuskegee Institute, famed Negro college. Tuskegee is in Macon County, which has the highest percentage (85%) of Negroes of any county in the nation. Nevertheless, there have been only 1,100 Negroes registered to vote in the county and 2,700 white citizens registered. The bulwarks of Macon County's economy have been Tuskegee Institute, with an annual payroll of $2.5 million, and a Veterans Administration hospital, with an annual payroll of $6.5 million. All the patients and most of the staff at the hospital are Negro. In June 1957, the Alabama legislature gerrymandered Tuskegee's city limits, cutting the town in half, redrawing its boundaries and in the process thrusting out of the town about 410 of the city's 420 Negro voters. Sam Engelhardt, Macon County state senator and executive secretary of the Citizens Council of Alabama, was author of the bill designed to prevent Negroes from registering enough voters to gain control of the local government. Engelhardt spoke proudly of gerrymandering the Negroes out of the town and indicated he was motivated by the new Civil Rights Act. "If that Civil Rights Commission comes down here and forces mass registration of unqualified Negroes, there'll be bloodshed," he predicted. A prominent Negro leader denied the Negroes wanted to take over local affairs and said that if Negroes could have had one representative out of five on the school board, one out of five on the city council, one out of seven on the county board of revenue, "I think we'd have bragged of this community as a model one in race relations."

In any event, what began as a move to limit voting by Negroes, quickly became an economic battle. Negroes in the town simply began in large part to shop elsewhere. How effective has this movement against white merchants been? A dry goods store owner reported his business was down 35 per cent, an auto dealer 40 to 60 per cent below the previous year. The town's only movie theater has closed. A number of white businesses have folded. Charles Gomillion, head of Tuskegee Institute's social science division and president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, a Negro group leading the resistance, has said, "If white citizens here feel Negroes shouldn't vote, then Negro citizens feel their money should not be spent with these folks." Negro leaders avoid use of the word boycott; they prefer to talk of "spontaneous reaction." The reason is the state's anti-boycott law. The state attorney general has had a temporary injunction issued against the Civic Association to stop fostering boycott. Merchants have said the move has not brought back their Negro customers. Pending is a move to abolish the county and divide it among the surrounding counties. (November 5, 1957—I; August, October 1957—A)

ARKANSAS

Pine Bluff, Ark.: Fifty members of a railroad metal crafts union announced a boycott of the Pine Bluff Community Chest because it supports the Negro Boys' Club. (October 9, 1957—F)

Little Rock, Ark.: Advertisers threatened to boycott the *Arkansas Gazette* because of its support of the school board's plan of gradual integration of schools in Little Rock. A bakery was boycotted because the high school-age daughter of its owner was quoted as favoring integration in the schools and because a member of the Little Rock school board worked there. Business dropped off in a men's clothing store owned by James T. Karam, a friend of Governor Orval Faubus and described in some quarters as a leader in the violence at Central High School. His store once did a thriving business with Negro customers. These and other measures and counter-measures grew out of the crisis at Central High School. (March 1958—A)

North Little Rock, Ark.: The mother of one of eight Negro students attending integrated Little Rock Central High School was told her teaching contract at a North Little Rock Negro elementary school had not been renewed. Mrs. Lois Patillo, mother of 15-year-old Melba Patillo, taught at the Jones elementary school for seven years. The school superintendent said Mrs. Patillo was one of several teachers whose contracts were not renewed because of "problems" which he said were strictly personal matters. An NAACP official quoted Mrs. Patillo as saying the superintendent told her he should have been consulted about the enrollment of her daughter at Central High last fall. (May 8, 1958—M)

FLORIDA

Miami, Fla.: Charges that he was too outspoken on the issue of segregation caused the dismissal of Florida's only Negro assistant state attorney. A leader of a segregation group had furnished State Atty. George A. Brautigam with a tape recording of a radio speech in which the Negro in question, Henry Arrington, said his work was not necessarily confined to Negro cases. Brautigam demanded his suspension on charges of "breach of confidence and misconduct." Gov. LeRoy Collins complied on the ground that Arrington had made "public statements in derogation of, and repugnant to, the duties imposed upon him." Arrington said the issue may have been created by "someone who wanted to make a political issue out of segregation." (April 1956—A)

Tallahassee, Fla.,: On May 27, 1956, two girls from Florida A and M. University, a Negro school, boarded a crowded city bus and sat in the only two vacant seats in the front of a bus, next to a white woman. The driver asked them to move to the rear. The girls declined but offered to leave if the driver would refund their fare. He refused and called the police, who arrested the girls. They were released under bond. (The charges later were dropped.) That night a cross was burned in front of the girls' home. The next day, the student body at the college decided in a mass meeting to refrain from riding the city buses for the two weeks remaining in the term. By mid-afternoon, Negroes in town joined the movement. On May 29, Negro citizens met in the Bethel Baptist Church and organized the Inter-Civic Council, with the Rev. C. K. Steele at its head. Since that time, the situation has been complex. Bus service has been discontinued and resumed. Police arrested drivers in the Negro car pool on charges they were violating the state's "for hire" laws. Businesses have suffered. The Inter-Civic Council accused the police of intimidating Negroes by taking them from their homes at all hours for questioning. Threats have been made, crosses burned, rocks and bricks thrown through windows of homes and cars. After the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation in Montgomery was unconstitutional, the Tallahassee boycott was ended officially. However, the majority of the Negroes still do not ride the buses, apparently awaiting the outcome of several pending court cases. (B, and "The Tallahassee Bus Protest," a field report by Charles U. Smith of Florida A. & M. University and Lewis M. Killian of Florida State University.)

Monticello, Fla.: Dr. Deborah Coggins was dismissed as health officer of three north Florida counties because she had a business lunch with a Negro nurse. One of her defenders, Robert H. Browning, health educator who worked with Dr. Coggins, lost his job. The Jefferson County Commission simply abolished the post. Browning transferred to Palm Beach County. He had urged the county commission to "practice the kind of Christianity you profess" and retain Dr. Coggins. Mrs. Flo Way was asked to resign from the Jefferson County school system because she had defended the health officer in a public meeting. Mrs. Way refused to resign as a fifth grade teacher and since she had job tenure, she continued in her work. (October 4, 1956—B; November, December 1956—A)

Jacksonville, Fla.: The Community Chest United Fund withdrew support from the local chapter of the National Urban League. Officials of the League asserted the action was caused by pressures from the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. The executive director of the Chest denied this and said it was because the League had entered "into politics." The Urban League has been forced out of United Fund or Community Chest drives in Ft. Worth, Texas, and three others have withdrawn under pressure—in Little Rock, New Orleans and Richmond. (1956—K, various)

Tallahassee, Fla.: John M. Boardman, white graduate student at Florida State University, was refused permission to continue his studies after the present semester because he entertained Negro students from neighboring Florida A & M on the campus. Boardman was one of six students—three of them Negro—arrested for sitting together on a Tallahassee bus in violation of a driver seating assignment. (March 1957—A)

GEORGIA

Shellman, Ga.: A Baptist minister who publicly backed the Supreme Court ruling on school segregation was ousted from his church. The board of deacons demanded the resignation of the Rev. Henry A. Buchanan. The church secretary said the minister was not being cast out but that the church needed a change of leadership. "Why quibble with words?" was Buchanan's reaction. (January 1955—A)

Atlanta, Ga.: Dr. Guy H. Wells was stripped of his honorary title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women because of his racial views. Wells was executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. The State Board of Regents withdrew the honorary title it had bestowed upon him two years before, shortly after he resigned as head of the college to accept a position with the federal government. The same day, the State Board of Education asked the Teacher Retirement Board to discontinue Wells' monthly pension. Trustees of the retirement system rejected the request as unconstitutional. (April 1956—A)

Gwinnett County, Ga.: The State Board of Education ordered the pay of Mrs. Colleen M. Wiggins, a teacher at the Bethesda school, withheld pending an investigation of her racial views. About 150 persons had signed a petition asking her discharge because of her views on segregation. Mrs. Wiggins said she was asked to sign a statement saying she does not believe in racial integration but had refused. She explained that she obeyed Georgia laws on segregation but thought her own views were a private matter. She had told her high school class she would not object to teaching white and Negro students together if that were the practice. The County Board of Education held that Mrs. Wiggins "probably made unwise or indiscreet expressions" but that evidence did not justify her dismissal. This decision was appealed to the state board but before it could act Mrs. Wiggins resigned because she was expecting a baby. (November, December 1956—A)

Lakeland, Ga.: Mrs. A. B. Baskin, who had taught in Lanier County schools for 17 years, was forced to resign because she allowed a white school boy, whose own bus had gone, to ride home in a Negro school bus. Mrs. Baskin emphasized that she believes in segregation and had suggested that the schoolboy take the Negro bus only as a final resort. The County Board of Education later ordered her reinstatement on the recommendation of state school officials. (April 9, 1958—Atlanta Journal)

Columbus, Ga.: The pastor of the First Presbyterian Church was demoted because of his racial stand. A commission appointed by the Presbytery of southwest Georgia said the Rev. Robert B. McNeill, pastor of the church, would have powers of an evangelist, limited to the reception of new members. The action resulted from an investigation into what the commission termed a "condition of disharmony." It said opposition to the pastor became evident after McNeill wrote a magazine article calling for "creative contacts" between white persons and Negroes. (Dec. 1, 1958—B)

LOUISIANA

Claiborne, La.: School boards in Claiborne and Bossier ordered *Time, Life* and *Look* magazines banned from high

school libraries, charging they "distorted" racial news. (June 1956—A)

Louisiana: Early in 1957, the Justice Department in Washington made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said the FBI investigated the handling of voter registration in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956. Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack P. Gremillion had told a House Judiciary Subcommittee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters living in the same parish. Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits and generally refused them when offered. Olney also said there had been in 1956 a successful effort by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana to get Negro registrants off the rolls and to prevent their registration. (Feb. 27, 1957—B)

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson, Miss.: The Rev. Roy C. Delamotte, white Methodist minister, was not accepted by any Mississippi congregation after protesting a resolution in the Mississippi Annual Conference calling for continued segregation. (June 21, 1955—*Jackson Daily News*)

Yazoo City, Miss.: The White Citizens Council published a full-page advertisement in a local paper carrying "an authentic list of the purported signers to an NAACP communication to our school board." Many of the signers lost their jobs and under this pressure the majority removed their names from the petition. A plumbing contractor was taken off two construction jobs he had underway and refused plumbing supplies by a wholesale house. (*Journal and Guide*, September 24, 1955)

Durant, Miss.: The Rev. Marsh Calloway reported that elders of the Durant Presbyterian Church fired him because he spoke against the Citizens Councils. (November 30, 1955—J)

Jackson, Miss.: Ellis Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens Council, said a letter from the Falstaff Brewing Co. probably would end a scattered boycott of Falstaff beer in Mississippi. Sales had dropped after a pro-segregation pamphlet accused the company of contributing to the NAACP. A letter to Wright from a company official, the CC official said, explained that the company had made a single contribution as a life membership fee for one of its Negro salesmen and that "in error, apparently, the membership was issued in the name of Falstaff Brewing Corp." (December 1, 1955—B)

Lexington, Miss.: The husband of a crusading weekly newspaper editor lost his job as administrator of the Lexington Community Hospital. Walter D. Smith, husband of Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, who criticized the alleged mistreatment of a Negro prisoner, was fired by the hospital board of directors. In an editorial, the *Delta Democrat-Times* in Greenville, Miss., commented, "Smith was ousted not because he was incapable but because some of the views of his vigorous newspaperwoman wife were unpopular. . . . She had the guts to criticize the then sheriff for shooting a Negro in the back for no good reason." Mrs. Smith is editor of the *Lexington Advertiser* and *The Durant News*. (January 11, 1956—X)

NORTH CAROLINA

Guilford, N. C.: A letter to the school board signed by 34 persons saying it would be "just and wise . . . to admit Negro pupils (to white schools) . . . if and when they make individual application" caused one white man to lose a part-time job. Another white signer resigned from a full-time job because of protests received by his employer, although the latter indicated that so far as he was concerned the man could continue on the payroll. (September 6-7, 1955—T; September 5, 1955—B)

Greensboro, N. C.: The furniture business of a couple signing a petition advocating compliance with the Supreme Court school ruling was boycotted. (September 6, 1955—B)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Clarendon County, S. C.: Three Negro teachers said they were not rehired by the Summerton School District of Clarendon County because their father and the husband of one signed an integration petition. (August 25, 1955—O)

Orangeburg, S. C.: Boycotts have cut both ways in this town of 17,000. Here the economic struggle began with a petition by 57 Negroes to the school board in July 1955, asking that immediate steps be taken to "reorganize the public schools on a non-discriminatory basis." White residents responded by organizing a Citizens Council and reprisals began against petitioners and their families and members of the local NAACP. Those who worked for white employers were fired; those who rented from white landlords were evicted. Credit was denied by white suppliers and merchants. Some no longer could buy, even for cash. Mayor R. H. Jennings, who was president of the local Coca-Cola bottling company, a bakery and the Orangeburg Ice & Fuel Co., cut off supplies to three Negro grocers and a gas station owner. The Coble Dairy stopped delivery of milk to the grocers and all the petitioners on its routes. A service station operator was forced out of business by the owner-distributor. The Negro residents retaliated with their own boycott. They stopped using products of the dairy and the Mayor's enterprises. They obtained the names of local merchants who belonged to the Citizens Council and someone distributed a list of the 23 firms at Negro meetings. They started shopping in Columbia or by mail. Students at South Carolina State College (Negro) quietly supported the boycott. A white grocer was forced out of business and other merchants suffered. Still other firms joined the reprisal movement against the Negro—the Pepsi Cola, Royal Crown and Dr. Pepper bottlers, another bakery and another dairy.

Because of the college students' action, Gov. George B. Timmerman, Jr., ordered the State Law Enforcement Division to place the college under surveillance; 1,200 students staged a four-day walkout until they were promised a discussion of their grievances on one hand and threatened with expulsion on the other. By the end of the school year, the student council president and 15 other students had been expelled and five faculty members dismissed for their

part in the boycott. The fall and winter of 1955-56 was a difficult time for the petitioners in Orangeburg and those in nearby Elloree and Summerton, where similar reprisals were taken. Various appeals brought in contributions of food, money and clothing from many sections of the country. During all this time, only one local white person openly joined the fight alongside the Negroes in Orangeburg, a Catholic priest. By the spring of 1956, some disenchanment with the Citizens Councils was felt; pressures slackened somewhat but the basic controversy over school segregation remains unsolved. Both sides seem to agree that the reprisals and counter-boycotts have not been a satisfactory way of solving the problem. (September 1955—A; *The Reporter Magazine*, January 21, 1957)

Batesburg, S. C.: The Rev. George Jackson Stafford's resignation as pastor of the First Baptist Church was accepted because his liberal racial views differed from those of some in his congregation. The move was reported to have been spearheaded by Federal Judge George B. Timmerman, father of the governor. (November 1, 1955—V)

Columbia, S. C.: The Rev. John Murry, Methodist minister, transferred from Orangeburg County to Gilbert, S. C., because some of his parishioners protested his support of a resolution deploring economic sanctions against Negroes with integrationist views. (November 1, 1955—V)

Columbia, S. C.: Dr. Chester C. Travelstead, dean of the school of education at the University of South Carolina, disclosed he had been dismissed "in the best interest of the university" after making a speech calling for an end to public school segregation. Travelstead had told a campus gathering, "It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis . . . (The) fact that we have practiced segregation on the assumption that it was right and just does not make it right and just." Travelstead, a native of Kentucky, left to become dean of the School of Education at the University of New Mexico. (November 24, 1955—P; November 25, 1955—D)

Columbia, S. C.: A 23-year-old English major was fired as a legislative telephone page after writing an article in the *Gamecock*, student weekly at the University of South Carolina. His article said the State Senate was "intent on circumventing" integration and that Southern legislators and governors were "embarrassing sound trucks for the South." (March 14, 1956—V)

Florence, S. C.: After two years of threats and pressure, the *Florence Morning News*, which repeatedly appealed for moderation and good will in solving segregation problems, banned the subject from its editorial page. For its views, the *News* had drawn violent abuse, reader complaints, circulation losses. The city editor had been struck while covering a Klan meeting; the church editor, a minister, had his tires slashed and two cars had tried to run him off the road. Editor John H. O'Dowd, 29, native of Florence and son of the owner-publisher, had been threatened and chased at night by a car. Finally, O'Dowd announced a "retreat from reason" and wrote, "We have . . . sought men of good will . . . but men seeking the fair solution have not, in two years, come forward." He announced segregation stories would continue to be printed in the news columns. Later, O'Dowd left Florence to take a job in a northern city on a larger newspaper. (*Time* magazine, April 2, 1956)

Elloree, S. C.: Twenty-four Negro school teachers in the Elloree School District either resigned or their contracts were not renewed for refusal to sign a statement inquiring into NAACP membership. (July 1956—A)

Rock Hill, S. C.: A Negro woman refused to give up her seat by a white woman on orders from the bus driver; she said it was the only vacant one on the bus and the white passenger had invited her to take it. The incident touched off a boycott of the bus line by Negroes and brought threats to a Negro minister and others. A few months later, the bus line stopped operating. (August 3, 1957—O; January 1958—A)

Columbia, S. C.: Three white professors at Benedict College for Negroes were told they would not be rehired. One of them, Lewis Smith, chairman of the Humanities Department, told reporters, "This is a capitulation to the Dixiecrat forces that have been persecuting the white professors because of their pro-integration stand." Also released were J. Spencer Kennard, a Baptist minister, and Mrs. Marian Davis. J. A. Bacoats, president of the college, said after a meeting of the Board of Trustees, "Their presence here is not in the best interests of the college." (May 9, 1958—B)

TENNESSEE

Jackson, Tenn.: M. C. Jolly, operator of the Dr. Pepper Bottling Co., said 12 or 13 Negro merchants had cancelled accounts with his firm after he joined in a suit seeking to bar state aid to a college which had admitted two Negroes. Later, he said increased business from white merchants offset the Negro cancellations. (February 1-2, 1956—B; March 1956—A)

TEXAS

Lubbock, Tex.: Segregation viewpoints figured in the removal of two faculty members at Texas Technological College. Dr. Byron R. Abernethy, professor of government, and Dr. Herbert M. Greenberg, assistant professor of psychology, were notified that the Board of Directors in executive session refused to renew their contracts. The *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* said that Greenberg, who is blind, apparently was removed because of his publicly-stated views backing integration. The school's president protested the closed-door procedure and said he had found no fault with the two professors' academic ability. The college has no Negro students, and so far as is known, none have applied. (August 1957-A)

VIRGINIA

Appomattox County, Va.: The school board refused to renew the contracts of two eighth grade teachers. One said she believed it was because she voted in 1954 against an "inflammatory resolution" favoring segregation; she added that she didn't consider herself an integrationist but did believe the public school system should be preserved. The other said she was "falsely accused of being an integrationist." Eighteen of 19 teachers in the school protested to the board. Commenting on the case, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* said, "The impression has been created . . . that it is becoming dangerous in Virginia for teachers to express even a mild dissent from majority community opinion on the race problem." (June 1956-A)

PART THREE | VIOLENCE

There is no simple way to distinguish the events noted in this section from those earlier reported under the heading "Intimidation" except to say that these are bigger, and if anything more purposeless. This list of 225 acts against private liberties and public peace includes:

6 Negroes killed;

29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents;

44 persons beaten;

5 stabbed;

30 homes bombed; in one instance (at Clinton, Tenn.) an additional 30 houses were damaged by a single blast; attempted blasting of five other homes;

8 homes burned;

15 homes struck by gunfire, and 7 homes stoned;

4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, and Chattanooga, and Clinton, Tenn.

2 bombing attempts on schools, in Charlotte and Clinton;

7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another Negro church;

1 church in Memphis burned; anther church stoned;

4 Jewish temples or centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville, and Atlanta;

3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham, and Charlotte;

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited;

2 schools burned;

In addition, 17 towns and cities were threatened by mob action.

The list also has an item which tells of the persecution of Koinonia Farm in Georgia.

At the time of the bombings in Jacksonville, Ralph McGill wrote in the Atlanta Constitution:

> The mayors of a number of Southern cities have organized to try and prevent further such outrages. This is a good move.
>
> But let us not overlook the fact that these bombings are the fruit of the tree of defiance of law and of orderly process. In all the cities represented at the conference of disturbed mayors, there had been leaders in the press, and in public life who had attacked the Supreme Court, the President of the United States, and the U. S. Attorney-General in the most reckless and abusive terms. That this inspired the criminal fringe to action cannot be denied.
>
> It is one thing strongly to exercise the unquestioned American principle of dissenting from court and political decisions. But to abuse the institutions on which our country is based in violent, defiant terms cannot do otherwise than to encourage lawlessness and to excite the criminal fringe.
>
> Irrational abuse and preachments of defiance of due process by persons in public life constitute a tree which bears the bitter fruits of bombings of churches and schools.
>
> We should not blind ourselves to this fact. To do otherwise is to engage in self-deceit.

It has been frequently said that violence and direct action never have been far from Southern folkways. This may be correct. There are also, however, other characteristics woven closely into Southern culture: graciousness, good manners, relaxed living, and political sagacity. There would be little point in compiling the record set out in the following and preceding pages unless we believed that these latter qualities will in time prevail.

ALABAMA

Birmingham, Ala.: Two discharged Birmingham police officers and a city jail warden were acquitted in federal court of depriving a Negro prisoner of his civil rights. Indictments were brought against the three men after Charles Patrick claimed he was beaten by the officers in the jail while the warden was present. He had been jailed after the wife of one of the policemen complained the Negro had threatened her during an argument over a parking space. He later was cleared of the charges. The warden was suspended from his post for 10 days. (April 18, 1955—B)

Wadley, Ala.: An interracial meeting at Southern Union College was broken up by 30 men who threatened that if the Negroes did not leave, "We'll blow up the place." College President Clyde C. Flannery said all those at the meeting were Southerners and members of the Congregational Christian Church, which operates the college. He said there was a widespread belief in town the delegates were to discuss school segregation but that actually they met to talk about international relations and primarily the menace of Communism. Flannery said he could identify six of the 30 men but would consult his attorney to decide whether legal action should be taken. Apparently, the men were not identified publicly nor was any action brought. (July 22, 1955—C)

Carrollton, Ala.: Three white men were charged with a misdemeanor in the kidnapping of a 21-year-old Negro, who was hit with a shotgun in a mistaken identity reprisal. Pickens County Sheriff R. R. Shields said he arrested the men on a highway after they had released the beaten and frightened Negro, Mutt Jones. Shields described the three white men as "being well thought of around here." Asked why the men had kidnapped Jones, Shields explained, "It was just a case of mistaken identity. A Negro hit one of the men's father with a blackjack and they thought it was Jones." Shields described Jones as an ex-convict and added, "Jones didn't have a mark on him. They did hit him two or three times on the head and shoulder with an automatic shotgun, though." (September 13, 1955—C)

Selma, Ala.: A white couple poured gasoline on a Negro woman's home and set it ablaze. (September 23, 1955—D)

Selma, Ala.: Four white persons forced a Negro porter into a car and drove 10 miles into the country before releasing him. The abductors apparently believed him to be another individual accused of insulting a white woman. (October 23, 1955—D)

Montgomery, Ala.: A bomb which exploded at the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader in the fight against bus segregation, blew out windows and damaged the front porch. Mrs. King, their daughter and a visitor were in the house but were uninjured. (January 31, 1956—B)

Tuscaloosa, Ala.: After a three-year court fight, a young Negro woman, Autherine Lucy, was admitted to the University of Alabama in February 1956. Friday, February 3, she went to her first class as campus police manned the corridors. That night, a crowd of 1,200 students, attracted by a burning cross, assembled on University Avenue but after exploding firecrackers, singing "Dixie" and marching through a women's dormitory area, they dispersed. The next night students massed before the Student Union Building. Outsiders were noted, trying to whip the crowd into action. The University News Bureau director said three or four outside groups were in evidence—high school pupils, workers from a nearby plant and members of an extreme pro-segregation group from Birmingham. Monday, a crowd of about 3,000 roamed the campus, jeering and cursing university officials accompanying Miss Lucy and pelting them with eggs, rocks and mud. She was removed from the campus under heavy police escort. With demonstrations reaching uncontrollable proportions, University officials suspended Miss Lucy indefinitely, expressing fear for her life. In mid-February, two Negro brothers were arrested for kicking and beating a University student in what one said was an attempt to "get even" for "the way they treated Miss Lucy." At the end of the month, U. S. District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered she be readmitted. Hours later, the University Board of Trustees expelled her permanently because of her "outrageous, false and baseless accusations" in allegations that the university had "conspired" in the violent demonstrations which resulted in her temporary suspension. Later, the board announced a student leader in the campus riots had been expelled, four suspended and 25 students disciplined. Judge Grooms denied Miss Lucy's petition to re-enter the university and ruled the expulsion was justified. (March, April, September 1956—A)

Montgomery, Ala.: The home of a young white minister who was active in Montgomery's bus boycott by Negroes was bombed. The Rev. Robert Graetz and his family were away from home at the time. Graetz, 27, the white pastor of the all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church, has actively supported the boycott and been a member of the Montgomery Improvement Association. (August 25, 1956—B)

Prichard, Ala.: The Rev. Joshua Barney, 68-year-old preacher and carpenter, who sought a city council post, narrowly escaped harm when four shots were fired into his home. Barney was warned anonymously to get out of the race, as was another Negro running for the council in Huntsville. Both Negroes were defeated. (September 7, 1956—B)

Mobile, Ala.: A Negro's home in a white section was damaged by fire, less than 24 hours after it was peppered by a shotgun. Fire Inspector J. B. Foster said it apparently was arson. Booker T. Gulley, the owner, said windows had been smashed frequently by bricks and he had received threatening telephone calls since moving into the house a few weeks earlier. He said that he had used all his money as a downpayment for the house after a Negro real estate agent told him, "The white people are going to move out and the colored people move in." Nevertheless, after the fire, Gulley said he would move out as soon as he could sell the house. ((September 27, 1956—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: Acid was thrown on 10 cars within a week. All but one belonged to Negroes. The exception was a car-trailer owned by a white minister who participated in a Negro-sponsored institute. He reported that his parked vehicle, emblazoned with slogans of brotherhood, was struck by acid on two successive nights. (December 10, 1956—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: Acid was thrown on the car of a bus boycott leader. The complaint was made to police by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, pastor of the Negro First Baptist Church. (December 19, 1956—W)

Carrollton, Ala.: Robed nightriders fired into the home of a Negro tenant and ordered him to move within 48 hours. Sheriff R. R. Shields waited at the house, which is near Palmetto in north Pickens County, as the deadline approached but the men did not reappear. The sheriff said he had been told of a false rumor that the Negro's children were going to ride a white school bus. (January 5, 1957—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: Four Negro churches and the home of a Negro minister, in addition to the home of a white minister (see Graetz, above) were bombed, less than 12 hours after a racially integrated city bus was ambushed with gunfire. No injuries were reported. (January 10, 1957—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A second attempt to blow up the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King misfired. Twelve sticks of dynamite tied around a metal tube were tossed on the porch but the bomb failed to explode. (January 27, 1957—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A bomb tossed between a Negro house and a filling station exploded, damaging both buildings. Three Negroes suffered cuts and scratches. This, along with the attempted bombing of the King home (see above), was another in a series of outbreaks of violence which began shortly after bus segregation was ended by Federal Court order in December. (January 27, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: The home of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister and leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which staged a one-day defiance of city bus segregation laws, was heavily damaged by dynamite on Christmas night. (January 1957—A)

Birmingham, Ala.: A city bus with 30 passengers aboard was hit four times by gunfire. Six Negro boys were arrested in connection with the shooting. Earlier, shots were fired into the Negro section of a bus and two white youths were reported seen fleeing from the scene. (January 1957—A)

Birmingham, Ala.: A mob of rock-throwing whites, yelling threats, attacked a white integration leader who later

was fined $30 for reckless driving in making his escape. Lamar Weaver, the victim, had just left the Terminal Railroad Station where a Negro couple had tested the integration policy in a waiting room, when he was slugged with a suitcase and stoned. He was convicted at a special hearing of running a red light and reckless driving as he drove his damaged car from a parking lot through a gauntlet of his tormentors. (March 6, 1957—C)

Birmingham, Ala.: Hooded Klansmen slugged a television newsman and knocked him to the ground when he attempted to take pictures at a public rally. Leo Willette, news director for WBRC-TV, arrived at the rally in East Lake Park as some 500 Klansmen listened to a speaker denounce the press as "Communist inspired." Four or five men grabbed Willette. By the time police dispersed the crowd around him his camera was missing. Willette's face was bruised and his clothing muddied. (An announcement was made at the end of the rally that the camera had been turned over to policemen and would be returned to the newsman.) (March 23, 1957—B, C)

Mobile, Ala.: The fifth of a series of recent bombing attempts in the city was reported by Walter Johnson, Negro cook. He said he supposed the small bomb, thrown by a white boy on a bicycle, was the result of his living "in a mixed neighborhood." Little damage was done. (March 1957—A)

Montgomery, Ala.: A white man and three Negro women were arrested after an argument over integrated seating on a Boylston bus. Detective Captain E. P. Brown said there were "several entirely different stories" but the only point of agreement seemed to be that several blows were struck. The Negroes said the white man cursed and hit two of the women with a wrench after one refused to move to the rear of the bus. The man said he asked one of the Negroes to move and she slapped him across the face. All were charged with assault and battery and released on their own bonds. (April 17, 1957—G)

Birmingham, Ala.: Nat King Cole, Negro singer and pianist, was attacked by a group of white men as he played for a white audience in Municipal Auditorium. Six white men rushed the band leader, knocking Cole and the microphone to the floor. Police rushed from the wings, grabbed the attackers and took them to jail. Cole apparently was not injured, only stunned. Later, police said they had learned that it had been planned that 100 or 150 white men would meet at the auditorium, infiltrate the audience, overpower the band, the police and anyone else who interfered. "But the expected mob failed to show," Detective C. B. Golden said. About a week later Recorders Court Judge Ralph E. Parker imposed maximum jail sentences on four of the attackers, members of the White Citizens Council; two others were fined. (April 10, 18, 1957—B)

Bessemer, Ala.: A dynamite explosion knocked out windows and the side of a Negro church during a service and another blast damaged the home of a Negro civic leader and union officer. No one was injured, although there were 200 persons inside at the time the explosive was ignited in an alley behind the Allen Temple Methodist Church. Police knew of no motive. Neither the minister nor the man whose house was bombed had been active in any integration drive. (April 29, 1957—C)

Prattville, Ala.: Three Negroes were beaten by a robed KKK group during a Klan rally here. Police Chief O. C. Burton said the beatings occurred after the Negroes "shouted and cursed" during a talk by one of the speakers. He said one of the Negroes then claimed about "25 or 30" Klansmen attacked him and his companions. The men required medical treatment but were not seriously hurt, the police chief added. No arrests were made and Burton said the Klansmen he questioned denied any knowledge of the beatings. (May 23, 1957—C)

Birmingham, Ala.: Two young Negro men told of being kidnapped, taken into a woods and beaten with rubber hoses. Harold Cunningham, 19, and Henry Silent, 21, said they were beaten after being questioned about where they were "two Saturdays ago." The young men and their dates said they went to a white drive-in ice cream stand, but left because it was too crowded. Then, the girls told police, they were followed by two cars, which forced their automobile to stop in a section of north Birmingham. Four white men were in each car and they had "some pistols." The men forced the Negro youths to get down on the floor of a car and told them, "One of you is going to talk before you leave." After being beaten and threatened with hanging and shooting, the Negroes escaped when all but one of the men returned to the cars. (June 11, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: James Henry Brock, 27, a Birmingham Negro, told police he was abducted by a group of hooded white men and beaten near Prattville, about 20 miles north of Montgomery. Brock was hospitalized with multiple bruises and cuts over his face and body which he said were caused by whips trimmed from trees. Brock said he and his wife were visiting his parents in Autauga County when two carloads of white men drove behind a car in which he sat with three other Negroes in Prattville late Saturday night. The Negro said the men, who were wearing coveralls with hoods over their heads, told them, "Don't move—stand still or we'll shoot." The other Negroes ran and "the men started shooting at them with shotguns and pistols." Apparently none was injured. Brock said he was pulled from the car, beaten and kicked, then driven into the woods where he was beaten again. He quoted one of the assailants as saying finally, "Run if you want to live—and if you get back to Birmingham, tell those niggers this is what we do to them down here." Brock ran and walked about five miles to a farm home and the owner took him to a hospital. The Autauga County sheriff said he was making a full investigation and promised Negroes would be given "full protection" against any such future incidents. Later, he indicated some doubt the whipping had occurred. (July 8, 1957—C, G)

Birmingham, Ala.: A Negro, George Johnson, reported four white men attempted to burn his home by throwing two homemade incendiary bombs on his porch. Witnesses said they saw four young white men just before the bombs were thrown and that one left the car in which they were riding and threw milk bottles filled with gasoline on the porch. One set fire to the house. Johnson, an employee of a construction company, said he knew of no reason for anyone trying to burn his house. (July 27, 1957—W)

Bessemer, Ala.: Two Negroes taken into protective custody were released after police officials warned them against attempted violations of the city's segregation ordinances. Blevins Stout and William Thomas were held without charge during an investigation of their attempt to enter

municipal Roosevelt Park. The two men, officers of the Alabama Association for Human Rights, had asked permission to use the tennis court at the park but were denied entry by an officer at the admission office. The two were met at the park by a group of irate white citizens who warned them against attempting to enter. The Negroes left without argument. They later were escorted to City Hall by a motorcycle scout when several of the white men pursued their cars. While officers questioned Stout and Thomas about their motives, members of the white protesting group milled about the corridors of City Hall. (Aug. 11, 1957—H)

Stanton, Ala.: The Saturday night flogging of a white sawmill worker spurred a county-wide investigation of possible connection with recent Klan activities in the area. The victim, a 37-year-old father of six, told county authorities he was beaten by 12 or 13 white men, strangers to him, in the front yard of his home after his assailants told him, "We're tired of the way you've been treating your wife and family and we're tired of you associating too freely with Negroes." The flogging came three weeks after the beatings in Maplesville (see below), six miles to the north. (August 27, 1957—G)

Maplesville, Ala.: Six Negroes were beaten in what a newspaper account said appeared to be a senseless outrage. The six men, one a soldier on leave, were watching television in the home of one of them when Ku Klux Klansmen arrived. The masked men beat the Negroes from the rear, using rubber hoses or blackjacks; four of the victims then were taken out into the road and starting running, while four or five shots were fired. They hid in a wooded area. Earlier in the evening, 22 carloads of Klansmen pulled up in front of the town hall, donned robes and marched through town. After the beatings, two of the Negroes left town. Apparently the only thing which prevented a mass exodus of other Negroes from the small town was that several influential citizens, like Raymond Stremming, operator of a veneer company, promised there would be no repetition of the Klan incident. "It is going to be easier to run the Klan off than it is for the Klan to run the Negroes off," said Stremming. Later, Stremming was threatened and warned to leave town. The town police chief, a county deputy sheriff and several of his employees stood armed guard after the threat, Stremming said. (August 1957—B, G)

Marion, Ala.: A Bibb County white man was shot in the arm during a nightrider raid on the home of a part-time Negro preacher. Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeon said Nathaniel Benson, 40, the Negro whose home was raided, told this story: Robed white men in three cars tossed sulphur bombs in his house at midnight and then shot at him when he went outside with his shotgun. Benson said he went out the back door shooting his shotgun "in the air" and ran into woods nearby. The incident came to light when the white man was admitted to a hospital. (August 31, 1957—G)

Birmingham, Ala.: A 34-year-old Negro was kidnapped and emasculated by a group of white men wearing hoods and robes. The man, Judge Aaron, was taken to a Veterans Administration hospital, where doctors said he had been severely beaten and "100 per cent" emasculated. Two months later, two members of the Ku Klux Klan, Bart Floyd and Joe Pritchett, both 31, were convicted of mutilation and sentenced to 20 years, the maximum punishment provided in Alabama. A third Klansman, Jesse Mabry, later also was sentenced to 20 years. Witnesses said Pritchett commanded a night-riding detail which set out to prove the worthiness of Floyd, who was to be promoted to captain in the Klan lair. Floyd was described as the Klansman who mutilated Aaron. In sentencing Floyd, Circuit Court Judge Alta L. King said the deed was the "most cowardly, atrocious and diabolical crime ever to come to my attention." (September 4, November 7-8, 1957—C, B)

Prattville, Ala.: A Negro minister reported to the Autauga County sheriff that two shots were fired into his car as he drove from a revival in Prattville. The Rev. J. W. Bonner, pastor of the First Christian Methodist Episcopal church in Montgomery, said neither he nor any of his three passengers were injured. A bullet was recovered from the upholstery of Bonner's automobile. The minister said the shots were fired from a car which "contained six or seven white people" as it passed him on the highway. During the boycott of city buses in Montgomery, the minister was one of 90 Negroes charged with violating Alabama's anti-boycott law. (September 6, 1957—G)

Birmingham, Ala.: The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was beaten and threatened with death by an angry mob when he attempted to enroll four Negro children at all-white Phillips High School. Police arrested three white men and battled a dozen more until the Negro minister could escape. Two hours later four Negro men drove by the school and tossed rocks at a window. The next day Phillips was evacuated after a bomb threat which proved to be a hoax. The same day crowds gathered around Phillips, Woodlawn High and Graymont elementary school. Police kept order except for a demonstration at Woodlawn, where the crowd threw rocks at passing cars and buses occupied by Negroes. The three schools were the ones to which eight Negro children had asked admittance. The following day, 76 Negro high school pupils were taken from their bus and questioned by police after rock throwing incidents. Later, one was convicted of throwing a soft drink bottle at a car, sentenced to six months in jail and fined $100, the maximum sentence. Six others were turned over to juvenile authorities. Three white men were charged with assault with intent to murder in the beating of the Negro minister. Shuttlesworth is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a pro-integration group formed in Birmingham. (September 10, 11, 14, 1957—B)

Evergreen, Ala.: Four Negroes were beaten by a mob in Klan regalia. The victims said the robed men accused them of NAACP membership. Two of those beaten were ministers. They apparently were chance passersby at a spot where Klansmen were gathered. The other two were accused of neglecting their children. (September 1957—A)

Leeds, Ala.: About 50 carloads of parents showed up at Moody Junior High School in St. Clair County after a rumor spread that Negroes would attempt to enroll. When no Negroes appeared, the parents left. The school is at Moody Cross Roads, about five miles north of Leeds. (September 17, 1957—W)

Bessemer, Ala.: A dynamite blast damaged the home of a Negro attorney who was attempting to open two public parks in Bessemer to Negroes. Windows in the home of David Hood, Jr., were shattered and he said some of the glass fell on him as he slept on a living room couch with a loaded rifle nearby. Hood said he had received telephone threats against his life and only two nights earlier he had

dismissed three guards who had protected his home for three weeks. The house is circled with floodlights. Hood recently was convicted of violating the state firearms law by carrying a pistol. He said he had a permit which expired and that he had been unable to get it renewed. (November 1, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Four homes purchased by Negroes in the once all-white section of Fountain Heights were dynamited over a period of several months. One of the homes later was damaged by fire which police blamed on arsonists. White property owners in the area have formed an association designed to prevent sales of homes to Negroes. (November 2, 1957, December 7, 1957—B)

Centreville, Ala.: White men horse-whipped a Negro preacher north of here. Bibb County Sheriff Carl A. Griffin said the Rev. T. D. Wesley gave this account: After preaching at a Negro church, he was driving along a country road when men in two or three cars stopped him, handcuffed him and tied him with rope. They drove him up a side road and beat him with a horsewhip, then left him, still bound, in the unlocked truck of his car. He managed to free himself and drive to Centreville, where he was taken to a Selma hospital. Wesley said one of his assailants wore a kind of hat or hood which came over his face. The sheriff said no explanation for the beating had been uncovered. He added that he was informed Wesley was threatened once before and that his assailants vowed to get him if he talked. (November 5, 1957—W)

Fort Deposit, Ala.: A young Negro, Rogers Hamilton, 19, was found shot to death near his farm home. Lowndes County Sheriff Frank Ryals said that according to the youth's mother, two unidentified men "called at the house for the boy and took him away in a truck." She told officers she followed the truck for a short distance and saw her son shot to death, but that she was some distance away and could not identify the men. The sheriff said the mother first claimed the men were white, then changed her story; he said she also thought her son might have been attacked as a result of an argument over a woman. "Reports reaching the Northern press tagged the death last October 22 a lynching," the sheriff said. "However, our investigation has revealed nothing that leads us to believe these reports." (November 13, 1957—G)

Clanton, Ala.: Armed with hand grenades, rifles and tear gas, sheriffs and highway patrolmen from eight counties, accompanied by 150 to 200 white townspeople, converged at a barricaded Negro home. One Negro was killed and two others captured. The crowd moved on the house the day after a deputy sheriff and another white man were wounded by gunfire from ambush. The affair began one Thursday night in November 1957, when a cross was burned near the Negro section in Lomax, a small community three miles from the Central Alabama town of Clanton. Then, according to police, some of the Negroes armed themselves Friday and Saturday night in fear of Klan violence. They were watching the hill in Lomax when Deputy Sheriff Floyd Porter stopped a white motorist to make a routine driver's license check. Suddenly, a shotgun blast ripped over the car and several pellets struck a passenger. (One officer later speculated the deputies might have been mistaken for Klansmen.) Porter gave chase through an open field and as he rounded a small Negro church he was struck by a shotgun blast which almost tore off a hand and punctured his left lung. Authorities brought bloodhounds from the state prison to the church and followed a trail to the home of Willie Dunigan, 43-year-old Negro farmhand. In the subsequent gun battle, Dunigan was killed, his wife wounded seriously and four deputies suffered minor wounds. Later, police reported they were holding at least eight Negroes for questioning. Sheriff Hugh Champion denied there was evidence of any basic racial trouble and said, "It was just an unfortunate incident arising out of a tense atmosphere." (November 18, 21, 1957—B, G, G)

Birmingham, Ala.: A Negro school janitor said he was abducted and beaten Tuesday night by a group of white men who identified themselves as Ku Klux Klansmen. Woodrow Johnson told school authorities three white men ordered him into a car in Bessemer, telling him he was under arrest. He became suspicious when they drove into a woods instead of to jail. The men asked him if he was working for racial integration and also if he was the Rev. (Martin Luther) King. Johnson said he was struck from behind and knocked unconscious and during this time was hit in the eye. The janitor said the men put him back in the car and drove him part way back to Bessemer. He said the first three men were joined by at least five others in the woods. (December 7, 1957—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A group of Negroes beat a 20-year-old white man after a Negro woman was struck by a car he was driving, the highway patrol reported. Six or seven Negro men pulled Jimmy B. Rigsby of Montgomery from his car following the accident, beat him about the head and kicked him in the ribs, the patrol said. The report said the Negro woman apparently got out of a car and was searching for a loose part when she was struck by an outside rearview mirror on the Rigsby car. She suffered a broken arm and abrasions. The attackers had fled when patrolmen arrived. (December 13, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: The home of a Negro family who had moved into a white neighborhood and ignored a warning fiery cross was damaged by a bomb explosion. The house, in East Birmingham, was occupied by the Otis Flowers family. The blast blew out a wall of the house and Arthur Flowers, 12, suffered a cut hand. Detectives said it was the second bombing of a Negro home within a week. (December 31, 1957—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: A newspaper carrier boy underwent a nose operation after being hit by a brick he reported was thrown at him by Negroes. Tim Knight, 14, said he had dropped his papers and was picking them up when he was struck by the brick thrown from a bus carrying Negro children. The incident occurred in a white neighborhood. (March 12, 1958—B)

Dora, Ala.: Walker County deputies sought three to five white men for questioning in the shotgun wounding of a Negro man. Deputy Alvin Phillips said Joe Harris was taken to a doctor in Praco after being wounded in the arm and side. Three other Negroes sitting in a car with Harris in front of a store in downtown Dora gave this account: The four Negro men were talking when a car carrying three to five youths between 18 and 21 years old pulled alongside Harris' car. One of the white youths pulled out a shotgun and fired one blast. The pellets struck Harris. (April 14, 1958—H)

Birmingham, Ala.: Fifty-four sticks of dynamite left in a satchel at Temple Beth-El failed to go off when a fuse went out. The dynamite sticks had enough power to de-

molish the synagogue. Harry Horwitz, administrative director of the Temple, said he could offer no explanation. (April 28, 1958—B)

Bessemer, Ala.: A dynamite blast shattered windows in a house where seven Negro children were sleeping, but none was injured. Mrs. Dora Mauldin said several windows were broken, boards were knocked off the house and a large hole was found near the foundation. Mrs. Mauldin said she knew of no reason for anyone to throw the dynamite at the house, which is in an all-Negro district. (May 12, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Police investigated the collapse of the broadcasting tower of Negro-operated radio station WEDR. Perry L. Thompson, an announcer at the station, said the guy wire had been cut. Thompson entered the May 6 Democratic primary race for lieutenant governor but later withdrew. When the station went on the air three years earlier, the tower was damaged by vandals. (May 17, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: The church of a Negro leader was saved from destruction when a volunteer guard moved dynamite away from the building moments before it exploded. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth said the bomb would have demolished his Bethel Baptist Church if it had not been for the "heroic deed" of Will Hall. A retired coal miner, Hall is one of six volunteers who had guarded the church each Saturday night since it and the adjoining home of the minister were damaged heavily by bombing in December, 1956. The minister said Hall found a smoking can containing dynamite against a wall of the church. He moved it to the edge of the street 30 feet away about a minute before the blast, which shattered windows and cracked plaster in the church. Following the explosion, police said the only clues were a few pieces of the metal can which held the dynamite and a vague description of a carload of white men seen passing the church shortly before the bomb was found. (June 30, 1958—B)

Birmingham, Ala.: Three white men faced charges of bombing the home of a Negro. The blast shattered the porch and front wall of William Blackwell's house. One child suffered a neck cut but two others escaped injury. Police said Negroes caught and beat two of the white men until the latter were rescued by officers. A third man was picked up later. The police said the suspects apparently had planned to bomb four or five Negro homes but their plan went awry when the first bomb exploded prematurely. (July 18, 1958—Y)

Birmingham, Ala.: A jeering, milling crowd of white men and teenagers chased Negroes from the vicinity of Phillips High School. The crowd, apparently standing guard against any attempts of Negroes to enroll in the white school, grew to more than 150 and remained at the scene for more than four hours until dispersed by police. A white boy suffered a head injury when, he said, he was struck by a rock thrown by a Negro youth. Police arrested three white men who, they said, refused to move on. Negroes had attempted to enroll at Phillips a year ago, but made no attempt this year. The Negroes chased away apparently were only pedestrians passing through the area. (September 3, 1958—B)

Maplesville, Ala.: A Negro pulpwood worker who reportedly was kidnaped by armed white men returned home safely several hours later, Police Chief Aubrey Morrison said. A search by deputies and the highway patrol began after a report that Robert Clint Warks, 24, was kidnaped. Officers said three Negroes reported seeing Warks forced into a car by four white men, three of whom had pistols. Morrison said Warks' family "wasn't talking much" and he didn't know any details of the incident. He said he was told that the Negro was unable to identify any of the white men. About an hour and a half after the alleged kidnaping, the Associated Press in Birmingham received an anonymous telephone call from someone who said, "There has been a Negro kidnaped at Maplesville. I thought you might want to know about it," and then hung up. (Sept. 20, 1958—B)

Montgomery, Ala.: A heavy chain was thrown across power lines serving television station WSFA, knocking it off the air minutes after the Steve Allen Show began. One of Allen's guests was Negro star Harry Belafonte. It was the second time in less than a year that the station had been knocked out. The station was blacked out the previous time just before it was to telecast an interview with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro leader in Montgomery. In the latest incident, power was restored after an hour. Last August a mob of about 100 white men forced the shutdown of a drive-in theater at nearby Wetumpka when it scheduled a movie in which Belafonte played opposite a white actress. (Nov. 10, 1958—Y)

Birmingham, Ala.: An admitted Ku Klux Klansman was convicted of bombing a Negro home and sentenced to 10 years in prison by a jury which recommended probation. Judge Wallace Gibson said he would formally pass sentence for Hubert Eugene Wilcutt on Jan. 9. Defense Attorney George Rogers told the jury if it returned a guilty verdict, "you'll see Negroes spreading out like a cancer into every white community." (Dec. 5, 1958—B)

ARKANSAS

Hoxie, Ark.: This is one of the towns in the South which operates a summer session for its pupils, then recesses for a period in the fall for cotton picking. In July 1955, 25 Negroes for the first time went to grammar and high school with 1,000 white students. All went fairly well for about three weeks until protests started rolling in. School officials said the protest campaign began with the arrival of letters and literature from Citizens Council groups in Mississippi and other Southern states. Soon, the town was ripped apart emotionally. Bitter arguments, two-way economic boycotts, a boycott of the school and petitions that the school board restore segregation followed. The turmoil led the school board to end the summer session two weeks early to let the situation cool off. Schools were reopened in October on the same integrated basis and with officials armed with a temporary restraining order to keep pro-segregation forces from interfering with the operation of schools. The reopening was without incident but with a high rate of absenteeism. In January 1956, U. S. District Judge Albert L. Reeves in Jonesboro ruled for the Hoxie school board, holding that the U. S. Supreme Court had in effect nullified Arkansas segregation laws. (Sept., Nov. 1955; Jan. 1956—A)

Little Rock, Ark.: Six white teen-agers were attacked by a group of 15 to 20 Negro youths, police said. The white boys suffered cuts and bruises. Officers said the white boys reported they were walking home when the Negroes attacked, armed with clubs and bricks. Police believed they

were the same gang who, about two hours earlier, attacked two other white youths a block away. About 12 Negroes were picked up by police but the victims couldn't identify them as the assailants. (November 1, 1957—F)

North Little Rock, Ark.: Thirty white pupils bombarded Negroes with snowballs near North Little Rock High School, causing an eye injury to a 58-year-old woman. An elderly Negro man fled, calling for help. Police broke up the fracas but made no arrest. One white boy was suspended from classes for four days. North Little Rock's school board planned to start gradual integration this fall but postponed the program indefinitely after white pupils blocked the attempted entry of several Negroes. (November 23, 1957—E)

Little Rock, Ark.: Fire destroyed the gymnasium of the Arkansas Baptist College for Negroes and an anonymous telephone caller boasted to newsmen that segregationists set the fire. A nearby house, ignited by the wind-whipped fire, burned to the ground and three other houses were damaged. The Rev. O. A. Rogers, Jr., president of the college, estimated damage at $80,000. He said he couldn't believe segregationists had set the fire, for "everyone in Little Rock is sympathetic towards our school." (February 8, 1958—B)

Little Rock, Ark.: Mrs. L. C. Bates, state president of the NAACP, reported an attempt to bomb her home on New Year's Eve. The bomb, a crude device in a bottle, went off in the driveway and caused no damage. Two weeks later someone threw a rock through a bedroom window. (February 1958—A)

Little Rock, Ark.: In September 1957, the city school board began putting into effect its gradual desegregation program by admitting nine Negro students to Central High School. The result has been told by the press around the world. In brief, on the opening day of School, September 4, the nine Negroes were prevented from entering by state guardsmen under orders of Gov. Orval Faubus, who said he was acting to maintain order. Later that month a federal court directed that the nine children must be admitted. On September 23, a mob of 1,000 whites cursed, fought and wept outside the school as the nine entered a side door of Central High. By noon, the Negroes were removed for their safety. The next day President Eisenhower ordered the guardsmen federalized and sent a thousand men of the 101st Airborne Division from Camp Campbell, Ky., to Little Rock to rout the mob, and guard the Negro pupils. Later, the federal troops were withdrawn and only a token number of federalized National Guardsmen remained until the end of the school year. The situation remained uneasy. A hard core of white students has operated a systematic campaign of intimidation and coercion aimed both at the Negroes and the white students and teachers who treated the Negro pupils in a friendly manner or favored compliance with the court ruling. The Negro pupils were spat upon, tripped, called names, pushed downstairs, shoved and kicked. One Negro girl retaliated and was expelled permanently. A white girl was expelled for having attacked a woman vice principal physically and circulating inflammatory cards. She denounced police and the school over a statewide television hook-up paid for by adult segregationists. She was later readmitted to Central High. In the city itself there have been numerous instances of intimidation and some businesses have suffered. Central High has been plagued by a rash of bomb scares. Harry Ashmore, executive editor of *The Arkansas Gazette,* which has advocated law and moderation, summed up the current situation in early 1958: "This is an intolerable situation . . . The local people are cowed. They have no support from the city government, strong opposition from the state government, and no support from the Federal Government. What can the decent, law-abiding people do . . .? Today, the small, militant, bitter minority is in complete control . . ."

As the 1957-58 school year ended, the first Negro, Ernest Green, was graduated from Central High. There was at least one racial incident at the baccalaureate, which was patrolled by 120 armed National Guardsmen and 100 policemen. Outside the stadium where the ceremony was held a white youth spat at one of the Negro visitors. He was arrested by city police, charged with disturbing the peace and released on $200 bond. An hour before the baccalaureate, seven Negroes were arrested in a car a few blocks from the stadium. All were booked for disturbing the peace and two were charged with carrying concealed weapons —a gun and a knife. All were released under bond. A reporter at the scene said he heard one of the Negroes say that they were on the way to the stadium to protect young Green. (March 23, 1958—K; May 26, 1958—B) (The school was closed in the fall of 1958.)

Little Rock, Ark.: Four teen-age white boys charged that 15 or 16 Negroes jumped them near a junior high school and beat them with cleated football shoes. Billy Gene Smith, 15, one of the white boys, collapsed into the arms of a reporter. "They clubbed, stomped and beat him," said Jimmy Overton, 15. Police did not immediately identify the other two white boys. The principal of Dunbar Junior High, which the Negroes attend, said he had gotten "a somewhat different version" of the incident than that related by the two white boys but would not release it. (Sept. 25, 1958—Y)

FLORIDA

Suwannee County, Fla.: A Negro farmer was kidnaped and flogged and an expectant Negro mother beaten. In an editorial, the *Tampa Morning Tribune,* attributed lack of action by law enforcement agencies to resentment over the Supreme Court school ruling. (June 6, 1955)

Umatilla, Fla.: A union official charged that four hooded men fired shotgun blasts into a labor rally and wounded 12 Negroes in this former KKK stronghold. Gov. LeRoy Collins called on Sheriff Willis V. McCall for an investigation of the shots fired through the windows of a Masonic Lodge where 26 Negroes were listening to a labor organizer. A deputy reported earlier that McCall had left on a three-day cruise down the Kissimmee River and told his aides not to disclose the violence to reporters until he returned. (October 22, 1955—C)

Sorrento, Fla.: The father of children whose right to attend white schools was upheld by a circuit judge reported several men tried to burn his rural home with gasoline bombs. The family put out the fire. Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall, who contends the children have Negro blood, commented, "Anybody could have done this. The people are mad about the court's ruling." The father denied that the children were part Negro and said he and his wife were of Cherokee Indian and Irish descent. The children were admitted to a private church-supported white school. (November 12, 1955—B)

Bushnell, Fla.: Seven white men were acquitted of flogging Jesse Woods, a Negro, when the State's case collapsed and the chief prosecutor complained his main witnesses changed their stories. Circuit Judge T. G. Futch ordered the acquittal after State Attorney A. P. Buie asked that four of the seven be freed. The judge said the state failed to prove the men were guilty of aggravated assault and false imprisonment of Woods, who was taken from the nearby Wildwood city jail and flogged November 28. The Negro had been arrested on city charges and police said he remarked, "Hello there, baby," to a white school teacher. The state's case broke down when Buie said soon after court opened, "I have sworn testimony from these witnesses sufficient to make a strong prima facie case against every defendant we have charged. These same witnesses who named these defendants have changed their stories. I do not know why." (December 12, 1956—B)

Tallahassee, Fla.: For the second time, rocks have smashed windows in the home of the Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of this city's bus integration movement. Earlier, a cross was burned on the lawn. (January 14, 1957—B)

Tallahassee, Fla.: A shotgun was fired into a Negro grocery store, during the period of unrest caused by bus integration troubles. (January 1957—B)

Dade City, Fla.: A white player for the Tampa baseball team was wounded slightly by birdshot fired at an automobile carrying two other white players and three Negro members of the Florida State League team. The shooting occurred soon after the car was moved from in front of a drive-in at the request of an employee because it carried both white and Negro men. (August 9, 1957—B)

Pompano Beach, Fla.: A rumor that Negro students would attempt to enroll in the high school caused police to throw a barricade around the building. The tense situation eased shortly but the *Fort Lauderdale Daily News* reported both white and Negro students were carrying concealed weapons. All students driving or riding to school were required to leave their cars and walk the final block through police lines. When no Negro students showed up at the white school, the barricades were removed but police continued to patrol the area. Police Chief James Boggs said his men were not ordered to keep Negro children from the school but to "keep the peace." Later, police said they were investigating reports that a "prominent white man" was encouraging Negroes to enroll in the white school and that if the report could be substantiated the individual would be charged with inciting to riot. (October 1957—A)

Crestwood, Fla.: A crowd of 100 gathered at the Crestwood High School near Eglin Air Force Base when Sheriff Ray Wilson received a call asking protection for Negro children who wanted to enroll. When no Negroes appeared, Wilson said the call apparently was a hoax. He added he would consider any attempts to desegregate the schools as "inciting a riot." (November 1957—A)

Miami, Fla.: The school-recreation annex of Temple Beth El was dynamited, causing at least $30,000 in damage. The incident was the first of its kind in Miami since a wave of terrorism in 1951 when several synagogues and Negro homes were bombed and dynamite was found at a Catholic church. (March 17, 1958—B)

Jacksonville, Fla.: Dynamite explosions damaged a Negro school and synagogue. The blasts at the two buildings, about four miles apart, occurred within a half hour. Police estimated damage to the James Weldon Johnson High School at $20,000. The explosion blew in windows and doors of the Jewish center and shattered windows of homes two blocks away. The *Florida Times Union* received a call from a man who said he was a member of the "Confederate Underground" and that there would be three bombings. He said, "We want no more Jews in Florida except at Miami Beach." Rabbi Sydney M. Leftkowitz reported a call from a man who said, "This is the Confederate Center of Information. We have just blown up your Jewish center. All integration in the South must stop." (April 28, 1958—B)

Jacksonville, Fla.: A dispute over serving a Negro in a white restaurant led to the shooting of the Negro, Herbert Torrence, 26, who was critically wounded. He was charged with assault with intent to murder. No charge was filed against the proprietor of the restaurant, Roy R. Guthrie. Police said Guthrie told them he refused Torrence's demands to be served and the Negro left, but later returned and started to pull a pistol from his pocket. Guthrie said he leveled a rifle at Torrence, who went outside and fired a shot through the window. Guthrie told police he then began firing the rifle at Torrence through the windows. (May 31, 1958—B)

GEORGIA

Atlanta, Ga.: A crowd of Georgia Tech students demonstrated before the Executive Mansion in protest against Gov. Marvin Griffin's attempt to prevent the Sugar Bowl football game between Tech and the University of Pittsburgh, because the latter had a Negro player. Another crowd of about 2,500 students marched on the State Capitol and caused considerable damage. Three days later, on December 7, the State Board of Regents decided to allow Tech to play in the Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans. (January 1956—A)

Atlanta, Ga.: An explosion damaged a home into which a Negro family moved a few days earlier and caused minor damage to a neighboring home owned by a white man. The blast shattered a corner foundation, tore a hole in the living room and a piano toppled into the cavity. Five Negroes in the house escaped injury. (March 25, 1956—B)

Atlanta, Ga.: An explosion heavily damaged a Negro-occupied house in a predominantly white neighborhood and broke six windows in a white-occupied house next door. The Negro couple, who had rented the house recently, escaped injury. The blast ripped off portions of the front porch and the walls of two front rooms shortly before dawn. About 45 minutes after the explosion, the woman occupying the damaged house next door received an anonymous call telling her, "You will be next." (July 2, 1956—B)

Rossville, Ga.: A one-room frame shack, center of a rural racial dispute, was in ashes, destroyed by an unexplained fire. The owner of the place, who had moved to the farm a week earlier, planned to let a Negro man live in the shack while working as a laborer. Then a man drove into his yard and told the Negro he had better not be working at the place the next day. The following night a crowd of about 300 converged on the farm; finally, after a 40-minute talk, the white owner agreed he would not allow the Negro to live on the farm. The crowd dispersed. Two hours later the shack was in flames. The Walker County sheriff's office said no investigation was being made,

that the incident had not been reported to him. (January 9, 1957—B)

Americus, Ga.: Shortly after the Supreme Court's school decision, troubles, heretofore minor, began in earnest for Koinonia Farm, an interracial religious cooperative founded in Sumter County by a group of Southerners in 1942. Merchants in nearby communities refused to buy the farm's products or sell it anything (see reprisals). But acts of violence began after the Rev. Clarence Jordan, a Baptist minister, co-founder of Koinonia and a resident of the farm, announced in April 1956, he was willing to sign an entrance application to a state white college for two Negroes. Later in the month, pistol shots were fired at the roadside produce stand. On July 23, the farm's roadside market was dynamited. causing an estimated $3,000 in damage. The following November, several rounds of buckshot were fired into the market, ruining a refrigerator case valued at $300. In December, shots were fired into the community's electric gas pumps, destroying the mechanism; a sign was riddled by bullets from a speeding car on New Year's day. On January 14, a charge of dynamite destroyed the entire market, valued at $7,000. On January 17, an anonymous phone call advised the community to be on watch that night; about 2 a. m. flames leaped from a vacant house on the farm. Other mysterious fires have occurred from time to time in the buildings of neighbors who have befriended members of the community, one loss amounting to $30,000. On January 30, a submachine gun was fired from an auto into the side of one of the community's residences, the bullets missing people there by inches. At 9:15 p.m. on February 1, a dozen shotgun blasts from speeding cars peppered a volley ball court where children were playing under lights. One shot went through a residence window, barely missing an 11-year-old child. Two weeks later two flood lights at the entrance to the farm were shot out. On March 5, 1957, an unarmed Koinonia guard was fired on, the light he was carrying was shattered and two bullets struck a car by which he was standing. Meanwhile, many crosses were burned. In October 1957, shots again were fired from a speeding car into the farm area. (*Christian Science Monitor,* March 1, 1957, and other sources.)

Atlanta, Ga.: A 51-year-old white man was sentenced to six months in jail after a court was told he threw a rock, and paid to have another one thrown, into the home of a Negro who moved into a white neighborhood. (June 6, 1957—E)

Ringgold, Ga.: Police said an attempt to dynamite the tenant home of a Negro World War I veteran failed when an 18-inch fuse burned out before reaching the explosive. Seven sticks of dynamite were found under the front porch. The Negro, Phillip Huggins, said his farm home was visited two months earlier by a group of robed men who kicked him and ordered him to leave the county. (November 29, 1957—B)

Ringgold, Ga.: A Negro tenant, Jim Reynolds, was told to leave the county by a group of robed men August 16, the same night another Negro was threatened. (See Above) Police said he refused. On August 18 his home burned. (November 29, 1957—B)

Dawson, Ga.: Fear and shock spread through the Negro community of this south Georgia town in the spring of 1958. A Negro had been beaten in his front yard by police. Hauled into court, he died five days later of a crushed skull. Police had shot to death another Negro and shot and wounded a third. A Negro mother was locked in jail when she went to visit her son there. During the same period, about 25 Negroes, many of them teachers, tried to register to vote; all failed. The episodes began Sunday, April 20. A 31-year-old Negro, James Brazier, found police arresting his father, Odell Brazier, on a charge of drunken driving. He asked the officers to stop beating his father. Police Chief Howard L. Lee said the son tried to interfere with the arrest of his father, who was resisting. The younger Brazier drove his father's car to their home and Odell Brazier was taken to jail. Later, police went to young Brazier's home to arrest him for interfering with his father's arrest. A Negro witness said two policemen grabbed James, dragged him to their car and kicked him twice. His 10-year-old son ran up crying, "Don't you hit my Daddy like that," and one of the officers hit the boy, according to the witness. James was struck on the head with a gun and slapped across the face. The police chief said he "put up a scuffle and they had to hit him on the head with a blackjack." The next morning the elder Brazier was led to the weekly Mayor's Court but the son was senseless, unable to speak or support himself. The mayor told the family of the injured man to bring him back the next week. Meanwhile, he was rushed to the Columbus, Ga., Medical Center for immediate brain surgery. He was operated upon but never regained consciousness. He died April 25. His death certificate stated he died of a skull fracture caused by a blow from a blunt instrument.

The day of his funeral Odell Frazier was arrested again and forfeited $25 collateral for running a stop sign.

The week-end of May 23, Tobe Lattimer, 48, a Negro electrician and plumber, was shot by Police Officer W. B. Cherry, who was identified by witnesses as a participant in the Brazier beating. Cherry reported that he answered a call that Latimer was creating a disturbance in a juke joint, that he found Latimer drunk and disorderly and shot him only after he grabbed the officer and refused to let go. Negro witnesses claimed that Cherry warned Latimer not to break a whisky bottle he was carrying but that Latimer did break it and was shot. Latimer was hospitalized, forfeited $25 collateral and faced a charge of possessing moonshine whisky.

Two nights later, Cherry shot Willie Countryman, 32, Negro driver for a bottling company. The shooting occurred in Countryman's back yard. He died on the way to a hospital. The police chief said Cherry and a fellow officer, making a routine cruiser check of the Negro area, heard "whooping and hollering." Cherry walked toward Countryman's back porch and when the Negro jumped at him with a switch-blade knife felled him with one shot, the police chief said. Negroes insisted they had heard no disturbance as reported by the police, that the only gathering in the area was at another house where women were baking cookies for a church affair.

The next morning police arrested Billy Flagg, 21, as he played ball with other Negroes. The officers said he had made believe he had a gun, and aimed the imaginary weapon at a police patrol car. When the youth's mother came to see him in jail, she was locked up also, Police Chief Lee explained, because "she was carrying on about her boy being locked up. We put her in there to cool her down." Negroes said Billy Flagg was roughed up when arrested; Lee denied this. Subsequently, Cherry was cleared

by a coroner's jury of the Countryman death. Negroes said the violence during the several weeks' period was only a climax to rough treatment in recent years. (June 8, 1958—S)

Columbus, Ga.: A Negro's frame house on the fringe of a white neighborhood was blasted but none of the five occupants was hurt. Detective Capt. C. R. Adair said an explosive, probably dynamite, was thrown against the house, doing considerable damage. All windows in the house and numerous windows in nearby dwellings were shattered. Mrs. Essie Ellison said she bought the house from a white owner and moved in a month ago. Earlier the same night an anonymous telephone caller profanely told newsmen of plans to bomb the Masonic Temple where the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro minister, later addressed a Masonic fellowship rally. No disturbance occurred, however. (July 2, 1958—B)

Atlanta, Ga.: A dynamite blast ripped a gaping hole in a wall of a Jewish temple, causing damage estimated at $200,000. The tremendous explosion shook houses a half-mile away. The blast wrecked a church office and the study of the rabbi, severely damaged an auditorium used for religious education and social activities, and left the main sanctuary littered with stained glass. About the time of the blast United Press International received an anonymous phone call from a person who identified himself as "general Gordon of the Confederate Underground." The caller informed the UPI that "we have just blown up a temple" and said other such incidents would follow. (Oct. 12, 1958—S)

LOUISIANA

Erath, La.: Bishop Jules B. Jeanmard excommunicated three Roman Catholics for beating a woman teacher who instructed Negro and white children in the same catechism classroom. The Bishop said the decree was directed at three women who attacked the lay teacher as she was on her way to recite a rosary. (November 27, 1955—B)

New Orleans, La.: Students at the integrated New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University faced expulsion for unruly conduct. Dean Homer Hitt issued a statement after two successive days of incidents involving Negroes attending the school under a United court order. The statement said LSU officials "expect a halt to the congregating and milling about, shouting and name calling and all acts of physical violence." A Negro student was expelled for carrying a knife on the campus. The dean said all students, white or Negro, would be expelled immediately if weapons of any kind were found on them. (Sept. 18-20, 1958—B, Y)

New Orleans, La.: A Negro boy and girl were arrested in connection with a fight over seating on a bus in which a white man was beaten and stabbed. Charles Roof, Jr., 22, was given hospital treatment for multiple stab wounds and lacerations. He said he was seated in the front of the bus of the newly desegregated New Orleans transit system and arose to offer his seat to a woman passenger. Then a Negro man approached, they had words, according to Roof, who said he then was attacked by some Negro men and women. Roy Gonzales, 18, who was booked along with a 17-year-old girl companion, said they were enroute home from a football game and when he started for one of the seats, Roof pushed him and a fight began. He said he did not know how Roof was stabbed. One witness said she saw a Negro woman stab Roof. (Oct. 6, 1958—B)

MISSISSIPPI

Brookhaven, Miss.: Lamar Smith, Negro reported to have urged other Negroes to cast absentee ballots in a gubernatorial race, was shot to death on the courthouse lawn. Three white men were charged with his murder but a grand jury failed to indict them. (August 17, 1955—B)

Jackson, Miss.: The home of Dr. A. A. McCoy, NAACP leader, was fired upon. (September 15, 1955—J)

Sumner, Miss.: A case that captured headlines across the nation and stirred racial antagonisms North and South ended with the acquittal of two white half-brothers in the slaying of a Negro boy, Emmett Till. The defendants, Roy Bryant and John W. Milam, were accused of the August 28, 1955, kidnap-slaying of the vacationing 14-year-old from Chicago, in what became known as the "wolf whistle" case. Till was kidnaped from his uncle's cottonfield shack. Four days earlier, Mrs. Roy Bryant said, a Negro had tried to date her, uttered an obscenity and wolf-whistled at her. In pre-trial statements, authorities offered the incident at the Bryant store in the hamlet of Money as a motive for the murder. The defense at the trial cast doubt that a body taken from the Tallahatchie River three days after the abduction was Till's. The jury foreman said the issue of the body's identification was the chief motive behind its verdict. Bryant and Milam maintained they released young Till after his abduction because he was not the boy who did the whistling. In November, a Leflore County grand jury declined to indict the two men on charges of kidnaping Till. (September 23, 1955, November 9, 1955—B)

Tchula, Miss.: Two men accused of favoring "racial mingling" heard a suggestion from their neighbors that they move from this little Mississippi town. About 700 white men and women packed into a high school gym, adopted a resolution expressing the community's "opinion" that Dr. D. R. Minter, a physician who devoted much of his time to helping low income groups, and A. E. Cox, co-operative farm manager, should leave the area. "We don't want a Sumner here," said State Rep.-elect J. T. Love in a reference to the Emmett Till murder trial 55 miles from here. The meeting was called to discuss reports that Minter and Cox favored racial "mingling" and that Negroes and whites went swimming together at Providence Farms, Cox's 2,700-acre plantation near here. Minter said there had been "no mixed swimming to my knowledge" at the co-operative, where four white families and two Negro families lived. He added that neither he nor Cox had any immediate plans for leaving the cooperative. (Since that time, however, both men have left.) (September 29, 1955—C)

Belzoni, Miss.: Gus Courts, Negro grocer, was shot and seriously wounded by a gunman who fired through his store window from a car. Courts said the violence came after an unsuccessful drive by the Citizens Council in Belzoni to force him out of business by economic pressure. Courts added that this was because of his efforts to persuade Negroes to register to vote in this delta town of 4,000. "We haven't even mentioned integration," Courts said. He was president of the local NAACP chapter at the time of the shooting. The Rev. George Washington Lee was killed the previous year after he refused a request to remove his name from the voters registration list, newspapers reported. (November 28, 1955—B)

Sumner, Miss.: Elmore O. Kimbell, white cotton gin operator, was acquitted of murder charges in the shotgun

slaying of a Negro service station attendant. Kimbell swore he shot Clinton Melton in self-defense at a Glendora filling station in December 1955, after three shots were fired at him. Three witnesses testified that Kimbell had threatened Melton, that he drove away and returned in 15 minutes with his shotgun and killed the Negro. Lee McGarrh, Melton's white employer, swore the Negro had no gun. He told investigators that after Melton sold gasoline to Kimbell the white man argued about getting a full tank when he ordered only a few gallons. McGarrh said Kimbell complained the Negro "acted smart" and then drove away with a promise to return. McGarrh said he warned Melton to flee and that he was in his car about to do so when Kimbell returned and opened fire. (March 13, 1956—B, C)

Clarksdale, Miss.: A Negro organization charged Clarksdale police with "physical and verbal abuse" of Negroes in enforcement of a curfew and an investigation of recent criminal assaults on white women. The mayor denied the charge and said policemen had been instructed to "defend themselves" but were told not to beat anyone. Negro spokesmen said members of their race had been subjected to both "physical and verbal abuse" in connection with investigations of a series of rape cases. A Negro bricklayer charged police beat him into unconsciousness; he said the alleged beating occurred in connection with the curfew ordered the previous month after three rape cases were reported in the city. (October 26, 1956—X)

Greenwood, Miss.: Police reported a rifle shot was fired into the home of a Greenwood woman who is a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Mrs. Elizabeth Wheatley and her husband, D. S. Wheatley, Sr., cotton buyer, were at home but neither was injured. (March 13, 1957—B)

Water Valley, Miss.: An all-white jury acquitted Sheriff J. G. Treloar of a manslaughter charge in the beating of a Negro prisoner. Four of Treloar's prisoners testified that the 36-year-old sheriff beat Negro deliveryman Woodrow Wilson Daniels, 37, with a heavy blackjack the night of June 21. Daniels had been jailed on a charge of reckless driving and possession of whisky. Daniels' white employer, grocer Maury Fly, said he went to the jail shortly after his employee of 15 years was arrested in order to bail him out but the sheriff said, "you can't get him out now." Fly said he stood outside the jail and heard noises that sounded like blows. Daniels was released the following day, bloody and bruised, and died in a Memphis hospital July 1. A Memphis physician, Dr. Walter Scott Gilmer, testified that Daniels died of an externally caused brain injury. The sheriff denied striking Daniels on the head and said he hit him elsewhere in defense of himself and other prisoners. (Aug. 6-8, 1958—B, Y)

NORTH CAROLINA

Old Fort, N. C.: Albert Joyner, who had attempted to enroll five Negro children in a local elementary school, was knocked into the city fountain by a white railroad employee. (September 6, 1955—O)

Charlotte, N.C.: Dorothy Counts, the first and only Negro student to enroll in white Harding High School, was greeted with insults, tossed pebbles and was spat upon as she registered. The next week the 15-year-old girl again was spat upon and hit by objects thrown by fellow students. An object hurled from a crowd of white youths broke the rear window of her brother's car as he picked her up at the school at noon. By the end of the month, after more taunts and shoves, she left for Philadelphia to attend a private, interracial school. She was one of four Negro pupils assigned to four different white schools in Charlotte for the first time in the fall of 1957. (September 11—B; September 30, 1957—C)

Greensboro, N. C.: For the third time, eggs were tossed at Josephine Boyd, only Negro in Greensboro High School. She also had been the victim of taunts and obscene remarks since entering the school. She was one of six Negroes admitted to Greensboro white schools this year. (September 17, 1957—B)

Greensboro, N. C.: An explosion at the home of a Negro man whose two children attend a previously all-white school was reported. Police first said it was dynamite, then that it could have been a large firecracker. Mud and small rocks were thrown on the porch and a small piece of siding was knocked off the house; the noise was heard five blocks away. (October 2, 1957—B)

Charlotte, N. C.: Police Chief Frank N. Littlejohn disclosed that an unsuccessful attempt was made to dynamite a synagogue and that after 10 days of intensive investigation the KKK "is definitely suspected." Littlejohn said six unexploded sticks of dynamite with a partially burned 14-foot fuse were found outside the Temple Beth-El November 12. (November 22, 1957—C)

Maxton, N. C.: A Klan meeting with robed Klansmen and spectators scrambling for safety broke up as hooting Indians emptied shotguns and rifles into the meeting field. The Indians were outraged by reports the Klan intended to warn them against "race mixing" and by the burning of two crosses near Indian homes the previous week. Four men were wounded, some seriously. There are about 40,000 whites, 30,000 Lumbee Indians and 25,000 Negroes in Robeson County. One Klansman was convicted of public drunkenness and carrying a concealed weapon. He was given a suspended sentence upon payment of a fine and court costs. Klan Wizard James Cole of Marion, S. C., leader of the Klan meeting, was sentenced to serve 18 to 24 months in prison for inciting a riot. (January 20, 23, March 14, 1958—B, C)

Gastonia, N. C.: Thirty sticks of dynamite were found at a synagogue. A fuse had burned to within 1½ inches of the dynamite, then gone out. (February 9, 1958—B)

Greensboro, N. C.: A five-pound rock was thrown through the window of City School Supt. Ben L. Smith's home. It was one of a series of incidents since Greensboro admitted six Negroes to white schools in the city last year. (February 1958—A)

Greensboro, N. C.: A Klansman, C. A. Webster, was sentenced to six months for tossing a bottle through the window of a Negro lawyer's office. A 17-year-old youth was given a 90-day suspended sentence after admitting he drove a car from which Webster threw the bottle into the office of J. Kenneth Lee, the attorney. (Oct. 9, 1958—Y)

Charlotte, N. C.: Three members of a KKK klavern, which was broken up by a police undercover agent, began serving prison sentences for plotting to plant a homemade bomb at a Negro school February 15. Two others were acquitted. (March 21, 1958—B)

Monroe, N. C.: Reports of the stoning of the car of a Negro leader led to the cancellation of his automobile in-

surance. The Nationwide Insurance Co. dropped machinist Robert F. Williams' collision and comprehensive coverage. The firm first cancelled all of the auto insurance of Williams, president of the Union County chapter of the NAACP, but reinstated his liability and medical payments coverage, thus allowing Williams to retain his auto license. "The affiliation of Mr. Williams with the NAACP, as such, was not a factor," said Elton Parker, personnel and public relations manager of the insurance company's Raleigh office. Parker said that Nationwide's agent in Monroe reported "that rocks had been thrown at his (Williams') car several times by people driving by his home at night. These incidents just forced us to get off the comprehensive and collision portions of his policy." Williams commented, "These things have happened. Police . . . try to make it appear that I have been exaggerating and trying to stir up trouble. If police tell me I am in no danger and they can't confirm these events, why then has my insurance been cancelled?" (May 12, 1958—B)

Wadesboro, N. C.: Police and school officials suspected arson in the burning of two rural schoolhouses, formerly used for white pupils, but scheduled for occupancy by Negroes. "Racial reasons appear to be the most likely cause of arson," said J. O. Bowman, superintendent of county schools. An eight-room classroom building valued at $150,000 was destroyed by fire, one night after a four-classroom building and auditorium valued at $90,000 burned. Both schools were at Deep Creek, about 10 miles south of Wadesboro. Sheriff H. E. Rayfield said the county school board had heard rumors of discontent among both the white and the Negro population about the racial redesignation of the schools. He said the whites objected to losing their community schools and the Negroes feared there might be white resentment of Negro use of the school. Dwindling numbers of white pupils prompted the redesignation. (Aug. 26, 1958—B)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Manning, S. C.: Billy Fleming, 33-year-old Negro leader, reported that his home was hit with buckshot for the second time in two months. He believed the attacks stemmed from his NAACP activities. (November 30, 1955—B)

Lake City, S. C.: The Rev. J. A. DeLaine, one of the Negroes who helped organize the original Clarendon County school suit, reported to police that his home had been the target three times of rocks and empty bottles. He also turned over a letter warning him to get out of the state. Later, DeLaine admitted firing upon a passing car, maintaining he did so to "mark the car" after his house was fired upon from the vehicle. Four white occupants insisted they had not discharged any shots and were fired upon without cause. The minister was charged with assault and battery and three days later a bench warrant was issued for his arrest. However, he had fled to New York, where the governor refused to permit extradition. (November 1955—A)

Columbia, S. C.: A dozen buckshot pellets were fired into the home of James M. Hinton, state NAACP president. Mrs. Hinton, who was home alone, reported she was not injured. The shots smashed a mirror and pierced potted plants, walls and the stairway. The Hintons said that in previous months they had received "a lot of threats over the phone." (January 20, 1956—V)

Lake City, S. C.: Walter Scott, head of the NAACP chapter here, said two shotgun blasts ripped into his home. Two weeks earlier Scott reported a similar incident to police. (March 4, 1956—B)

Camden, S. C.: Guy Hutchins, director of the Camden High School band, was beaten by hooded men. Hutchins said he was surrounded by four or five men while he was changing a tire, that they pulled a sack over his head, drove him around and then tied him to a tree while each hit him a half dozen times with a board. He said he felt a pistol at his neck several times and that one of the men had a shotgun. Hutchins was hospitalized with severe bruises. He said the attackers falsely accused him of making a pro-integration speech to a civic club. Subsequently, the Kershaw County grand jury refused to indict six men in the flogging. The grand jury first heard Judge G. Duncan Bellinger spend more than an hour denouncing the U. S. Supreme Court for "asinine" decisions and the outlawing of school segregation. He said the segregation decisions were "devoid of intellectual and judicial integrity. (December 28, 1956—B; June 24, 1957—C)

Camden, S. C.: A 65-year-old-man was shot in the arm and chest by four or five hooded men who criticized his personal conduct. The attack preceded by about a week the beating of a band director (see above). Officers and the hospital where the shooting victim was treated would not identify him. (December 28, 1956—B)

Greenville, S. C.: A free-lance photographer was roughed up and another cameraman had his film confiscated by the Klan at a rally near Greenville. Several Klansmen grabbed Joe F. Jordan, who was representing the United Press and a Spartanburg television station, and threatened to drag him off the field where the rally was being held. Jordan had snapped a picture of robed, but unmasked, Klansmen confiscating film exposed by James P. Burns of Greenville station WFBC-TV. Jordan later demanded and received an apology from one of the Klan leaders. (August 31, 1957—C)

Rock Hill, S. C.: Police confirmed reports of a clash between about 30 Negroes and a smaller group of whites at the York County Fairgrounds. (November 1957—A)

Gaffney, S. C.: Five men identified by police as members of the KKK were charged with bombing the home of a white physician whose wife wrote an article urging a "moderate" approach to the racial integration crisis. (Only two of the five were brought to trial and they were acquitted.) No one was injured in the blast at the home of Dr. and Mrs. James H. Sanders November 16. Mrs. Sanders, a native of Charleston, contributed to a publication entitled "South Carolinians Speak—a Moderate Approach to Race Relations." The Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, S. C., one of the publishers, reported that former Rep. James Richards (D-S.C.) praised the publication as a "real contribution" to freedom of expression. (December 7, 1957—B)

Cowpens, S. C.: A blast damaged the dwelling of a Negro tenant farmer. The white owner of the house could give no reason. The Spartanburg *Herald-Journal* announced it would pay $2,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of person or persons responsible. The following day, the Gaffney City Council added $500 reward for information about the blast at neighboring Cowpens. Early the next morning a cross was burned near the home of one councilman. (December 1957—A)

Anderson, S. C.: Police reported they have had to break up rock fights and other violent actions between youthful groups because of Negro-white friction in the community. (December 1957—A)

Spartanburg, S. C.: The City Council passed an ordinance in November requiring municipal approval for outdoor public meetings. The action came after fights broke out between whites and Negroes during a street "rock and roll" party sponsored by a local radio station. (December 1957—A)

Greenville, S. C.: Four admitted members of the Ku Klux Klan were convicted for conspiring to flog a Negro, Claud Cruell, at his home July 21, 1957. Two also were convicted for flogging the 58-year-old Negro landowner and Baptist deacon because of his association with a white family who rented a house on his 100-acre farm. Cruell and his wife were caring for the seven children of the white tenant when a group of white men stormed into the house. They wrapped a chain around Cruell's arm, dragged him to another room and beat him. The white tenant had left the children with the Negro couple while he visited his wife in a hospital. The leader of the attackers was given six years, another three years and the other two a year each. Two others were acquitted and charges were dismissed against five. (January 23, 1958—B; February 3, 1958—G)

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga, Tenn.: At a band concert, white teenagers in a balcony started throwing pop bottles and chairs on Negroes below. Before the melee was over, six persons were in the hospital and 10 persons had been taken to jail. (January 31, 1956—*Washington Daily News*)

Trenton, Tenn.: About 300 Negroes gathered in the streets late at night and milled about for nearly four hours. Alarmed police called in all off-duty officers and sheriff's deputies and alerted the Tennessee State Patrol. The crowd gathered after hearing police had shot a Negro in the leg while trying to arrest him for drunkenness. Officers said the man fled from three policemen who had been summoned to a Negro cafe and that in the ensuing struggle when they overtook him he was shot in the leg. (July 22, 1956—B)

Knoxville, Tenn.: Three white men were convicted of firing a shotgun into a Negro home in June during a racial disturbance which died down after all available city policemen were called out. They were accused of firing a steel ball from a shotgun into the home after two Negro boys scooped up a stray baseball from a white game and ran to the home with it. Negro and white games had been in progress on adjoining diamonds. After the shotgun blast, about 2,000 whites and Negroes, armed with clubs, sticks and other weapons converged in the area. No one was injured. (October 5, 1956—B)

Clinton, Tenn.: Following a federal court order, 12 Negro pupils entered Clinton High School with about 800 white students in August 1956. All the children thus were thrown into a community crisis that probably brought more violence and mob action than any other crisis in the post-school decision South. The Saturday before school opened, John Kasper, who identified himself as executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council from Washington, D. C., arrived in town. For the next several days he went from house to house urging school picketing and conducting meetings. Meanwhile, mobs and crowds grew daily and violence increased. A Negro boy was chased by a mob and struck repeatedly; two others were rescued by two members of the school football team. Cars of Negro tourists passing through town were attacked, along with local ones. A mob threatened to dynamite the mayor's home; reporters and photographers were attacked; five dynamite blasts were set off in a Negro section of a neighboring community and Negroes in an automobile were fired upon. Police arrested several attackers; a mob demonstrated at the jail. On one occasion the sheriff slipped the Negro students out a back door of the school to keep them from harm. During all this time, heckling and fist fights continued at the school. A Baptist minister who escorted Negro children to school was attacked and beaten. On Saturday, September 1, city officials declared Clinton in a state of emergency and called on the governor for help. That night, 110 Highway Patrolmen began arriving, to be joined the next day by 600 Tennessee National Guardsmen. By September 11, they had withdrawn. In November, a cheering courtroom greeted the acquittal of John Kasper in Anderson County criminal court on charges of sedition and inciting a riot, but he was still under appeal bond on a federal conviction for violating an injunction. That month, parents of Negro pupils at Clinton High demanded protection against new racial outbursts at the school. By the following fall, eight Negro students could enter school without a jeer or taunt and join white classmates, while a lone policeman guarded the school. John Kasper was sentenced to six months in federal prison and six others were placed on probation in a trial in August 1957, on charges of violating a federal injunction prohibiting interference with peaceful integration at Clinton High. Earlier, Kasper was sentenced to a year in jail for contempt of court. When last seen in Tennessee, Kasper was being escorted to a federal prison in Florida, carrying a copy of "Mein Kampf." (1956-57—A, B, C)

Knoxville, Tenn.: A dynamite explosion reverberated through a municipal building where Louis Armstrong's band was playing for a segregated audience. The blast, apparently from a single stick of dynamite tossed from a passing car, tore a four-foot hole in the ground about 200 feet from the building. As for Armstrong, the Negro trumpeter merely remarked, "That's all right, folks. It's just the phone." (February 19, 1957—B)

Clinton, Tenn.: In February, a suitcase loaded with dynamite exploded in the heart of the town's Negro district. Windows in 30 homes were shattered and windows were blasted from a restaurant operated by the foster father of a Negro student expelled from Clinton High School, scene of turmoil when the school was integrated the previous fall. White residents of Clinton launched a fund drive to help Negroes restore property damaged by the blast. (March 1957—A)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: A small charge of dynamite damaged a house owned by R. H. Craig, Negro lawyer who recently appeared before the County Council to urge more jobs for Negroes in county government. Earlier, two crosses were burned on the property and the house was shot into. Craig said the house, inherited by his wife, always had been owned by Negroes although it was in a section otherwise white. The Craigs continued to live in their own home and only visited the house which was bombed. (May 25, 1957—D)

Jersey, Tenn.: The home of a Negro couple was dynamited and a shotgun fired into the home of another. The first was the target of shotgun fire five weeks earlier and the second adjoins a restaurant where a dynamiting had been attempted a few days earlier. Six weeks earlier the home of a Negro teacher was fired upon. The *Chattanooga Times* said editorially the incidents "undoubtedly are connected with racial feeling by a tiny, moronic few." (August 13, 1957—D)

Nashville, Tenn.: The day before schools were to open under the city's new first-step integration program, the police chief announced he would arrest anyone who tried to intimidate children or parents. The next day, 115 policemen were on guard or on call as 19 Negro 6-year-olds appeared at seven previously all-white schools. Pickets soon appeared, there was some scuffling and the beginnings of a school boycott by white parents. That night there were sporadic racial incidents. Segregationist John Kasper appeared at several schools and spoke to a downtown rally. Then, shortly after midnight, the Hattie Cotton school was dynamited. At dawn, Police Chief Douglas E. Hosse told police detachments, "This has gone beyond a matter of integration. These people have ignored the laws and they have shown no regard for you or any citizen." Police then deployed before the desegregated schools and dealt sternly with any who could not explain their presence. Barricades were erected a block from each school; police kept crowds dispersed and their leaders were arrested. Kasper was arrested on four charges. By mid-September, attendance in the desegregated schools had returned to normal. As the month ended, there were 11 Negroes attending five formerly all-white schools. The Hattie Cotton school reopened, but without the six-year-old Negro child who had been admitted as part of the city's first step toward an integrated school system. (October 1957—A)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: Police investigated the third dynamite incident in Negro sections in less than two weeks. In the latest explosion, a vacant house was practically destroyed and several hundred dollars damage done to another. The houses were in a new subdivision designed exclusively for Negroes. None of the 65 houses was occupied. On October 27 an explosion ripped a hole in a field near a Negro area and the following night a house rented by a Negro couple was damaged by a dynamite blast in the front yard. Officers said they had no theories. (November 5, 1957—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: A Negro man reported to police that he and his sister-in-law were kidnapped and beaten by white men. The man said he was stopped by two men while he was driving on a suburban street and forced into their car and that his sister-in-law was picked up by the men as she was walking along the street. The man, Lemmia Henderson, said they were transferred into two of four cars in which 11 men were riding, taken to a remote section where they were beaten with a rubber hose and his clothes were slashed with a knife. Henderson said that the men, before abandoning them, asked if he or the woman were associated with the NAACP. Henderson told them he was not a member. The incident was the second of its kind reported to police in recent months. (December 1, 1957—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: An explosion was set off outside the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the YWCA, a community building for Negroes. The blast was the second in eight days near a Negro institution. (January 27, 1958—B)

Clinton, Tenn.: One man was convicted, one acquitted and the state dropped charges against a third in a case involving charges of conspiring to dynamite integrated Clinton High School. The charges were filed after two sacks of dynamite were found across a river from the school last fall. Investigators said they learned the three had planned to blow up the school at night. Two of the men told the sheriff they were offered $500 to blast the school. (February 13, 1958—C)

Memphis, Tenn.: Fire destroyed a $150,000 Negro church, one week after a cross was burned in the front yard of the pastor, whose home is in a white neighborhood. Fire Marshal Edgar Lovell said the fire looked "suspicious . . . This could have been caused by two things—it could have been burning a long time or it could have been set." (February 15, 1958—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: One of the largest Negro schools in the state was rocked by a blast from a homemade bomb. Damage to the $3 million dollar Howard school was estimated at $1,000. (February 1958—A)

Nashville, Tenn.: A dynamite explosion at the Jewish Community Center ripped down the ceiling of the reception hall and broke windows, causing damage estimated at $6,000. Almost as soon as the roar of the explosion ended, Rabbi William B. Silverman of the Jewish Temple received a call from a man identifying himself as a member of the "Confederate Underground" who warned that the "Temple is going to be next" and that a Federal judge "would be shot down in cold blood." The latter threat was against District Judge William E. Miller whose orders brought first-step desegregation to Nashville schools. Guards were posted at the Temple and Gov. Frank Clement offered a $5,000 reward for information leading to arrest and conviction. The city of Nashville offered a $1,000 reward and other rewards were offered by citizens. The Associated Press said that "so far as is known, none of Nashville's Jewish citizens has been active on either side in the school desegregation issue. The center has been used freqently for interracial meetings, chiefly by agencies of the United Givers Fund." (March 17, 1958—B)

Memphis, Tenn.: Police were investigating the bombing of the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, headed by the Rev. R. W. Norsworthy, Negro. Although the bomb caused no damage, it jarred windows in the neighborhood. (Aug. 7, 1958—*Memphis Commercial Appeal*)

Clinton, Tenn.: Three pre-dawn dynamite explosions wrecked the interior of desegregated Clinton High School. Police Chief Francis Moore said, "It was a professional job," and added, "There's no doubt that this dynamiting is connected with the integration of the school." It was the first sign of violence at the school in this town of 4,000 since sporadic disturbances broke out when nine Negroes were admitted along with white students two years ago. The explosions ripped apart 16 of the classrooms. District Attorney General J. H. McCartt estimated the damage at $300,000 and school officials put the replacement cost at $800,000. (Oct. 5, 1958—B)

Chattanooga, Tenn.: Two white men, one a city employe, were charged with arson in a fire which damaged a vacant,

Negro-owned house on the edge of a white district. City Fire Marshal Mike Quinn said the men told him they set fire to the house because they heard Negroes were going to move in. They were identified as Herbert A. Gray, 51, a city playground director, and Ray Skinner, 21, a tree trimmer. (Dec. 27, 1958—B)

TEXAS

Houston, Tex.: A white oilman struck a Negro attorney who tried to buy a cup of coffee in the Harris County courthouse. The lawyer was taking advantage of a federal court order which held the cafeteria could not continue to refuse service to Negroes. After the assault, the cafeteria was closed. (April 12, 1956—C)

Austin, Tex.: Three students from a white high school which this year admitted its first Negro students were arrested for throwing rocks, eggs and water-filled balloons at a Negro housing project. No damage was done and the boys were released after a warning from police. (April 1956—A)

Mansfield, Tex.: In the summer of 1956, as the city awaited final court word on integration of Mansfield schools, two crosses were burned in the Negro community, an effigy of a Negro was hung over the main street and a Negro leader reported telephone threats. On August 30, U.S. District Judge Joe Estes ordered Manfield to admit Negroes to its high school. Mansfield had lost its court effort to prevent integration when both the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court rejected a plea for a one-year postponement. Three Negro children had been reported ready to register for the 1956-57 term. As the school opened, a crowd estimated at from 200 to 400 gathered in front of the school. Merchants were asked by the protest leaders to cooperate by closing their businesses and appearing at the school. Most, if not all, complied. The sheriff and some of his men joined local police at the school. The second day the crowd hung an effigy of a Negro from the school flagpole. An observer from the Tarrant County district attorney's office was kicked by the mob until rescued by police and a minister was jeered. Vigilante squads stopped all cars coming into town and turned back those suspected of being sympathetic to the Negro cause. Gov. Allan Shivers sent two Texas Rangers to Mansfield with orders to arrest anyone, white or Negro, who threatened the peace. He gave the school board authority to transfer out of the district any student whose presence might prompt a riot. No Negroes appeared at the school to register that fall or the next and those of high school age continued to attend school at nearby Fort Worth Negro junior and senior high schools. (September, October 1956, September 1957—A; various)

Texarkana, Tex.: A crowd of men and boys gathered on the Texarkana Junior College campus early in September when two Negro girls and one Negro boy tried to enroll. Four Texas Rangers were on hand to maintain order. Seven Negro boys were arrested for throwing rocks at a car carrying white youths. During the unrest, an effigy of a Negro was hanged on the campus and a cross burned. A shotgun blast was fired at a filling station owned by a Negro integration leader. U. S. District Judge Joe Sheehy later dismissed a contempt action against two officials of the college after the Negro applicants at the school told the court they did not ask for the suit to be filed. The judge reprimanded an NAACP lawyer. (October 1956—A)

Beaumont, Tex.: In September 1956, for the first time Negroes—26 of them—entered Lamar State College of Technology as a result of a Federal District Court order. During the first week of school, a small group of whites picketed peacefully in protest but by the end of the second week violence and intimidation erupted. A taxi bearing Negro students was reported pushed into a ditch and bottles were thrown at taxis carrying other Negro students. Pickets also began using threats in attempting to recruit white students, but only two joined the protest movement. Cars were stopped at campus entrances, whether driven by Negro or white persons. White students and faculty were jeered by pickets. Then the morning newspaper, the *Enterprise*, asked in an editorial, "Who is running our city—the legally constituted authorities or a handful of the fringe of the citizenry?" That day the college president called on the editor and the mayor. By afternoon, the mayor ordered police to stop non-peaceful picketing. They arrested two men and a woman. Pickets then marched peacefully for a few days until they were pulled off by a Citizens Council official from Kilgore. ("College Desegregation Without Popular Support," a field study by Dr. Warren Breed of Tulane University, 1956)

Beaumont, Tex.: In November 1956, bricks and stones were thrown through windows of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, where an annual youth rally of white and Negro students was in session. During the week church members had received telephone calls protesting the integrated meeting, although no protest had been made before during the several years the rally had been held. The incident followed disturbances during the integration of Lamar State College of Technology in Beaumont. (From a field study by Dr. Warren Breed of Tulane University)

Beaumont, Tex.: An explosion at a Negro residence in an integrated neighborhood ripped a hole in the lawn and shattered front windows. Another explosion damaged the sidewalk in front of the home of a Negro physician and former NAACP official. Both explosions happened within a week. (January 10, 1957—B)

Beaumont, Tex.: Three homemade bombs caused damage estimated at several thousands of dollars. One exploded under a truck owned by State Sen. Rufus Kilpatrick. A second bomb was directed at the home of a retired car dealer, who said he believed it was because of his "middle of the road" stand on integration. A third damaged the entrance at St. Michael's Orthodox Church. The Rev. Daniel Montgomery, pastor, said he had taken no stand on integration but that he had been warned by an anonymous woman telephone caller that "we want to get the foreigners." (March 1957—A)

Dallas, Tex.: Gunfire and knife fights erupted among some of the 6,000 white and Negro rock and roll fans outside an auditorium. Six persons were stabbed or beaten. Three white summer students from North Texas State College at Denton were slashed. Police said the students were attacked by a Negro after an argument. In another case a Negro boy suffered severe stab wounds. A girl also was slashed. Police said a 17-year-old white youth suffered face and eye injuries when he and his companions were accosted by a carlcad of Negro youths some distance from the auditorium after the show. Three bullet holes were found in the white boys' car. (July 16, 1957—B)

Henderson, Tex.: An African ministerial student, hit by a blackjack by a policeman after he refused to move to the rear of a bus, was released from jail after an official of the college he is attending paid his $25 fine. The officer said he was investigating reports a Negro refused to move back in the bus. The officer said when the student, a native of Nigeria, told him in a British accent he did not understand the order, he grabbed him by the arm and took him to the rear. Then, when he reached in his pocket, "I had to tap him with a slapjack," the policeman said. The student said he was reaching for his passport to show the officer. (August 25, 1957—B)

Beaumont, Tex.: A flaming bottle of kerosene hurled at the home of a college professor narrowly missed the window of a bedroom occupied by two small children. Police said the bomb was tossed at the house of Dr. Russell Long, a biology professor at Lamar State College of Technology. Long and his wife extinguished a small fire with a garden hose; the siding on the front of the house was scorched. Neither Long nor his wife, who teaches in a Beaumont high school, could think of a motive for the action. (June 20, 1958—B)

VIRGINIA

Yorktown, Va.: About 20 white men tossed stones and fired at the home a Negro widow recently rented for her family in a previously all-white section of York County. (November 9, 1957—B)

Alexandria, Va.: The night after a Negro family moved into an all-white residential block a rock was thrown through the dining room window while the family ate. About six weeks later a bullet ripped through a front window. A few weeks later the mother and her daughter were sleeping in a second floor bedroom when a shotgun explosion awoke them; pellets sprayed the walls above their heads. The police promised them protection and they planned to stay. (April 1, 1958—Z)

CODE

A—Southern School News
B—Associated Press
C—United Press
D—Chattanooga Times
E—Atlanta Constitution
F—The Arkansas Gazette
G—Montgomery Advertiser
H—Birmingham News
I—Wall Street Journal
J—Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger
K—New York Times
L—Jackson (Miss.) State Times
M—International News Service
N—Columbus (Ga.) Ledger
O—Twin City (Winston-Salem) Sentinel
P—Charlotte Observer
Q—Orangeburg (S.C.) Times and Democrat
R—Rock Hill (S.C.) Evening Herald
S—Washington Post and Times Herald
T—Winston-Salem Journal
U—Nashville Tennessean
V—The State (Columbia, S. C.)
W—Birmingham Post Herald
X—Delta Democrat-Times
Y—United Press International
Z—Evening Star (Washington, D. C.)

June 15, 1959

The Honorable Thomas C. Hennings
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Hennings:

We thought you would be interested in seeing the enclosed report on "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis."

You will note that the report is jointly sponsored by this organization, the S. E. Office of the American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1.

Distribution of Violence Report - June 15, 1959

The Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.	All with attached ltr.
The Hon. John A. Carroll	
The Hon. Jacob R. Javits	
The Hon. Clifford P. Case	
The Hon. John F. Kennedy	
Rep. Emanuel Celler	
Rep. Richard Bolling	
Mr. Gordon Tiffany	
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover	
The Hon. W. Wilson White	
Mr. Harris Wofford	Both with "Thought You'd Be Interested" slips
Mr. Henry Shine	

Via air Special:
Mr. Jim Mathis
Houston Post
Washington

Mr. Herbert J. Blitz - 2 copies
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Wash.

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Washington

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Of B'nai B'rith

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Art Levin is handling this himself HCF

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Executive Assistant

June 18, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

At Art Levin's suggestion I am submitting the names of persons in the Oklahoma - Texas area, that you should consider sending the publication "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence."

Mr. John Rogers (He is state chairman of the Civil Rights
Box 911 Advisory Commission)
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Texas Legislators: (Send to State Capitol, Austin, Texas)

SENATORS

Robert W. Baker	Houston
Wm. S. Fly	Victoria
Henry B. Gonzalez	San Antonio
Frank Owen, III	El Paso

REPRESENTATIVES: (Send c/o State Capitol, Austin, Texas)

R. H. Cory	Victoria
Roger Daily	Houston
Eligion De La Garza	Mission
Bob Eckhardt	Houston
Dean Johnston	Houston
Bill Kilgarlin	Houston
Oscar M. Laurel	Laredo
Rufus Kilpatrick	Beaumont
Will Z. Smith	Beaumont
Wade F. Spilman	McAllen

Attorney General Will Wilson, State Capitol, Austin, Texas

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF:es
cc: Mr. Arthur Levin

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

Art Levin handled this himself HCA

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

July 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Art Levin has indicated to our office your willingness to send copies of "Intimidation-Reprisal and Violence" to "moderate" legislators in the state of Florida.

I am therefore listing below a select group of Floridians that should receive copies of the publication:

James A Boyd Jr.	Box 901 Leesburg
Doyle E. CarltonJr.	Box 385 Wauchula
Fred Dickinson Jr.	Harvey Building West Palm Beach
Joe Eaton	1136 DuPont Building Miami
Sam M. Gibbons	Box 1363 Tampa
E.William Gautier	310 Bank Building Smyrna Beach
S. Frank Houghton	401 Florida Theater Building,St.Petersburg
J. Harry Kicliter	Okeechobee Roadn and 37th St.Ft.Pierce

All of the aboves should be addressed as Senator

Emerson Allsworth	205 Television Bldg. Ft. Lauderdale
Ruebin Askew	504 Florida National Bank Building Pensacola
J. Dempsey Baron	210 Harrison Avenue Panama City,
Ralph J. Blank Jr.	326 Pan American Building Palm Beach
Mack. N. ClevelandJr.	Box 220 Sanford
Doyle E. Conner	136 West Call St. Starke
John J. Crews Jr.	Macclenny
Osee R. Fagan	212 SE 1st Avenue Gainesville
W.C. Herrell	201 Curtiss Parkway Miami Springs
George L. Hollahan Jr.	7210 Red Road Miami
Mallory E. Horne	102½ S. Monroe Tallahassee
Jack C. Inman	913 Florida National Bank Building
Mrs. George W. Johnson	505 Peachtree Road Orlando

continued on page 2

Woodie A. Liles	209 W. Reynolds St.	Plant City
Robert T. Mann	703 Wallace Building	Tampa
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Emmett S. Roberts	Box 488	Belle Glade
A. J. Ryan	Dania Bank Building	Dania
John S. Shipp Jr.	Box 897	Marianna
J. Rupert Smith	209 Raulerson Building	Fort Pierce
Ralph D. Turlington	113 N Main St.	Gainesville
Charles F. Usina	Box 177	St. Augustine
L.B. Vocelle	Box 488	Vero Beach

All of above are to be addressed as Rep.

Please excuse the delay in providing these names for you. However, I have been out of town a good deal at our University of Florida workshop which was co-sponsered by the ADL and the Florida Council on Human Relations and the College of Education. This was a "first" and so you can well imagine the time and effort that was put in by all of us. Next week we are holding another workshop which will be jointly sponsered by the Student Religious Association, the ADL and the Florida Council on Human Relations. Brochures of both workshops are attached for your information. Bill Williams assistance has been most invaluable and played a very important role in making our first one a most successful one.

I do hope that we have the opportunity to meet in person one of these days.

Sincerely,

Arthur Spiegel

Arthur Spiegel
AS:ns

cc: Art Levin

Lessons 1-18 rec. 8-28-6

MA

CITY OF LEXINGTON

KENTUCKY

E. C. HALE
Chief of Police

WHEN ANSWERING PLEASE REFER TO FILE NO._____

June 29, 1961

Mrs. Ed A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

In accordance with your request, we are enclosing copies of Lessons 1 through 10 on Socio-Legal Problems which are being used in our Administrative In-Service Seminar. In the future, lessons will be forwarded to you as they are issued.

We appreciate your interest.

Yours very truly,

E. C. Hale

Chief of Police.

ECH:WMcM:ec

Note: Lessons 7-10 from our Racial Violence + Law Enforcement publication.

Hard Thinking Needed

B'ham News - Nov. 12, 1961

Some facts to face

Ways of living, customs and attitudes that have existed for generations, centuries and millenniums cannot and should not be changed overnight.

Difficult problems are presented by recent court decisions and federal agency regulations and orders. The best solution to these problems requires intense study, understanding, tolerance and good will on the part of every element of the population.

Fortunately, the police commissioner of Birmingham has pledged himself and the Police Department, in the strongest terms, that no lawlessness will be tolerated from Negro or white, local residents or outside meddlers, irresponsible juveniles or self-seeking inspirers of hate.

IN THIS HE MUST have the strong support of the entire City Commission, the County Commission, all municipal governments, the sheriff, the solicitor, the schools, the pulpit, the press, the radio, the television, civic organizations of all kinds and every thoughtful citizen.

We want no federal marshals sent into Jefferson County and we must see to it that no acts or utterances on the part of our citizens or our officials invite their interference.

We must do some hard thinking now as just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance.

Submitted by these citizens

Thomas W. Martin
William Mitch Sr.
Dr. Leslie Wright
Dawson Franklin
Hugh Dominick
Dr. Allen N. Kaplan
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John Terry Badham
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C. H. Glass
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E. G. Gisbon
Edward A. Cooper

REPRINT FROM THE ATLANTA JOURNAL AND CONSTITUTION
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1962

PERKINS SAYS IQs OF RACES ABOUT SAME

THE CHAIRMAN OF EMORY UNIVERSITY'S PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT SAYS IT'S SCIENTIFICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO VOICE ANY FIRM CONCLUSIONS ON INHERITED MENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACES.

"NO DIFFERENCES HAVE EVER BEEN COMPETENTLY DEMONSTRATED," SAID DR. CHARLES C. PERKINS, JR. HE BLASTED A REPORT ISSUED LAST WEEK HOLDING THAT NEGROES ARE 200,000 YEARS BEHIND WHITES IN EVOLUTION.

THE REPORT WAS MADE BY DR. W. C. GEORGE, AN EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. ALABAMA GOVERNOR JOHN PATTERSON PAID $5,000 FOR THE STUDY.

A GREAT NUMBER OF NEGROES HAVE LESS INTELLIGENCE THAN WHITES ON A BIOLOGICAL BASIS, DR. GEORGE'S STUDY ASSERTED. IT BLAMED STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE BRAIN.

THE EMORY PROFESSOR DEPLORED THE REPORT AND CHARGED THAT IT WOULD TEND TO REINFORCE FALSE BELIEFS ON THE PART OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

"IN THE WHOLE BUSINESS OF RACE RELATIONS IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE FACTS BE KNOWN AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE," DR. PERKINS SAID. AND ONE OF THE FACTS IS THAT THERE JUST AREN'T MANY FACTS THAT ALLOW POSITIVE CONCLUSIONS.

THERE'S REALLY NO FIRM BASIS FOR ANYONE TO ISSUE POSITIVE, SURE STATEMENTS ABOUT RACIAL MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS. NO ONE CAN SCIENTIFICALLY STATE THAT NEGROES ARE INEVITABLY DUMBER THAN WHITES, DR. PERKINS SAID.

ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS WHY SCIENCE HAS NOT FOUND ANY REAL EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE INHERITED RACIAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES IS BECAUSE IQ-TYPE TESTS OF A PERSON'S MENTAL POWER DO NOT ELIMINATE A PERSON'S ENVIRONMENT, AND THAT HAS A LOT TO DO WITH INTELLIGENCE.

THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF MENTAL TESTS OF RACIAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES, AND THE RESULTS VARY WIDELY. IN FACT, THERE IS ONE WIDESPREAD TEST - THE ALPHA EXAMINATIONS GIVEN TO SOLDIERS IN WORLD WAR II - THAT INDICATES THE "AVERAGE" NORTHERN NEGRO IS SMARTER THAN THE "AVERAGE" SOUTHERN WHITE MAN.

BUT THIS ISN'T SCIENTIFIC PROOF OF INNATE, INHERITED, HEREDITARY INTELLIGENCE, DR. PERKINS SAID. THE EMORY PROFESSOR'S MAIN POINTS TO REFUTE DR. GEORGE'S REPORT WERE:

- - - EXCEPT IN CASES OF EXTREME ABNORMALITY, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT BRAIN SIZE HAS ANYTHING WHATSOEVER TO DO WITH INTELLIGENCE. (DR. GEORGE HAD CLAIMED BIGGER FRONTAL BRAIN LOBER MADE WHITES SMARTER.) IF SIZE HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT, DR. PERKINS DECLARED, THE AVERAGE WOMAN WOULD BE DUMBER THAN THE AVERAGE MAN BECAUSE THEIR BRAINS ARE ALMOST ALWAYS SMALLER. AND WAY BACK IN 1909 THERE WAS A TEST IN WHICH BRAINS WERE SEPARATED BY SUPPOSED "INTELLIGENCE" WITHOUT THE SEPARATORS KNOWING OF RACIAL

DIFFERENCES. THE PROPORTION OF WHITES AND NEGROES WAS EXACTLY THE SAME IN THE SUPPOSEDLY "LOW-INTELLIGENCE" AND "HIGH INTELLIGENCE" GROUPS.

- - - DIFFERENCES IN HEREDITARY INTELLIGENCE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RACES CANNOT BE DETERMINED BECAUSE THERE IS SIMPLE NO MEASURE.

- - - AND IT CAN'T BE DETERMINED WHETHER EARNED DIFFERENCES IN FAVOR OF WHITES DISAPPEAR WHEN NEGROES GAIN SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC EQUALITY. (DR. GEORGE SAID THEY DIDN'T.) DR. PERKINS SAID THERE IS CLEARLY NO "SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC EQUALITY" AS LONG AS PREJUDICES EXIST BETWEEN THE RACES.

- - - IMPORTANTLY, DR. PERKINS SAID TESTS OF LEARNED (NOT HEREDITARY) INTELLIGENCE SHOWED MUCH GREATER INDIVIDUAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN A RACE ITSELF THAN BETWEEN THE RACES.

THE EMORY PROFESSOR SAID DR. GEORGE'S REPORT APPEARED AS THOUGH HE STARTED WITH HIS CONCLUSIONS AND SELECTED FACTS TO SUPPORT THEM, RATHER THAN STARTING WITH A CONSIDERATION OF ALL THE EVIDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF CONCLUSIONS FROM IT.

"NO MODERATELY REPUTABLE PSYCHOLOGIST COULD COME UP WITH THESE CONCLUSIONS, " DR. PERKINS SAID.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE EMORY PROFESSOR ADDED, THERE ARE SEVERAL FIELDS OF STUDY WHICH WORK MUCH CLOSER TO RACIAL QUESTION THAN DOES DR. GEORGE'S FIELD OF ANATOMY.

GENETICS, PHYSIOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY ALL DEAL MORE CLOSELY THAN ANATOMY WITH THE SORT OF STUDY WHICH DR. GEORGE CONDUCTED, DR. PERKINS SAID.

DR. GEORGE HAS LONG EXPRESSED RACIAL VIEWS WHICH MADE HIM A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES. HIS INSISTENCE THAT THERE ARE INHERENCE RACIAL MENTAL DIFFERENCES HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED BEFORE.

HE SAID HE WORKED ON HIS REPORT TO GOVERNOR PATTERSON FOR ALMOST TWO YEARS AND THAT HE RELEASED IT NOW IN CASE IT MIGHT BE OF USE "IN THE PRESENT CRISIS."

THIS WAS AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE CRISIS IN MISSISSIPPI.

Response to a Panel on "The Church in a Valley of Decision"

By

Rev. Vincent Harding

To: The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned - October 30-31/62

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I speak for Father John Morris as well as for myself when I seek to offer this response to yesterday's panel presentation on "The Church in a Valley of Decision."

Our first response was this: God bless the women! God bless the women for their deep concern. God bless the women for their searching and sensitive spirits. God bless the women for so often being so far ahead of the men in the joyful, agonizing search for the way of discipleship in the midst of our nation's racial conflicts.

After having said that, it would be tempting for me to sit down, and for all of you to sit up and pat yourselves on the back and say "how good we are." We must not yield to this temptation, though, for self-congratulation and the easy offering of undeserved praise are among the besetting sins of the church. Rather, let us look and see what we have not done, what we have yet to do before we may even claim the title to "unworthy servants."

Actually, the panel left many things to be desired --- partly, of course, because of the meagre allotment of time that was made to each speaker. On the topic itself, "The Church in a Valley of Decision," little was really said. The nature of the decision was not defined in any way, and this omission was unfortunate, to say the least. For the title was no mere playing with words; the church is indeed faced now with a decision that is focussed on this matter of race. It is a great decision. It must choose to be or not to be the Church. It must choose to be the Church or a social club. It must choose to be the Church or another variety of white citizens' council. It must choose to be the Church or to be a Negro haven of rest. It must choose to be the Church or a Colored fashion show. Ultimately, of course, the choice before the Church now is to respond to God's challenge on the issue of race, or to die of abject fear. Here is the valley.

Perhaps it was because of this lack of a central definition that I found so little of a sense of urgency about the entire presentation. But a sense of urgency is greatly needed, for the context of the title words, as they are found in the book of Joel, is this: "Multitudes, multitides, in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision." This is the point: the day of God's judgement is no less near to us, for a revolution now sweeps around us, the world is passing us by, as schools, restaurants, bars all move ahead; and day by day, a silent, segregated church becomes more and more irrelevant to the new society. Soon, before very long, separate but equal churches will be antiquated anachronism, fit only for the dung heap.

Somehow, the panel needed to say more about our need to face the church fully and honestly with this time of decision. In some way we

must help it to cease evading the moment of truth when it must decide to be God's people or to remain a white people and a colored people. We must bring it to the time when it will see no path but the path of decision between being the Body of Christ or being permanently split into white and non-white bodies. At the same time we must call the church to a new understanding of who it belongs to. Again and again, we heard the panel members speak of opening "our church" to the Negroes. Instead, we must cause men to know that our great calling may well be to get out of the way and let Christ open His church to all people. For it is His church, you know. Unless it is his, unless it follows his command to make disciples of all men, wherever they are found, unless it is open to all men, then it has not yet come near the fullness of his calling. Indeed, if this is not its stance, there may be great reason to question its credentials as a church under his Lordship.

Throughout the panel discussion, it was possible to sense an uncomfortableness not dissimilar to that which has been experienced in the nation at large of late. Just as men and women grew uneasy with the lack of local action to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, so, too, has our uneasiness increased over the plethora of church pronouncements on race in the face of so little local congregational implementation. And as I think of the action we need, I remember a lady from Virginia who approached me at the recent World Mennonite Conference and asked: "Are you starting a new colored work in Atlanta?" My response to her was: "Sister, what we are really trying to do is to get all of the colored people out of the colored churches, and all of the white people out of the white churches, and put them together into one true Christian church." For in a real sense, this is our goal; not to integrate the churches, as some ladies said. No, our goal is to help create a fully Christian church, a church that refuses to let the walls of the world be built up in the church, a church which preaches and practices, "whosoever will, may come."

Now, how shall this necessary action come? How shall the church be brought to its hour of decision? How shall the volumes of pronouncements become flesh and live in deeds among us? The answers to this are not simple, but perhaps a direction may be seen. Just as the 1954 court decision and the 1961 ICC ruling did not bring (and have not brought) voluntary corrective action without some real stimulation in most cases, so we must not expect church pronouncements to bring action without similar stimulation. Is this not in keeping with our Protestant, crisis-centered theology? Rarely, for instance, do we expect a man to become a Christian only by reading volumes of documents about conversion. In our tradition -- for better or worse -- we look for a crisis experience, a sharp encounter with the truth, which may in turn lead to a turning from old ways and a commitment to the new. Is this not what our churches need in order to become truly inclusive fellowships? Do they not need to be faced with an inescapable crisis of decision?

How shall we do this? There are many ways. On the political level it took men and women who were willing to grasp Negro children by

the hands and lead them to principals and school boards -- then the issue could not be avoided. It took courageous young men and women to enter the restaurants and sit at the counters, facing the owners with the reality of their presence and the necessity of a choice. What does it take in the church?

Now, we may sit back and wait, perhaps, for some of these same young persons to enter the church without invitation and thus stimulate our decision-making. This is not a wise way, though, for many of them will never bother to come to our churches -- for a host of good and bad reasons. More importantly, though, this is not a wise way because it removes the initiative from our hands, and it is in our hands that it belongs. We are the people of the church. There are many ways in which we can grasp the chance (Miss Mears of United Church Women's "Project: Race" has a host of ideas). However, I should like to offer one suggestion which seems to me to be faithful both to the theme of this conference and to the life of the church. I would suggest that we give up those feelings of self-righteousness which so easily overcome us when we attend regional and statewide conferences like this. I would suggest that we grow dissatisfied with talk about the hands we have shaken and the tables we have shared at this level. The time has come for us to move down (or up!) to the level of our local congregations, to take our sister of another color by the hand, a and to walk by her side into our church sanctuary. Take her, and walk with her, and say to any who ask: "This is my sister in Christ; if this is Christ's church, then she belongs here as fully as I do." Indeed, we might be called upon to add the words: "If she does not belong here, then neither do I." In our hands -- there is the initiative. Joined hand in hand we may face the church with its choice.

Obviously, this is no easy way for us to go; but that is good. It is good because this issue of race, this frightening, shaking issue may finally bring us to our senses: at last it may break down our frantic efforts to be Christ's disciples and socially acceptable at the same time. In moments of the church's crisis, this kind of double life is rarely possible or even desirable. Thus the valley of our decision on race may be a place in which we discover anew that following Christ still brings with it the joyful agony of the cross.

Only briefly was this alluded to yesterday, when one of the panel members reported on the difficulty Albany's leading Baptist minister is having in finding a place to have his hair cut. (Actually, the barbershop problem is only a symptom of the greater trials this man faces.) He simply spoke for the openness of Christ's church, and has been granted the provilege of a glimpse at the cross. In Montgomery and New Orleans, some ladies now present have been faced with rejection by their husbands as a price for their own decision. Such experiences remind us that we too must be ready for this at every moment if we would really take the present opportunity in our own hands. We must be ready to be taken off the best invitation lists. We must be ready to be socially ostracised, intimidated and reviled. This was the way of our Master; why should his followers ask for a more pleasant path?

(At this moment I remember an example given by Archbishop Fulton Sheen illustrating the difference between Christianity and Communism.

He said that the communists have marched up to the Christ of the cross, torn him from the cross, cast him aside, and have marched off bearing the cross -- the cross of suffering, ridicule and rejection for their cause. On the other hand, we of the western world, said the Bishop, have walked up to the cross, taken Christ off, and have walked off with a gentle Jesus, meek and mild, leaving the cross and its costliness behind. Neither of these is the true faith, of course. For just as there is no real Christian cross without Christ, so, too, is there no true Christ without his cross. In our valley of decision on race, each of us must make our own choice.)

Here, then, is our response. And as I thought of the decision we now face -- a calling to open Christ's church to all men -- it seemed to me that T. S. Eliot was speaking to us all through his Murder in the Cathedral (and perhaps God was speaking through the poet). There, in his dramatic recounting of the life of Thomas Becket, 12th century Archbishop of Canterbury,Eliot often dwelt on the conflict between Thomas and the King, between the commands of God and the decrees of the state, between the way of our Master and the way of the world. Then, near the closing of Thomas' life in the play, Eliot portrays the priests of the Cathedral as they urge Thomas to lock himself in the sanctuary and to bar it against the King's knights who seek to kill him. They cry out:

Priests: Bar the door. Bar the door.
The door is barred.
We are safe. We are safe.
The enemy may rage outside, he will tire
In vain. They cannot break in.
They dare not break in. They have not the force.
We are safe. We are safe.

Thomas: Unbar the doors! Throw open the doors!
I will not have the house of prayer, the church of Christ,
The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.
The church shall protect her own, in her own way, not
As oak and stone; stone and oak decay,
Give no stay, but the Church shall endure.
The church shall be open, even to our enemies.
Open the door!

Priests: My Lord! these are not men, these come not as men come, but,
Like maddened beasts. They come not like men, who
Respect the sanctuary, who kneel to the Body of Christ,
But like beasts. You would bar the door
Against the lion, the leopard, the wolf or the boar,
Why not more
Against beasts with the souls of damned men, against men
Who would damn themselves to beasts.
My Lord! My Lord!

Thomas: Unbar the door!
You think me reckless, desperate and mad.
You argue by results, as this world does,
To settle if an act be good or bad.
Unbar the door! Unbar the door!
We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem,
or by resistance,
Not to fight with beasts as men.
We have fought the beast and have conquered.
We have only to conquer now, by suffering.
This is the easier victory.
Now is the triumph of the Cross, now
Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE DOOR!

The door is opened, and within a few minutes time, the King's knights murder Thomas (for God has never promised safety to those who do his will, only his eternal presence with them). However, in the final moments of the play, the people of Canterbury are granted that great vision which helps them to see that Thomas' death, resulting as it did from his refusal to close Christ's church to any man, was indeed a blessing upon them all. It had caused them to see God and themselves. Therefore they could sing out:

Chorus: . . . . . .

. . . O God, we thank Thee
Who hast given such a blessing to Canterbury.

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of
the comman man,
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire;
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night
of God, the surrender required, the deprivation
inflicted;
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God;
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch,
the fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.
We acknowledge our trespass, our weakness, our fault;
we acknowledge
That the sin of the world is upon our heads; that the
blood of the martyrs and the agony of the saints
Is upon our heads.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Blessed Thomas, pray for us.

Reverend Vincent Harding
Mennonite House
Atlanta, Georgia

The Justice Department also pushed its legal fight in Prince Edward County, Va., the only county in the Nation where there are no public schools. Last month Justice asked the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals to order schools opened promptly without racial segregation.

Sit-ins: Justice has asked the Supreme Court to reverse convictions of more than 30 Negroes for sit-in violations in four states on the grounds the states foster the discrimination that led to the sit-ins.

Hospitals: The Department has asked to intervene in a North Carolina suit, seeking to declare unconstitutional the "separate-but-equal" provision of the Hill-Burton Act, which provides Federal funs hospital construction.

Police Brutality: During 1962, Justice brought 18 police brutality prosecutions, many of them in Northern States. One in Indiana led to the conviction of two Negro detectives on charges of beating a Negro defendent.

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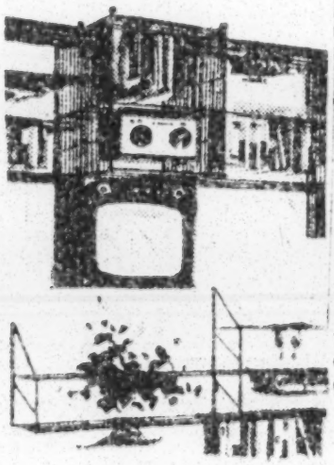

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Employment Unit Director Quits Post

Wash Post 1/29/63

Employment Pres Comm.

John G. Feild is leaving his job as executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, a high Government source said yesterday.

Feild has not tendered his resignation as yet and no indication was given as to why he is leaving or who his successor will be.

Feild, 39, who has held the post since April, 1961, could not be reached for comment.

It also was disclosed that he has had discussions with Department of Labor officials concerning another assignment with them.

The President's Committee is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Feild joined the staff after serving as legislative assistant to Sen. Philip A. Hart (D—Mich.).

Robert Kennedy Reports

Year of Rights Progress

C.R. Gen.

By Jean M. White
Staff Reporter

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy reported yesterday on "a year of great progress in civil rights," with respect for the law by most Southerners far outweighing the violence at the University of Mississippi.

In a report to the White House, the Attorney General warned, however, that difficult problems remained and "ugly incidents like the Mississippi riot may occur again."

Kennedy noted major steps were taken last year in every area of civil rights—voting, transportation, education, employment, and housing. Progress, he emphasized, was due in large measure to the "emerging spirit of the South," with respect for the law and responsibility being shown by most of the citizens of the South.

Gains in Voting Rights

In reporting on the work of the Justice Department in the civil rights field, the Attorney General devoted nearby half of his seven-page summary to voting, which he called "the most significant civil rights problem." He indicated the Justice Department will seek additional legislation to insure equal voting rights.

Last year a literary bill died in Congress. The Attorney General has indicated that he now is more interested in equal application of literacy tests rather than a straight ban on such requirements.

Among gains in the area of voting rights, Kennedy listed these:

Negro registration has risen from 1100 to 3000 in Macon County, Ala., since a March 1961, court order; registration of 1100 previously rejected Negroes in Montgomery, Ala.; Negro registration up from 5 to more than 1000 in Bullock County, Ala., Negroes are being registered for the first time in decades in a number of counties, including East Carroll and Madison Parishes in Louisiana and Clarke and Tallahatchie Counties in Mississippi.

"Negroes' fear of attempting to register is, perhaps, as great a problem as their being prevented from registering," Kennedy noted in his report.

Example in Tennessee

He pointed to a "vivid example" in two Tennessee counties, where the Justice Department obtained assurances, by consent decrees, against economic intimidation. Since late 1960, Kennedy reported, Negro registrants have risen from none to more than 2000 in Haywood County and from 58 to more than 3000 in Fayette County.

The Attorney General's report also covered these other areas of progress:

Transportation: Systematic segregation in interstate transportation has "ceased to exist" under the Interstate Commerce Commission's new regulations. Only one city in the Nation—Jackson, Miss.—still is attempting to maintain systematic segregation of interstate rail and bus facilities, and this is under legal attack.

Schools: The number of desegregated Southern school districts rose from 912 to 972 without incident. Last year saw the first concerted action to desegrate schools that receive "impact area" funds.

Edward County Action

The Justice Department also pushed its legal fight in Prince Edward County, Va., the only county in the Nation where there are no public schools. Last month Justice asked the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals to order schools opened promptly without racial segregation.

Sit-ins: Justice has asked the Supreme Court to reverse convictions of more than 30 Negroes for sit-in violations in four states on the grounds the states foster the discrimination that led to the sit-ins.

Hospitals: The Department has asked to intervene ...

The Washi
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

W-Post 1/28/63

Civil Rights General

Civil Rights Progress

The Civil Rights Report which Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has presented to the President has the especial value of putting into perspective the gains that were largely eclipsed by the spectacular events at Oxford, Mississippi.

Notwithstanding this untoward incident, it is plain that the year was one of achievement and one, moreover, in which the most notable progress was in the changing spirit of the South. The catalog of interventions to enforce voting rights, transportation rights and education rights makes reading of which the country has reason to be proud. If there still remains a great deal of discrimination in the land, it is discrimination about which the Government continues a persistent and serious effort to do something. There must be no slacking in this effort, for, as the Attorney General points out: "Substantial numbers of American citizens are being deprived of their right to vote because of race."

While progress sometimes seems slow, it is cheering to note, in the language of the report, that "there are no segregated airport facilities in the Nation" and that there is only one city in the Nation in which there still is segregation at interstate rail and bus facilities.

Prince Edward County, Virginia, continues to have the dubious distinction of being the only county in the Nation where there are no public schools. That nearly 1500 of the 1800 school children of that county have had no education in three years is, as the Attorney General puts it, "a disgrace to our country." It is to be hoped that the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit will order the schools there opened, in accordance with the plea of the Justice Department.

The Attorney General has been wise to acknowledge that difficult racial problems remain throughout the country. He also has been wise to point out that they exist not only in the South "but throughout the country where Negroes are victims of school resegregation, bias in housing, or employment or other facets of society."

The report will unnecessarily offend many objective people by an excessive effort to exhibit this Administration's comparatively greater zeal in the civil rights field. This repetition of comparative statistics on suits filed and actions undertaken introduces into the report a political note that might better have been omitted. If it had to be included, it would have been considerate and generous if the Attorney General had acknowledged that the Department of Justice under the administration of his predecessor pushed through to enactment in the face of great opposition the legislative foundation for many of the actions of this Administration. Whatever progress that has been made is the result of the efforts of public men in all parts of the country and both parties.

Per our discussion, Part 2 Hope you like it. Sam

For Release after 8 P.M., Friday, February 22, 1963.

ADDRESS BY SAM MASSELL, JR., Vice Mayor, City of Atlanta
Before the Mickve Israel Congregation
in Savannah, Georgia
February 22, 1963
Title: "WHO IS OUR BROTHER?"

I was asked to come here tonight to speak on the subject of brotherhood, and I'm honored to be here. And, I am especially honored to have the opportunity of speaking on this particular subject.

Brotherhood is something I've thought about . . . . many times, for I truly believe it is just as important to our well-being as is our economy, our defense, and all of the other problems with which we constantly struggle. I'm afraid, however, that in this day and time the word -- brotherhood -- has come to be considered, in some cases, a corny word. Brotherhood and patriotism and love and fellowship . . . these are words which don't seem to be so often used anymore. Patriotism -- some say -- is for crackpots . . . . and brotherhood for do-gooders.

The word is much more meaningful than that to me, and it is far from being corny.

When I sat down one Saturday not long ago to assemble my thoughts for this speech, I turned first to the dictionary, hoping there to find a definition of the word which would give me a starting point, and perhaps a new idea.

But the dictionary was of little help, as Webster's definition of 'brotherhood' is simply -- "the condition of being brothers". I thought on that for awhile and realized that this is much less than what the word means to me.

I turned then to the little brochure put out by the National Conference of Christians and Jews . . . and there I found the real definition of this word. Here, it becomes a word which touches the human heart.

Brotherhood, it says, is "giving to others the rights and respect we want for ourselves".

Isn't that beautifully said? It brings the word into focus, so that you and I can have a feeling for it . . . so that it means something to us, personally.

The same thing has been said before, in another way . . . with other words . . . in another book. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

That's the kind of brotherhood I want to talk about tonight.

As I go along it may appear that I'm mistaking the word for prejudice . . . and hatred . . . and bigotry. It may seem, in the beginning, that I don't see any signs of a true spirit of brotherhood in this world in which we live.

But that's not so. I do see love and compassion and brotherhood around me every day. Nevertheless, my eyes never close to the inhumanity which also surrounds us.

We are talking brotherhood . . . but before I finish this speech and sit down tonight, men will go to bed on a small island off the coast of Florida with fear in their hearts for what may happen tomorrow. It is fear of their own countrymen, fear of their Cuban brothers.

Before I'm done tonight, an elderly German couple, carrying all their worldly possessions in a paper bag, may steal through the night toward a high wall in Berlin, seeking freedom. If they are caught, they will die at the hands of their German brothers.

Tonight, in Mississippi, an American youth will go to bed in a college dormitory with guards standing at the door to protect him from his fellow Americans. He is not a criminal, nor a maniac dangerous to society . . . but an American Negro pursuing his God-given rights.

Tonight, here in Savannah or over in Macon, or somewhere -- two young boys may attack an old man in a service station and beat him unmercifully for the two dollars in his billfold.

Tonight, in Birmingham or Denver or Kansas City, a respected - - but Jewish -- citizen will discover that he can't buy the home of his choice because the neighborhood is "restricted".

Tonight, somewhere in this great land of ours, a man will check his fallout shelter before going to bed. He checks it every night, fearing that <u>this</u> might be the date when the brotherhood of man comes to an end forever. He will grumble at the prospect of such inhumanity, and righteously so. But in his own fallout shelter there is a rifle . . . put there to keep out the uninvited neighbor in case of disaster.

This, my friends, is the state of brotherhood in the world today.

Yet, man has come a long way in recent years. Today, the mind of man has created a machine which can answer almost any question. Man has built missiles which can travel the breadth of the globe in a matter of minutes, and has created warheads which can destroy whole nations in the time required to fix a flat tire. Man has found a cure for polio, and doctors in research laboratories around the nation are rapidly closing in on other dread diseases.

Very definitely, man has demonstrated that there is no limit to what the mind can achieve.

As I reflect on the accomplishments of mankind, I realize -- as you must -- that the mind has far outraced the heart. We can put a man in orbit, but we cannot yet guarantee every man his rights. We can solve the mathematical problems confronting the mind . . . but we still let prejudice and discrimination into our hearts.

We have, in Atlanta, a saying that I believe in very firmly. In the face of racial problems we say, and rightly, that we are too busy to hate. And we are. I think the feeling in Atlanta is that too much hard work has gone into building a great city to see it all destroyed or hindered at the hands of violence born of hatred.

I'd like to think there is more to it than that; to think it is more than just being too busy to hate. I'd like to believe that we simply have more love in our hearts than hate. And I hope that we never get so busy that we are too busy to love.

Perhaps I'm being overly optimistic about it, but I believe there is still hope for brotherhood in the South . . . and, for that matter, throughout the world. As Vice-Mayor of the city of Atlanta, I am in a position to see more prejudice than I care to see . . . but I also see progress. I see discrimination often . . . but I also see men of good will working together to get rid of it.

When a group of citizens, however small, work hand-in-hand to assure the rights of a single person . . . then that, in itself, is brotherhood and -- with time -- will foster further brotherhood.

We know that the seeds of prejudice are sown deeply in the South and cannot be uprooted overnight. It is extremely difficult to change a belief that one has held for all of one's life . . . beliefs held by one's parents and grandparents and their parents before them. There are in the South today honest, earnest, hard-working men and women who believe with all their hearts that integration is morally wrong. There are men - however wrongly - who would give up their lives before giving up segregation. Their backgrounds and training, and the traditions of their hometown are such that they may never be convinced that their racial or other prejudices are wrong. They've believed all their lives that every Negro is unclean . . . that every Jew is a merchant who will cheat you . . . that every Catholic is a heathen who worships the Pope instead of God . . . and that every Northener is a slick-talking Yankee who is not to be trusted.

It is important that we realize that these people's beliefs are sincere. We cannot change their views by putting them in jail . . . nor would we want to do such a thing. Our great hope lies in love and understanding. No man is born a bigot; bigotry must be learned. And what can be learned can -- through patience and understanding -- be unlearned. Love can overcome traditions. Compassion can rise above ignorance.

In Atlanta, we have had events develop which even the boldest would not have predicted fifteen years ago. Just recently, a young Atlanta Negro named Leroy Johnson ran for and was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia, from Fulton County. He ran first against white candidates and then, in the General Election, defeated a Negro Republican. He went to the Legislature, and still the few extremists cried: "Blood will flow in the streets. The white man won't stand for this!"

Well, the white man did stand for it. There were no incidents, no hatred -- and he is getting on very well with his white colleagues.

One advantage which accrues in every situation of this sort -- that of a single Negro (or single Jew, or single Japanese) -- in with a large number of whites (or Gentiles, or Americans) -- is that everyone soon learns that we are all pretty much alike. In fact, we sometimes discover that the supposedly inferior can turn out to be superior.

Senator Johnson is a case in point, for the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, an all-white organization of young men, has just honored this Negro by naming him as one of the city's "Five Outstanding Young Men of the Year". No federal troops, no federal rulings were involved in the decision to so honor him. It was not a forced decision, but an honest determination arrived at by reasonable men in a spirit of brotherhood and fair play.

Just who is our brother . . . and why don't we recognize him? I think first we need to understand what prejudice is, and what causes it. Some of it I feel I do understand. In a way, prejudice is another form of competition.

As a husband and father, I'm strongly prejudiced in favor of my family over any other. All the husbands and fathers on my block feel the same way about their families. But if a crisis comes up involving all of us, such as a detrimental change in zoning, prejudices are forgotten and the block stands together.

The same is true of cities. I am as strongly prejudiced in favor of Atlanta as you are in favor of Savannah. We have a rivalry of sorts going on all the time. But if a crisis arises involving us both, such as preservation of our University System, rivalries and prejudices are forgotten and the two cities stand together.

We want new industries to select Georgia over every other state, but all fifty states of the Union stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the face of a common problem, such as the threat of Communism.

If you have ever driven through the country on a clear, pretty day . . . you would have noticed the way cattle graze in the pasture. They're spread out all over everywhere . . . one here, one there . . . and only rarely will you ever see as many as two standing together.

But on a cold and windy day, things change. If the weather is bad, creating a common problem for all, they huddle together to help each other.

Humans are the same way. A young child can be stricken with a dread disease . . . a disease, say, which will be fatal before his next birthday. How many times have you seen such a story in the newspaper? Frequently, I believe. And the next day's paper always tells of great numbers of total strangers who have come forth to help the child or to offer gifts. The region is swept by a wave of compassion for the stricken youngster.

There are other examples. I remember once when an apartment building burned, leaving a good many people temporarily homeless. And immediately, others in the neighborhood began taking their helpless neighbors into their homes. These were people who had lived in the neighborhood for years without ever even getting to know the people next door. What brought forth their compassion in this case?

Did you ever attend a house of worship which was destroyed . . . by fire, by an explosion, or by some other means? If so, you may have been surprised to find men and women of all denominations and faiths working together to help restore the church. What makes them do it?

A common crisis seems to bind us together, overriding and overcoming all prejudices. In today's headlines we frequently read of the difficulties among France and England and this country. But the beaches of Normandy are lined with the blood of Frenchmen, Britons and Americans who died fighting for a common cause. Prejudices and problems were forgotten then.

The islands of the Pacific and the continent of Europe are dotted with the graves of brave American men who died fighting for the freedoms we enjoy in this country. The graves show no prejudice. There are Negroes in them, and white men; there are Southerners and Northerners, Republicans and Democrats -- Jews, Protestants, Catholics, athiests, and men of every faith. Prejudices were all forgotten on the battlefield.

Where is the solution to this problem of prejudice? I think the solution is understanding. Why do you think so many strangers come instantly to the aid of a stricken child? Or why were people who had been formerly aloof from their neighbors so compassionate and understanding in a time of crisis?

I think I know the answer.

Most of us have children. The child that was stricken could -- next time -- be our child. This is something we can understand.

We all have homes. We can all <u>feel</u> for the family whose home has burned. It could happen to us.

We can forget our prejudices anytime that we can have understanding. We can best understand when we can relate ourselves to the problem . . . when we can imagine having a personal stake in the problem.

Why then can't we understand the problems of a minority group?

Take the poor, sick individual who is prejudiced against every Negro and every Jew and every Catholic . . or every anybody. If, somehow, we can make him understand that someday he may be part of a minority . . . that someday he personally may be the victim of prejudice . . . then progress will have been made in the cause of brotherhood.

Perhaps we can remind him that right after the Civil War, during the bitter days of reconstruction, all Southerners were victims of unfair prejudice throughout the rest of the country. Or maybe we can make him realize that if the law breaks down and fails to protect one Negro at the University of Mississippi now, then one day the law will surely fail to protect him in another matter.

The history of mankind is replete with examples of prejudice . . and the tragedies which have followed closely on its heels. The people of Moses suffered from prejudice at every turn; both Jews and Christians suffered at the hands of Roman prejudice; for hundreds of years, black men and white men were sold into slavery by their own countrymen.

I could go on and on, for prejudice is very much a part of world history. But so is brotherhood.

There is still time. There is still hope for the cause of brotherhood in this country. Sometimes brotherhood must be worked at and perhaps we will have to work at it now to achieve it.

We all have lost loved ones and, later, reflected on how much more love we could and should, have bestowed upon them. Let us work at brotherhood and understanding, but let's not wait too late. Each man has the capacity. May God guide his children to be their brothers' brother.

#######

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
20 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 15, NO. 23 NEW YORK, MARCH 14, 1963

FINE PHRASES MASK FAILURE TO PROTECT NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

JFK rights message sounds big, means little

By Joanne Grant

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S first civil rights message, full of sound and fury signifying nothing, was sent to Congress Feb. 28, two years after his inauguration.

With high-sounding phrases Kennedy proposed several pieces of constructive legislation which have not the dimmest hope of passage. The sham battle to end the filibuster by a change in Rule 22 guaranteed that. William V. Shannon in the New York **Post** (March 5) said of Kennedy's approach to civil rights: "The President kept hands off [the rules fight]. Then last week he sent an eloquent, beautifully written message on civil rights legislation to Capitol Hill. The substantial recommendations in his message have no chance of passage because the liberal bloc lost the rules fight."

In one of the few instances in which the President took a moral stand on civil rights, the message said: "...It is not merely because of the Cold War, and not merely because of the economic waste of discrimination, that we are committed to achieving true equality of opportunity. The basic reason is because it is right."

The moral tone was there, but the moral leadership so long demanded by civil rights advocates was still lacking. Kennedy abandoned the attempt to curb the power of Dixiecrat senators, and therefore knows that civil rights bills cannot be adopted. Furthermore, if one can judge from the record of his past dealings with Congress, he will not even press for passage of the bills.

VOTING STRESSED: The most significant elements of the civil rights message dealt with voting rights. Kennedy proposed:

(1) Appointment of temporary federal voting referees in any county in which fewer than 15% of eligible Negro voters are registered to serve during litigation rather than, as at present, only after a court appoints them.

(2) Priority handling of voting suits.

(3) Specific statutory prohibition of the application of different procedures for different voting applicants.

(4) Substitution of a sixth-grade education for literacy tests as proof that the applicant is literate.

Kennedy also urged that state legislatures adopt the anti-poll tax amendment adopted by Congress last year.

Other recommendations were:

- Setting up a program of federal technical and financial assistance to school districts in the process of desegregating; and eliminating the phrase "separate but equal" in the Morill Land Grant College Act.
- Extending the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for at least four years and empowering it to act as a national civil rights clearing house to provide information, advice and technical assistance to any private or public requesting agency.

TO MONITOR PACTS: On employment the President said that anti-discrimination provisions of Government contracts and voluntary "plans for progress" agreements signed under the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be "carefully monitored and strictly enforced." He announced that he had directed the Justice Department to enter cases of discrimination by labor unions and to urge the National Labor Relations Board to act on such cases.

Robert E. Baker said in the Washington **Post** March 3, that "laudatory" as the proposals are, they would not "strike at the crux of the matter" in hard-core areas of the South. Noting that a few hours after the President's message a voter registration worker in Mississippi (James Travis, 20, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) was shot in the neck, Baker said: "It is the intimidation and violence which meets Negro voter efforts in such areas that must be dealt with . . ." The Kennedy message did not even mention the violence and brutality directed at Negroes in the South.

Only one recommendation of the Civil Rights Commission—the replacement of literacy tests by proof of a sixth grade education—was included in the message. The CRC had also recommended compilation of voting statistics by race by the U.S. Census Bureau, for use in forcing reapportionment under the 14th Amendment, and amendment of the criminal code to prohibit any arbitrary action to deprive Negroes of the vote. It emphasized that the 14th Amendment specifically provides enforcement power to protect the right to vote regardless of race.

GOP CRITICAL: Kennedy's proposals were criticized by Republicans as too little and too late. New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller said Congress should be asked to enact a fair employment practices act, to make the Civil Rights Commission permanent, and to empower the Attorney General to file civil actions to prevent the denial of voting rights. Rockefeller also scored Kennedy for his appointment of racist judges in the South. (Kennedy answered this criticism in a press conference March 6: "On the whole, I believe—and this is not true just of this administration—I think that the men that have been appointed to judgeships in the South, sharing, perhaps as they do, the general outlook of the South, have done a remarkable job in fulfilling their oath of office.")

Anthony Lewis in a New York Times News Service article March 7, said: "Justice Department officials, while not disagreeing with the President's view of the whole record, will admit privately that they are disappointed about the way some of the Southern appointments have turned out."

Rep. John Lindsay (R-N.Y.) who has introduced a civil rights package, criticized the President's proposal for not living up to the 1960 Democratic platform.

The NAACP said the program does not go far enough and pointed out there was no new proposal on discrimination in housing; no deadline for school desegregation and no fair employment practices law.

THE RECORD: Both the President and Attorney General Robert Kennedy, in a recent report on civil rights progress, extolled the administration's civil rights record.

The President said that as a result of the Interstate Commerce Commission

order and Department of Justice suits against discrimination in interstate travel facilities, segregation has "virtually ceased to exist." He said "isolated instances of discrimination" no doubt would continue, but such discrimination would be dealt with promptly.

Actually, compliance with the ICC order has been far from general. Rather, the reverse is true. While "colored" and "white" signs have been removed from terminals for the most part, Negroes are harassed and threatened, sometimes arrested if they attempt to use "white" waiting rooms, ticket counters or rest rooms. Steps toward integration, especially in bus terminals, are the "isolated instances"; noncompliance is the general rule.

SOME FACTS: The President said: "For the first time the full force of executive authority is being exerted in the battle against race discrimination." But voter registration workers in Mississippi have repeatedly and vainly wired the President asking for federal marshals to protect their lives and the lives of Negro voting applicants. FBI "investigations" of police brutality and other violence against Negroes in Southwest Georgia have yielded no results. And Justice Department lawyers in cases before a Kennedy-appointed racist judge in Americus, Ga., even asked their Negro witnesses not to act "uppity."

Belland in the IUD Bulletin, Washington, D.C.
"How yuh spell 'flunk'?"

The Attorney General boasted that in 20 counties in four hard-core states voting records were made available voluntarily, in 50 counties discriminatory practices were "voluntarily abandoned," and 32 suits and 82 voting record inspections were undertaken by the Justice Department.

But the President cited a recent report that shows that in 200 counties less than 15% of eligible Negroes are registered. In these counties Negroes who attempt to register are thrown off the land, their insurance is canceled, their homes are shot into, their churches are burned. There is no evidence the "full force of executive authority" has been brought to bear on officials of Leflore county, Miss., where 22,000 Negroes were removed from the federal surplus commodity program after a voter registration campaign there.

ON INTEGRATION: The Attorney General reported that 972 Southern school districts are desegregated. The President declared that peaceful desegregation was effected in Dallas, New Orleans, Memphis and Atlanta. Both said desegregation took place frequently with the help of federal persuasion. Both neglected to note that the South has a total of 6,368 school districts, and that except for the District of Columbia, whatever integration has taken place is of the "token" variety. Neither the President nor the Attorney General pointed out that fewer than 8% of Southern Negro children attend schools with whites.

On employment, the President said that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity had received more than 1,300 complaints in two years and has achieved corrective action on 72% of the cases handled. He did not say how many cases were handled. Figures released last November showed that of 1,263 complaints, corrective action was taken in 297.

The demand for civil rights legislation raised by the civil rights leaders and by some members of Congress has been answered from the White House with a recital of inflated "accomplishments" and a minimal legislative program which is certain to be filibustered to death.

REPRINTED BY:
THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Cavalier

A
FAWCETT
PUBLICATION
APRIL,
1963
50 CENTS

Eugene Burdick

NAT HENTOFF

INSIDE BOB NEWHART

Anthony Quinn

THE NUDE SUSAN HARRISON

FOOL'S PARADISE OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE BY GERALD WALKER

CAVALIER IN PERSON

Leading off the April CAVALIER on p. 10, Gerald Walker sharply satirizes Dixie's racist dogma in "The Fool's Paradise of the Southern White." A recent president of the Society of Magazine Writers, Walker, except for a freshman spell at the University of Georgia, was raised and educated in New York City where he was graduated from New York University and took postgraduate work at Columbia University. In addition to writing short stories, plays and libretti, Walker has had articles published in virtually every leading American magazine: *Saturday Evening Post, Cosmopolitan, Redbook, Esquire, Playboy, Good Housekeeping* and *Reader's Digest,* to name a few. When not free-lancing, he serves as book reviewer for such publications as N. Y. *Times,* N. Y. *Post* and *Saturday Review.* Walker notes that he's met "quite a few White Northerners who would qualify as Honorary—if that is the word—White Southerners." The 35-year-old writer is married to actress Greta Markson and is the proud father of a year-old son.

Academy-award winner Anthony Quinn, one of America's most talented and busiest thespians, is currently on view in the films *Lawrence of Arabia, Requiem For A Heavyweight* and *Barabbas,* and in the Broadway production of *Tchin-Tchin.* H. E. F. Donohue, just signed to a two-book contract by Viking Press, caught Quinn between acts for a revealing dissertation on "The Success Thing," p. 13. In a lighter vein, humorist James Collier traces the off-color history of blue humor, p. 16, before Peter Basch introduces the girls of West Berlin, p. 18.

Novelist Eugene Burdick, author of *The Blue of Capicorn* and co-author of current best-seller *Fail-Safe,* draws from his South Seas experiences to fashion a fascinating tale, "The Second Life of Bony Bonaparte," beginning on p. 86. In "There Are No Atheists on the Stock Exchange," short story stylist Arthur Kaplan proves that even the facts of life can sometimes be refuted by feminine logic, p. 28. *Flower Drum Song* creator C. Y. Lee, doing research for his new novel, recently spent six weeks in Hong Kong and reports his visitation, beginning on p. 62. Lee's only Hong Kong complaint: "The food is so good that the town is a tough place for a man to try to reduce."

BURDICK

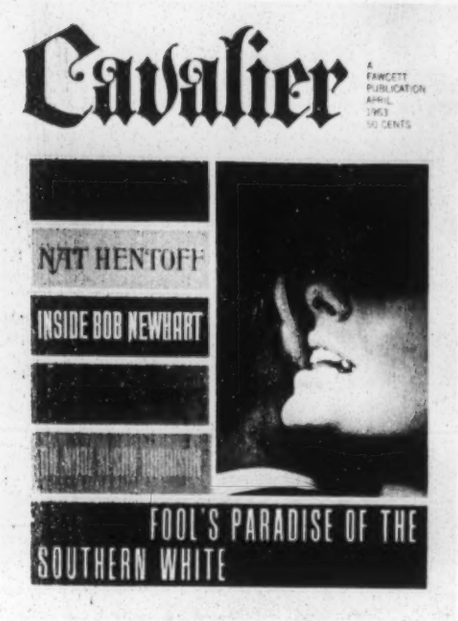
WALKER

LEE

At 19, Susan Harrison appeared on Broadway in *The Cave Dwellers,* then went on to co-star in the films *Sweet Smell of Success* and *Key Witness.* Now 24 and more concerned with her travels than an acting career, Susan Harrison owns the exciting face on p. 74.

After former newspaperman Roland A. Goodman, now a financial writer, puts in a call on *The Wall Street Journal,* p. 31, *Television Age* editor Don Dunn buttonholes the Ivy League manner of comedian Bob Newhart, p. 52. Artist Dick Shelton then introduces America's leading saber waver, Mike Dasaro, p. 34, before playwright Charles L. Mee, Jr., details the theatre's enterprising exodus to the hinterlands, p. 40. April's expanded fashion section features the latest in suede and leather looks, p. 56, and, beginning on p. 43, Date-of-the-Month Miss Vi Sexton should prove to be a TV treat well worth watching. Rounding out the April CAVALIER, other departments include CAVALIER Decameron, p. 67, and reports on sport (p. 6), jazz (p. 7), food (p. 36) and drink (p. 38).

Readers are invited to go a-Maying with us next month, when CAVALIER visits Paris in the springtime and Rome's raffish papparazzi. The continental air of the issue will be topped off with a daring photographic *reprise* of a life of leisure at St. Tropez, where the gilded set disports to the delight of the shutterbugs, to the dismay of the protectors of public morals and to the utter unconcern of themselves. Just flashing through Paris and its European environs has been known to be sufficient, but our distinguished board of contributors will include A. J. Liebling, William Saroyan, Joseph Wechsberg, Geoffry Bocca and photographer Dennis Stock, whose pictures give new meaning to the old cognomen—"City of Light." CAVALIER's itinerary for the coming months, in fact, will take the world for our province and then continue with the acquisition as part of our regular coverage. On the local scene, Alan Levy will portray the *Young Man of Louisville.* Himself an alumnus of that city, Alan discovers an amazing Southern-Midwestern dichotomy in its citizens. In fact, there is much of interest in Louisville besides the famed Derby Day.



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CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1963. VOL. 13, NO. 118

Cavalier

10 FOOL'S PARADISE OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE—satire.....Gerald Walker
13 THE SUCCESS THING—Anthony Quinn interview .....H. E. F. Donohue
16 A RISQUÉ WELL WORTH TAKING—humor.....James Collier
18 WEST OF THE WALL—pictorial.....Peter Basch
26 THE FACE OF MAN—humor.....J. G. Farris
28 NO ATHEISTS ON STOCK EXCHANGE—fiction....Arthur Kaplan
31 WALL STREET JOURNAL—profile.....Roland Goodman
34 MIKE DASARO: U.S. FENCING CHAMP—sport.....Dick Shelton
36 THE EGG AND YOU—cookery.....L. S. Tucker
38 HEARD ALONG THE GRAPEVINE—drink.....George Wiswell
40 HEYDAY FOR HAMS IN HINTERLANDS—theatre....C. L. Mee, Jr.
43 T-vi—Date-of-the-Month.....photos by William Graham
52 BOB NEWHART—Cavalier composite.....Don Dunn
56 THE OLD SKIN GAME—fashion.....Gerald McCann
62 HONG KONG: BIG AND BOOMING—travel.....C. Y. Lee
66 THE RAKE'S STRATAGEM—Cavalier Decameron .....Paul J. Gillette
74 SUSAN HARRISON—beauty of stage and film
86 SECOND LIFE OF BONY BONAPARTE—fiction..Eugene Burdick

REGULAR FEATURES

2 CAVALIER IN PERSON— notes on the issue
4 MAIL CALL
6 THE SOUNDING BOARD
6 SPORTS.....Robert L. Teague
7 RECORDS.....Nat Hentoff
8 FILM.....Andrew Sarris
9 OUR MAN IN MANHATTAN.....Bill Manville
94 A FUNNY ONE FOR THE ROAD—humor

CREDITS: HEYDAY FOR HAMS IN THE HINTERLANDS reprinted in part by permission of *Playbill*.
PHOTO CREDITS: pp. 13, 14, 15, Sam Shaw; pp. 36, 37, Arnold T. Rosenberg; pp. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, Galaxy/William Graham; pp. 57, 58, 59, Sid Latham; pp. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, Reshovsky/Pix; p. 87, Sid Latham.

CAVALIER is published monthly by Fawcett Publications, Inc., Fawcett Bldg., Greenwich, Conn. President, W. H. Fawcett, Jr.; general manager, Roger Fawcett; secretary-treasurer, Gordon Fawcett; circulation director, Roscoe K. Fawcett; assistant general manager, Donald P. Hanson.

ADDRESS ALL MAIL: Subscriptions, change of address, Form 3579 to Subscription Dept., Fawcett Bldg., Greenwich, Conn.
Second-class postage paid at Greenwich, Conn., and at additional mailing offices.
EDITORIAL OFFICES: 67 W. 44th St., New York 36, N. Y. Return postage must accompany all manuscripts, drawings, and photographs submitted if they are to be returned and no responsibility can be assumed for unsolicited materials.
ADVERTISING OFFICES: 67 W. 44th St., New York 36, N. Y.; 612 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Ill.; 1659 Guardian Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich.; 2978 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 5, Calif.; 681 Market St., San Francisco 5, Calif.; 123 S. Broad St., Philadelphia 9, Pa.; 1430 West Peachtree St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.; Hale Printup & Associates, Langford Bldg., Miami 32, Fla.
Printed in U.S.A. Copyright 1963 by Fawcett Publications, Inc. Reprinting in whole or in part forbidden except by permission of the Publishers.
SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $5.00 a year in U.S. and possessions. $5.50 a year in Canada. All other countries $7.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions and sales should be remitted by International Money Order in U.S. funds payable at Greenwich, Conn.

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ALGREN OUTBURST

Nelson Algren's *Schlepker* (Feb.) was one of the funniest short stories I've read in years. I've labored under the impression that Algren was at his best only when dealing with tragedy, but his scene-stealing satire on Hollywood happily proved me wrong.

Ronald O'Hare
Los Angeles, Cal.

. . . It seems to me that Nelson Algren's *Schlepker* was not just a piece of amusing fiction, but a case of the writer ridiculing a Hollywood which has given him nothing but a hard time during his long, and occasionally brilliant, career.

It's fairly common knowledge out here that the character *Schlepker* bears more than a passing resemblance to Otto Preminger, who did the film version of Algren's *The Man With The Golden Arm.* Algren and Preminger didn't get along at all, differing on matters of money and taste. Algren claimed he was underpaid, that his screenplay wasn't used and that his realistic novel was emasculated as grist for Hollywood's run-of-the-mill tripe.

More recently, Algren's *A Walk On The Wild Side* was made into a film, also to the displeasure of the author. In *Schlepker,* Algren strikes back at the great stupidity and pompousness that still dominates the Hollywood scene.

Name Withheld
Los Angeles, Cal.

GLEASON: MELANCHOLY CAVALIER

Frederick Christian's revealing article on Jackie Gleason (Feb.) was most welcome and most readable. Gleason's incredible many-sided talents make him America's only performer capable of being a topnotch comedian and a highly competent actor.

George Folkins
Detroit, Mich.

. . . After Mr. Gleason's disgraceful behavior on David Susskind's television show some months ago, it is a wonder someone doesn't puncture this oversized blimp permanently.

Mrs. Jane Reed
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

. . . Gleason is bigger than life and twice as much fun.

Noel Behrman
Madison, Wis.

Just a line to say that I enjoyed Frederick Christian's comprehensive study of Jackie Gleason and thought that the pictures accompanying the story were great.

Mike St. John
Terre Haute, Ind.

MISS FEBRUARY WEEKEND

CAVALIER's Dates-of-the-Month are the most sensational women I've ever seen in an American magazine. February's red-tressed Rita de Portago (somehow, "redhead" just wouldn't be *apropos*) had the high-style and elegance that CAVALIER is able to capture so well in its photography.

Norm Saxon
New York, N.Y.

. . . Rita de Portago will be CAVALIER's Date-of-the-Year.

Mike Carpenter
Cleveland, Ohio

. . . Zowie!

Steve Solway
Harrisburg, Pa.

. . . Peter Basch's photographs of Miss Rita de Portago were breathtaking.

Rod Tarkenton
Phoenix, Ariz.

I have a problem. Since CAVALIER presented its first Date-of-the-Month, Miss Denyse Turner, in September, I have carefully removed the fold-out sections from each succeeding issue and hung them up to admire. CAVALIER's young women not only brighten up the otherwise drab mien of my lowly college pad, but also allow me to completely relax during study breaks.

My problem is this: Since February's Date-of-the-Month, Miss Rita de Portago, took her place on the livingroom wall, I find myself unable to concentrate. Everytime I sit down to the books, I wind up gazing longingly at Miss de Portago, leaving my assignments undone. What can I do?

Chuck Johnson
University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.

Study in the kitchen.

Some unpleasant truths re the racial inferiority of those somnolent citizens below that famous Line

FOOL'S PARADISE OF THE SOUTHERN WHITE

BY GERALD WALKER

Some of my best friends are White Southerners.

Personally, I feel only the greatest affection and respect for the White Southerner—in his place. The trouble is, however, that lately the White Southerner has shown all too little awareness of what and where his proper place is. I refer, of course, to his precipitous turning away from his traditional agrarian way of life and his rather pushy efforts in recent years to attract new industry below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Now, generally speaking, it is certainly commendable for a backward region to try to raise itself. But I must add in all candor that the impatient, not to say aggressive, manner in which a handful of White Southern agitators has gone about this task has sown the seeds of suspicion and competition between our two regions where previously there had been only harmony and understanding; indeed, inter-regional relations have deteriorated badly.

Moreover, it seems to me the real point is that perhaps it is time for the rest of the country to ask: Is the White Southerner really *ready* for progress? Is he trying to come too far too fast?

After all, the White Southerner is but one hundred years removed from practicing slavery. And while, admittedly, he has made rapid strides and come a long way since losing the Civil War to an adversary battle-proved to be his superior, has he yet *earned* the right of full participation in the industrialized mainstream of contemporary American life? Would it not be better for all concerned for the White Northerner to continue his stewardship of the South until such a time as there was not a shred of a doubt of the White Southerner's capacity to fend for himself?

For the plain fact of the matter is that there are vast areas of difference between the White Southerner and the White Northerner. These differences—in morality, in criminality, in temperament, in mentality, in ambition and, generally, in the ability to adapt to the ways of Western civilization—first became apparent to me when I was a carpetbagging freshman at the University of Georgia in 1945.

Since then, as a result of a number of return trips to the South, I have gotten to know the White Southerner well. I have lived close to them for long periods, observed their customs, visited in their homes, broken bread with them and gone to their social functions. Making due allowance for the White Southerner's good qualities —humor, hospitality, charm, chattiness—I soon came to realize that he was, in fact, a totally different and essentially inferior breed when measured against his neighbor, the White Northerner.

These firsthand observations have lately been substantiated by the impartial findings of modern science, as set forth most effectively by Carleton Putnam in his eye-opening work, *Race and Reason*. Mr. Putnam, whose extensive background as an airlines executive led him directly into becoming a noted amateur authority in the fields of anthropology, biology, psychology and anatomy, is primarily concerned with demonstrating the innate, hereditary factors which account for the observable inferiority of the average Negro to the average White. (Some indication of the brilliance with which he succeeded may be gathered from the wide circulation —over 100,000 copies sold—and en-

thusiastic reception that his book has enjoyed in Southern States since its publication in 1961. For example, Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett proclaimed October 26, 1961, as Race And Reason Day, capped by a $25-a-plate dinner in Putnam's honor, and the Louisiana State Legislature passed a resolution that same year ordering high schools throughout the state to assign the book for study to "selected mature students.")

Needless to say, valid scientific principles and procedures are applicable to more than one set of data and circumstances. Thus, a yardstick may be used to measure the length of an eel as well as a snake. And so it is only further proof of the ingeniousness and usefulness of the anthropological and cultural criteria developed by Mr. Putnam and his school if I now employ them in a painstaking, scientific comparison of the average White Southerner and the average White Northerner. As Mr. Putnam and similarly objective researchers might say, let the chips fall where they may, it is only the truth that we are after.

This specialized field is still too new for there to have been much extensive research yet on the comparative skull sizes and brain weights of White Southerners as opposed to White Northerners. However, there has been some very good work done in connection with the well known innate defect in the White Southerners' jawbone and larynx, by which he is prevented from speaking the English language properly.

According to Prof. W. A. Emerson, research director of the nonprofit Curtis Foundation's Center for Higher Learning and himself a White Southerner, the WS jawbone averages 1.6 centimeters longer that that of the typical WN specimen. Other investigators, building upon this discovery, have found that this additional length narrows the throat cavity, signally constricting the larynx and causing the congenital speech abnormality popularly known as a "Southern accent." In addition, particularly in the case of WS females and political figures, it seems to prevent the speaker from cutting off the flow of words until at least the better part of an hour has passed. This is the sad result of several centuries of inbreeding of regional stock that was poor to begin with.

Along these lines, it is of the highest significance that not one of America's first five astronauts was a WS. Naval Comdr. Alan Shepard, Jr. was born in New Hampshire, Maj. Virgil Grissom in Indiana, Marine Lt. Col. John Glenn in Ohio, Comdr. Malcolm Carpenter in Colorado and Comdr. Walter Schirra in New Jersey. In short, when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration was given every resource to comb this country for the cream of American manhood, the WS was bypassed in favor of the WN. Said an Air Force general at the time Project Mercury began, "What we're looking for is a group of ordinary supermen." NASA either did not look in Dixie; or if it did, none was found.

But the WS has never been much of a superman—not even an ordinary one. Frederick Law Olmstead, the distinguished 19th Century WN landscape architect, traveled throughout the entire Old South and in 1861, in *The Cotton Kingdom,* he reported on his interviews with five hundred WS men in their own homes and across their own tables.

". . . the proportion of the free white men," Olmstead wrote, "who live as well in any respect as our working classes in the North, on an average, is small, and the citizens of the cotton States, as a whole, are poor. They work little, and that little, badly; they earn little, they sell little; they buy little, and they have little—very little—of the common comforts and consolations of civilized life. Their destitution is not material only; it is intellectual and it is moral."

Said Henry Adams of Roony Lee, son of Robert E. Lee, and other Southern Bourbons he knew at Harvard from 1854 to 1858: "The habit of command was not enough, and the Virginian had little else. He was simple beyond analysis; so simple that even the simple New England student could not realize him. No one knew enough to know how ignorant he was, how childlike; how helpless before the relative complexity of a school. . . . Strictly, the Southerner had no mind; he had temperament. He was not a scholar; he had no intellectual training; he could not analyze an idea, and he could not even conceive of admitting two. . . ."

So much for the Old South, what of the New—the industrialized South prematurely announced in 1886 by Atlanta newspaper editor Henry W. Grady? Industrialization never fully "took," but it went far enough for the incisive WS historian, W. J. Cash, to include a memorable word-picture in *The Mind of the South.*

According to Cash, "By 1900 the cotton-mill worker was a pretty distinct physical type in the South; a type in some respects perhaps inferior to even that of the old poor white, which in general had been his to begin with. A dead-white skin, a sunken chest, and stooping shoulders were the earmarks of the breed. Chinless faces, microcephalic foreheads, rabbit teeth, goggling dead-fish eyes, rickety limbs, and stunted bodies abounded—over and beyond the limit of their prevalence in the countryside. The women were characteristically stringy-haired and limp of breast at twenty, and shrunken hags at thirty or forty. And the incidence of tuberculosis, of insanity and epilepsy, and, above all, of pellagra, the curious vitamin-deficiency disease which is nearly peculiar to the South, was increasing."

This is not the Snopes-haunted fiction of a Faulkner pursued by a vision of rapacious, termite-like subhumans taking over the South. These are the words of a WS historian, a man who deals in facts, not horrific fables.

Thomas Wolfe, another literary WS, has testified to his fellows' "hostile and murderous intrenchment against all new life . . . their cheap mythology, their legend of the charm of their manners, the aristocratic culture of their lives, the quaint sweetness of their drawl." Perhaps most disturbing to Wolfe was "the familiar rationalizing and self-defense of Southern fear and Southern failure . . . its inability to meet or to adjust itself to the conditions, strifes, and ardors of a modern life; its old, sick, Appomattoxlike retreat into the shades of folly and delusion . . . of florid legend and defensive casuistry. . . ." And finally Wolfe remarks of his autobiographical character, George Webber, "He was a Southerner, and he knew that there was something wounded in the South. He knew that there was something twisted, dark, and full of pain which Southerners (*continued on page* 68)

FOOL'S PARADISE

(*continued from page* 12)

have known all their lives—something rooted in their souls beyond all contradiction."

Of course, it may be objected that what we have just presented are but isolated impressions, albeit perceptive ones based on careful observation and investigation. What is needed, it might be said, is large-scale, objective, up-to-date evidence concerning the physical and mental makeup of the WS. For precisely this sort of data, let us now examine some Selective Service statistics from World Wars I and II.

In 1917, Army psychologists devised what they called the Beta intelligence test for inductees. A leading segregationist intellectual spokesman, Richmond *News Leader* editor James Jackson Kilpatrick cited a sampling of the Beta test results in his recent book, *The Southern Case for School Segregation.* Even the figures selected by him show the WS running a poor second to the WN, as can be seen from the following:

WHITE SOUTHERNERS AND WHITE NORTHERNERS
ARMY INTELLIGENCE TESTS, 1918

WS State	Median Score	WN State	Median Score
Mississippi	41.25	Pennsylvania	64.6
Kentucky	41.50	New York	64.0
Arkansas	41.55	Illinois	63.0
Georgia	42.12	Ohio	66.7

Oddly enough, although Mr. Kilpatrick used a similar differential between White Southerners and Negro Southerners as the basis for arguing the latter's inferiority and for justifying segregation, he did not feel logically impelled to draw the same conclusions about the WS in relation to the WN. This is a contemporary example of the WS's inability to conceive of admitting two ideas at once, first pointed out by Henry Adams a century ago.

In the two decades between World Wars I and II, the WS—thanks to prodigious efforts by the federal government and private foundations—experienced notable increases in health and in educational, cultural, economic and social opportunities. Surely, it might be supposed, these gains would have been reflected in his showing when tested for military service. No such improvement can be discerned.

During World War II, the Selective Service System divided the country into four regions: Region I, North; Region II, Midwest; Region III, Far West, and Region IV, South. For present purposes, let us limit our comparisons to Region I (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York) and Region IV (Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana).

General service acceptance rates and disqualification rates per 100 white registrants from November 1940 to December 1943 were:

REGION I (North)—59.4 accepted for general service; 25.8 disqualified.

REGION IV (South)— 57.3 accepted for general service; 31.9 disqualified.

(The difference between the sum of acceptances and rejections and the total of 100 per cent is accounted for by men admitted for limited service.)

During the above period, the acceptance rate of WS males was not only lower than that of WN males of Region I, but was lower than that of WN males in the other two regions as well: Region II, Midwest—60.9 accepted, 26.4 disqualified; Region III, Far West—58.6 accepted, 27.1 disqualified.

Nor did the relative discrepancy between acceptance and rejection rates for WNs and WSes change later in the war. From January 1944 to December 1944 the figures were:

REGION I (North)—54.9 accepted; 42.6 disqualified.

REGION IV (South)—48.6 accepted; 49.8 disqualified.

Infant mortality rates are another index of living conditions and a population's hardiness. Expressed as a rate per 1,000 live white births, latest government figures show:

New England, 22.1 (WN); Middle Atlantic, 22.2 (WN).

South Atlantic, 24.6 (WS); East South Central, 25.4 (WS): West South Central, 24.4 (WS).

The WS's poor showing physically and mentally is matched only by his moral deficiencies and criminal inclinations. Reported John Gunther in *Inside U. S. A.,* "The kind of piquant sociological detail known to readers of William Faulkner still crops up in the news from day to day. While I was in Atlanta the papers printed a handsome little story about nine sisters, all of whom were prostitutes in the same room. Lillian Smith, the author of *Strange Fruit,* told me in Clayton, Georgia, of a recent case in which a baby died. The parents left it on the bed to rot. They were not rendered helpless by grief. They made no effort to bury the body because they simply didn't know any better."

Promiscuity and illegitimacy run 20 per cent higher among WSes than among WNs. The U.S. National Vital Statistics Division report for 1960 says that 27.35 out of every 1,000 live WS births took place out of wedlock; the comparable figure for WNs was 22.00. Another way of putting this is to state the White illegitimacy rate as a percentage of total White births. In 1956, Mississippi Representative John Bell Williams introduced on the House floor figures showing WS illegitimate births averaging 1.95 per cent of total WS births, and 1.45 per cent for WNs.

In the same speech, Representative Williams let slip another set of figures which pointed up the higher rate of crime among WSes compared with WNs. The figures revealed that in the thirteen Northern states he cited the rate of WN felony prisoners then in jail came to 21 per 100,000 WN population, but in the ten Southern states he selected, the WS rate was 29 per 100,000.

In particular, crimes of violence are an old Southern custom. Charlotte, North Carolina, was once known as "The Murder Capital of America." Writing in 1941, WS historian W. J. Cash said, ". . . long be-

fore hatred for the black man had begun to play any direct part in the pattern (of more than three hundred persons said to have been hanged or burned by mobs [in the South] between 1840 and 1860, less than ten per cent were Negroes) the South had become peculiarly the home of lynching." Cash then goes on to record that ". . . of the grand total of 3,397 Negroes lynched in the nation from the beginning of 1882 until the close of 1938, only 366 were lynched outside the former Confederate States, and of these 185 were lynched in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia and Missouri, themselves more than half Southern."

Although the WS constitutes 27 per cent of the country's white population, he is responsible for an alarmingly disproportionate share of American crime. Thus, the Justice Department's latest edition of National Prisoner Statistics indicates that of all prisoners executed under civil authority in the United States, 1930-1961, for murder, rape, armed robbery and kidnaping, 36.5 per cent were WSes.

Illiteracy is a longstanding WS tradition going back to Colonial days, but the WS has shown a remarkable ability to transmit this drawback from generation to generation. According to recent figures of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, here is a breakdown of the percentage of the white population, 25 years or older, considered to be functionally illiterate:

Conn.	6.1	Ala.	9.4
Del.	4.2	Ark	10.6
Me.	4.5	Fla.	5.3
Md.	5.5	Ga.	10.3
Mass.	5.9	Ky.	13.1
N. H.	4.4	La.	13.6
N. J.	6.3	Miss.	7.1
N. Y.	7.4	N. C.	12.2
Pa.	6.3	Okla.	7.6
R. I.	7.4	S. C.	11.6
Vt.	3.8	Tenn.	12.7
		Tex.	12.0
		Va.	9.3

In an attempt to escape the crime, violence and primitive living standards which pervade their native region, over 4,000,000 Southerners—White and Negro—left Dixie during the 1950s, somewhat more than the number of persons who fled East Germany during a comparable period. Unhappily, the WS—not to mention his new neighbors—found that he carried these conditions right along with him.

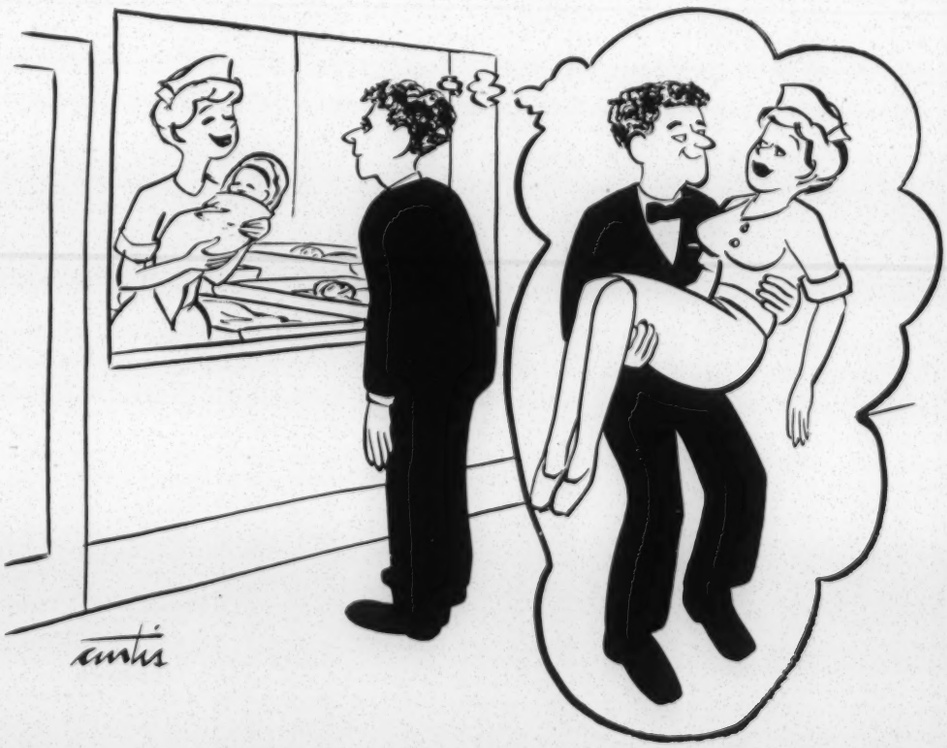
Albert N. Votaw, in the February 1958 *Harper's,* described the prickly integration problem the WS presented to a typical Northern city. At that time there were 70,000 WS recent arrivals in Chicago. Settling in one South Side neighborhood, they presented the authorities with a number of difficulties. A police captain was quoted as saying, "They are vicious and knife-happy. They are involved in 75 per cent of our arrests in this district." Observed a municipal court judge, ". . . you'll never improve the neighborhood until you get rid of them."

Other comments on the transplanted WS during the course of the article: ". . . disorderly, untamed to urban ways . . . anti-social to the point of delinquency in the eyes of their neighbors . . . the [poor] domestic habits they bring from small backwoods communities . . . Their housekeeping is easy to the point of disorder . . . children play freely anywhere, without any supervision . . . when it comes to sex training, their habits—with respect to such matters as incest and statutory rape—are clearly at variance with urban legal requirements, and parents fail to appreciate the interest authorities take in their sex life . . . On the job they are said to lack ambition . . . considered poor tenants . . . [White] Southern [school] children are handicapped . . . They are too old for their grades and too mature physically for their classmates . . . Prone to disease . . . They are a disgrace to their race."

A South Side school principal has said that the average I. Q. of his 1,400 pupils, most of whom are WS, is only 87; moreover, only 16 of them had a rating of above 120.

The Chicago *Sunday Tribune* summed things up this way: "The Southern hillbilly migrants, who have descended like a plague of locusts in the last few years, have the lowest standard of living and moral code (if any), the biggest capacity for liquor, and the most savage tactics when drunk, which is most of the time."

Obviously, the WS isn't the same kind of person as the WN. He just isn't accustomed to, or perhaps capable of, living the same way the rest of us do, and we should make allowances for that fact. However, at the same time, we should put some sensible limit on the extent of the WS's participation in business, national



affairs and inter-regional social contact. After all, as essayist Harry Golden, editor of the *Carolina Israelite,* has said, would you want your sister to marry a Governor Faubus?

WS and WN should each stick to his own kind, moving forward separately and harmoniously as in the past. The WS should have enough regional and racial pride to want to develop in his own way and at his own natural pace, not force himself in when and where he isn't wanted. Besides, geographical separation is a basic law of nature. If the good Lord had intended WSes and WNs to work and live in the same way and locale, He would not have created a North and a South in the first place.

Most important of all, we cannot risk jeopardizing the American way of life for the sake of the impulsive, impatient leaders of a minority; that would be a perversion of the true meaning of democracy. For although it would undoubtedly *raise* the WS if the standards of inter-regional intercourse were relaxed to permit him a larger role in the nation's affairs, it would at the same time inevitably *lower* the WN.

What, after all, has the WS contributed to American civilization? It is an extraordinary catalogue: hookworm, slavery, the filibuster, hominy grits, the Ku Klux Klan, pellagra, mint julips, lynching, the University of Mississippi and high treason in seceding from the Union. *Sic transit gloria* moonshine.

It would be patently unfair to leave the impression that *all* WSes are naturally primitive, violent, criminal, shiftless, promiscuous, uncultured and undistinguished. There have been a number, perhaps a hundred over the past three and a half centuries, who do not fall into those categories—but many of these *had Northern blood.*

Among more recent WS notables, Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia and his brother, Admiral Richard Byrd, have a WN great-great-great-grandmother. The father of the late Josephus Daniels, North Carolina newspaper editor and statesman, was a Rhode Island ship's carpenter.

Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, had WN ancestry. Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States, was the son of a WN. And WN blood flowed through the veins of such other stalwarts of the Confederacy as Maj. Gen. "Jeb" Stuart, Gen. James Longstreet, Gen. John Clifford Pemberton and John Slidell, appointed commissioner to France by Jefferson Davis. Even Daniel Boone was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Pure-bred WSes such as Robert E. Lee and John C. Calhoun are among the exceptions that prove the rule. However, a son of Richard Lee, the famous founder of the Lee family in America, married a WN and the socially prominent Ditchley branch of Lees is descended from a WN.

It should also be noted that the figure of the Yankee peddler was a familiar one throughout the South during the 18th Century. As he wended his way across the countryside selling his wares, it is not inconceivable that, in addition to calicoes, scissors and clocks, he may also have left behind here and there some WN genes. These might well have made their presence felt without ever showing up on an official genealogy.

It only needs to be said that the average rank-and-file WS today is well satisfied with things as they are, but is being goaded on by a handful of agitators and fomentors into making more demands than the country can safely meet, or than WSes as a whole could handle in their present stage of development. Who are these clandestine pressure groups and what are they really after?

A hint was provided in a New York *Times* dispatch of January 28, 1962, about the lures offered by the WS in his drive to attract new industry. "This stepped-up economic warfare," wrote Atlanta correspondent Claude Sitton, ". . . . poses a threat to areas in the North and Midwest in which rising costs and industrial strife have caused management to grow restless. It also has aroused concern in financial circles. Some securities experts contend that industrial subsidies being offered in both the South and the North are endangering the tax structure and municipal credit and *carrying the nation toward state capitalism.* A South Carolina legislative committee has termed these lures *'somewhat socialistic.'*" [emphasis added]

Has the Kremlin taken over the WS equality movement? How sincere is the WS when it can be shown that he is playing directly into the hands of a foreign ideology? Are we being lulled by a pack of fine-sounding words into forgetting the WS's natural tendencies toward violence and lust? These are pressing questions for every WN American to keep in mind during the trying days ahead. □

BOB NEWHART

(*continued from page* 55)

problem," Newhart said, "in settling for the knowledge that all thirty-nine shows are not going to be great. Some weeks the show doesn't make it, and I die a little."

His attitude, professionals around him recognized, wasn't conducive to maintaining a star image for long.

For Newhart, the weekly deadline of television ended the weeks and months of taping and trying out a comedy routine over and over, polishing it until it was sure-fire. A dozen writers had to help him now—a fact revealed when the TV program got an Emmy nomination for "best comedy writing," and Newhart's name appeared with ten others as the recipient.

It was this nomination that triggered a blast from deposed writer Bob Kaufman. If Newhart went on the stage to accept an Emmy, the irate Kaufman told a *Variety* reporter, "I'll beat him up. This will be quite a scene in front of thirty million people . . . There is no physical possibility of Newhart's accepting an Emmy without my taking it away from him."

Kaufman and Roland Kibbee (who had created the show) maintained that Newhart had never actually written a single line on the series. They admitted that a Newhart monolog from one of his records had been used, as well as a few ideas which the comedian had thrown out for the others to write. But, Kaufman insisted, "He can't write. He can't even spell."

The headlines in the trade papers continued the Kaufman affair right up to the night of the awards. "Newhart destroyed the show," Kaufman

Namee for the fire department's accomplishments "in reducing fires and fire losses" in 1962.

COUNCIL LAUDS CHAMBER

The councilmanic resolution citing the chamber for "stimulating and supporting fire activities in our city" was presented to Chamber President Richard V. Bond by council's majority leader, Councilman George X. Schwartz.

The chamber's award to the city was accepted by Mayor James H. J. Tate and Council President Paul D'Ortona. It praised council and the administration for "their diligent applications to the city's fire safety program."

Lyndon Johnson Delivers 20th Century Sequel to Gettysburg Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 21, 1963

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, Memorial Day, May 30, 1963, Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON, delivered an oration in Gettysburg, Pa., which in my judgment shall stand for time immemorial as the 20th Century sequel to Abraham Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg Address.

In order for all Americans to see Mr. JOHNSON's profound announcement in its entirety, I am taking the privilege today to include it in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, Vice President JOHNSON's Memorial Day address follows:

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, MEMORIAL DAY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

On this hallowed ground, heroic deeds were performed and eloquent words were spoken a century ago.

We, the living, have not forgotten—and the world will never forget—the deeds or the words of Gettysburg. We honor them now as we join on this Memorial Day of 1963 in a prayer for permanent peace of the world and fulfillment of our hopes for universal freedom and justice.

We are called to honor our own words of reverent prayer with resolution in the deeds we honor, serving to preserve peace and the hope of freedom.

We keep a world of peace around the world. Until the world knows no aggressions, until the sword of tyranny have been laid down, until freedom marches up to every door, we shall maintain our vigil to make secure our goals who believe, through deeds, that not [illegible] in vain.

[illegible] that justice is a vital force—a vital force that [illegible] in our own [illegible] and schools [illegible] our own people—we [illegible] yield up the civilizing [illegible] and Negro together—must be about the business of resolving the challenge which confronts us now.

Our Nation found its soul in honor on these fields of Gettysburg 100 years ago. We must not lose that soul in dishonor now on the fields of hate.

To ask for patience from the Negro is to ask him to give more of what he has already given enough. But to fail to ask of him—and of all Americans—perseverance within the processes of a free and responsible society would be to fail to ask what the national interest requires of all its citizens.

The law cannot save those who deny it but neither can the law serve any who do not use it. The history of injustice and inequality is a history of disuse of the law. Law has not failed—and is not failing. We as a Nation have failed ourselves by not trusting the law and by not using the law to gain sooner the ends of justice which law alone serves.

If the white overestimates what he has done for the Negro without the law, the Negro may underestimate what he is doing and can do for himself with the law.

If it is empty to ask Negro or white for patience, it is not empty—it is merely honest—to ask perseverance. Men may build barricades—and others may hurl themselves against those barricades—but what would happen at the barricades would yield no answers. The answers will only be wrought by our perseverance together. It is deceit to promise more—as it would be cowardice to demand less.

In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake—it is our Nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision.

The Negro says, "Now." Others say, "Never." The voice of responsible Americans—the voice of those who died here and the great man who spoke here—their voices say, "Together." There is no other way.

Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact. To the extent that the Proclamation of Emancipation is not fulfilled in fact, to that extent we shall have fallen short of assuring freedom to the free.

Communist Poland Blames United States for Increased Tension in Laos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1963

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the compromise action taken by Congress last year to deny favored-nation treatment to Communist-occupied Poland and Yugoslavia has been more than vindicated by subsequent events.

The basic argument presented by the special pleaders for these two Communist dictatorships was that treating them as friends and favored recipients of our largess would cause them to loosen the chains of Moscow. Members of Congress have heard that fable repeated so often that it sounds like a broken record. But relief is in sight. The fable has been put to rest by the Warsaw regime.

The Washington Post, in a story from Warsaw dated May 28, 1963, reports that the Communist regime in Poland blames the United States for increased tension in Laos. The International Control Commission charged with maintaining peace in Laos was made inoperative by the refusal of the Polish member on it to recognize Communist aggression against that country as an act of war. He was recalled to Warsaw for consultations and the Polish regime then charged the United States with subversion and aggression in all the countries of old Indochina. In the upside-down language of Moscow this means resistance against Communist efforts to liberate Laos and Vietnam into communism. But it also means removal of any doubts about the real character of the Warsaw regime—it is a loyal stooge of Moscow. This calumny laid upon the United States puts to rest the overworked fables about the character of the Warsaw regime.

I insert at this point the Warsaw report carried in the Washington Post on May 29, 1963:

COMMUNIST POLAND BLAMES UNITED STATES FOR INCREASED TENSION IN LAOS

WARSAW, Poland, May 28.—Poland charged tonight that Laotian rightwing elements and the United States are to blame for increased tension in Laos.

A government statement denied Western charges that Poland was obstructing efforts of the International Control Commission (ICC) to maintain the peace in Laos.

The statement, circulated by the official Polish Press Agency, in effect defended the actions of Marek Thee, Polish armistice commissioner recalled from Laos to Warsaw last weekend for consultations.

Representatives of Poland, Canada, and India make up the ICC. It was set up by the 14-nation Geneva conference on Laos, which nominally guarantee Laos' independence and neutrality, to police the truce among the warring right-wing, neutralist and pro-Communist factions.

However, the West has blamed Poland for ICC's inability to take effective action in the recent fighting between neutralists and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao.

The Polish representatives were accused of blocking efforts to place an ICC team in the Pathet Lao-controlled areas, and have refused to accompany Canadian and Indian ICC members on inspections of the neutralist-held areas.

The Polish statement said, however, that "attempts of certain Western circles to blame the Polish representative for the existing situation are futile.

"The machinations of the rightist Laotian circles, supported by reactionary imperialist centers, have threatened recently to annihilate the bases of the Geneva agreements."

It said that rightwing leader Phoumi Nosavan's staff, "with American help, has not ceased training and equipping subversive groups acting behind the Pathet Lao. Transfers of battalions of General Nosavan into the Plain of Jars are also taking place."

The Polish statement marks the first time the public has been told of Thee's split with the Indian and Canadian ICC members.

The United States, which repeatedly has been exerting pressure on the Poles to cooperate in Laos, was mentioned several times in the statement.

It declared that "an increase of tension is caused by U.S. military displays in the area of Indochina and weapon supplies to the rightist groups."

Communist China has made similar charges in recent months.

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LIFE

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We are pleased to forward with the compliments of the Publisher the attached story from LIFE magazine which I believe may be of particular interest to you.

We should appreciate your comments.

Morton B. White

Morton B. White
Assistant to the Publisher

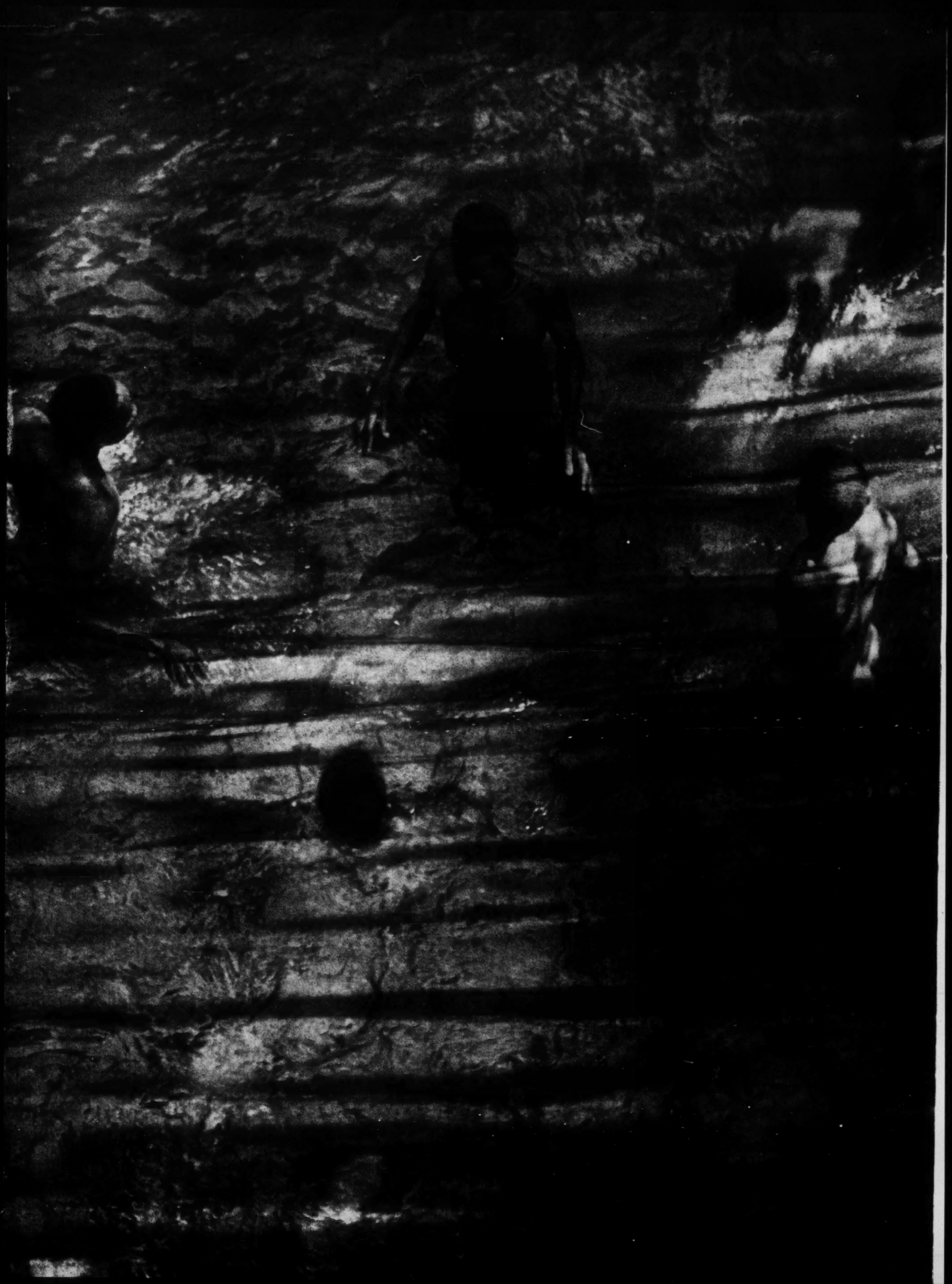
Gordon Parks: a talented Negro tells in fiction, fact and photograph

How It Feels

Gordon Parks, a Negro born in the border state of Kansas—neither north nor Deep South—spent a large part of his life fighting for a place in the white world. He won that place and became a famous photographer, a member of LIFE's staff. Now he has turned to writing and has produced his first novel, a violent and perceptive fictional autobiography.

To Be Black

His novel, *The Learning Tree* (Harper & Row), tells how it feels to grow up a Negro boy in America. On a recent visit home Parks took the photographs on these pages to evoke the book's mood; the little boy above, running for safety before a line storm, might be Parks himself, age 12. The novel ends while the hero is still a boy, but on the pages following his color pictures, Parks tells some of the things that happened to him in real life afterward and are still happening to him now.



On his return to Kansas, Parks found things much as they were in his boyhood. With his old friends and some new ones as his cast of characters, he recaptured scenes from his own early life and that of the little hero of his novel, Newt Winger. They appear here, accompanied by some brief passages from his novel.

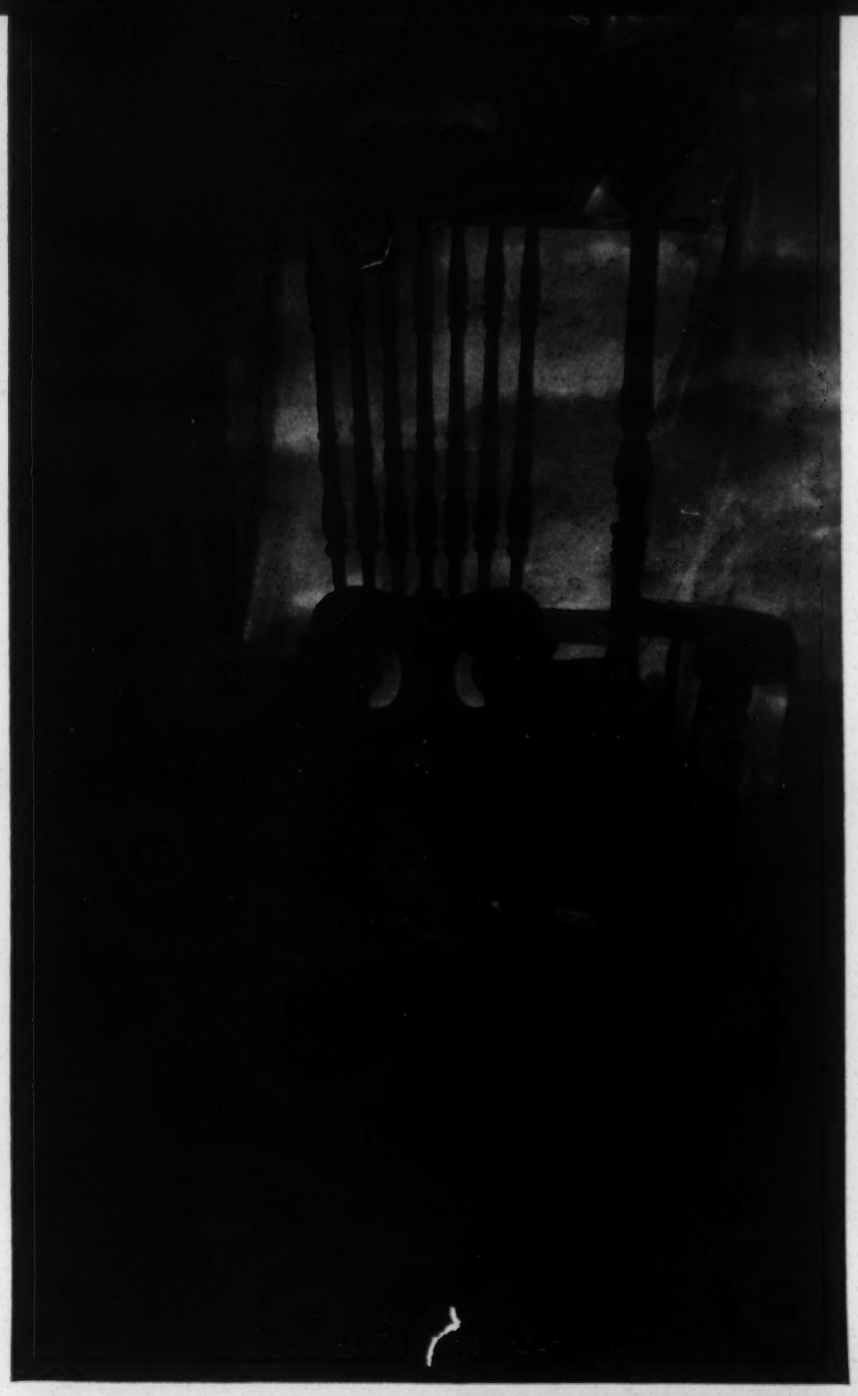
"Newt dreamed swiftly to Flynn's River and the swimming hole [*left*]. Beansy, Jappy, Earl, Skunk and Marcus all took the dare—one—two—three—four—five—and, one after the other plunged from Rocky Ledge into the water far below. Now it was his turn—six and he leaped—and he heard Marcus laughing as he soared downward, and he was horrified, for suddenly there was no water and he kept falling toward the jagged rocks that Marcus had quickly placed there. But then, somehow, there was water again and he hit it clean and sharp, knifing almost to the bottom, and in good form, before he finally shot up, laughing at Marcus now, who was getting madder and madder. Then he nodded forward and jerked awake. The big hawk started up, a chicken in its claws [*right*], but too late. Newt brought the stick down over its head, and it dropped the fat hen to the ground. The hawk fluttered up, claws flying. Newt struck at it again, but the bird jumped backward and up to the top of the henhouse. It wobbled for a moment, regained composure and swooshed off into the sky.

The June bug lit on Newt's nose. He watched with crossed eyes [*below*] as it crawled up the bridge of his nose to his forehead, dragging the dirty string over his lips. Suddenly the bug took off with a jerk, leaving its leg on the string. Clint propped himself up on his elbows, watching the insect's crazy flight to freedom. Then he said, "If I was that goddam bug I'd fly straight to Chicago without stoppin'!"

A recaptured boyhood of joy, of longing and sudden violence

CONTINUED

Newt's mother, Sarah Winger, was the all-pervading influence in his life. In a long evening walk, like that at left, she tried to impart to him her deep sense of religion. When she died the Winger family broke up and Newt, terrified of death, faced with agony the sight of "withered posies" that lay in her rocking chair and the broken rose petals that fell from the preacher's black hands to her coffin.



Halfway home, he broke
into his mother's humming.
"Momma, can I ask you somethin'?"
"Yes, boy. What you want to
ask me?" Sarah slowed her pace...
"Well, after the storm,
Poppa said the storm and the people
killed and everything was
the doin' of God. You care
if I ask you why he kills some
people and not the others? . . .
Why did some of the town
git torn up and the rest didn't?"
Sarah Winger came to a complete
stop, and Newt was instantly
afraid he had offended her. . . .
"Newt."
"Yessem."
"You know your poppa and me
are religious people, don't you?"
"Yessem."
"Well, it would be real easy
for me to say, you don't question
the ways of God—and I was
tempted to—but I know deep in my
heart there's more to it than that.
It's true he guides us. But we
cain't depend on him for everything.
We gotta do things for ourself.
If you got a battle to fight,
you cain't rightfully ask
the Lord to help you and not
the other fella. Now can you?"
"No ma'am."
"No, son, you got to fight
and hope God likes the way you're
using your fists. And that
goes for the boy you're fightin'.
Ain't neither one of you got time
for prayin' while you flingin'
fists. Too many people,
especially some of ours, boy,
sit round waitin' when
they should be out doin'. You
got to remember that, boy, always."
"Yessem. Are we gonna live
here all our life?" . . .
"I hope you won't have to stay
here all your life, Newt.
It ain't a all-good place and it ain't
a all-bad place. But you
can learn just as much here
about people and things as you
can learn any place else. . . . Some
of the people are good and some
of them are bad—just like the fruit
on a tree. . . . No matter if you
go or stay, think of it like that
till the day you die—
let it be your learnin' tree."
"Do we all have to die someday?"
"That's one thing we all have
to do, boy. No matter who you are.
That's why it's so important
to be ready when your time comes."
"I'm gonna hate dyin'."
"Won't none of us
like it, boy—none of us."

Quiet talks of God,

the sad lesson of death

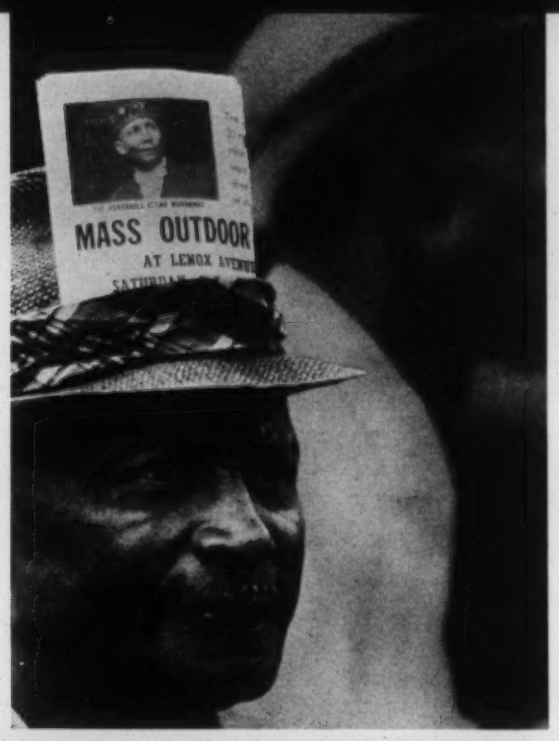
CONTINUED

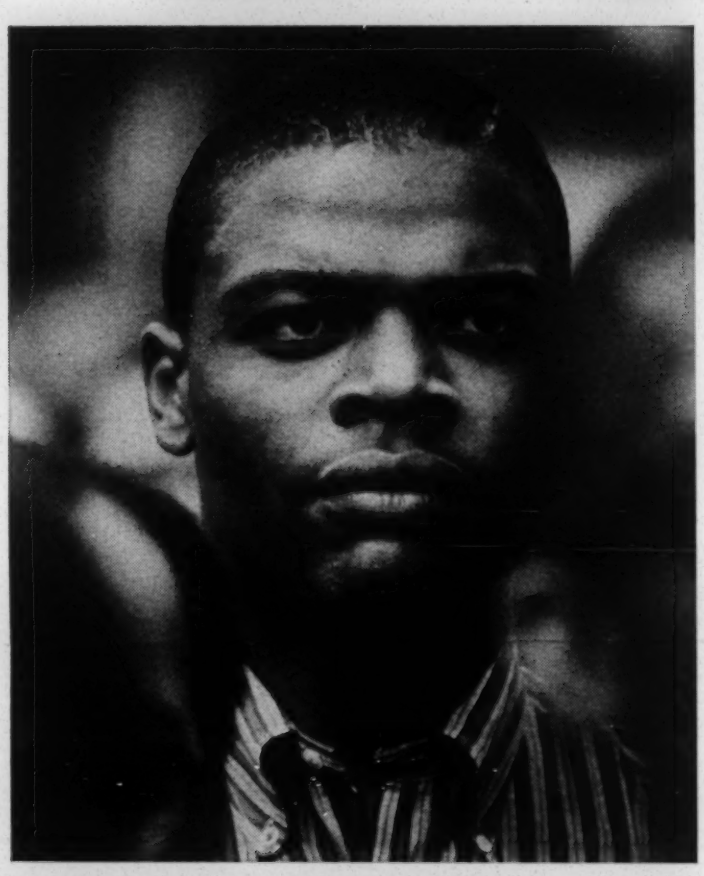
The mortal enemy of Newt's childhood was not white but a Negro. Marcus Savage, town bad boy, had no mother and a drunken brute for a father. From his bitter months in a jail cell to the vicious knife fight that ends the novel, he is Gordon Parks's symbol for the hopeless violence that can close in on an outcast of society who is also black.

"Merry Christmas—nigga," the guard said disdainfully, and turned back down the corridor. Marcus was silent. His head fell back in the shadows and he closed his eyes, trying to form the image of a God with black skin, thick lips and coarse hair like his—but he couldn't. The image on the torn card at the foot of his bed had been implanted much too long before. It was difficult to erase that image now, or even substitute another one for it.

Newt saw him pull his knife, flinched as the blade popped out. Newt backed toward the road as Marcus circled to the right. Marcus lunged. Newt swung the stick. The blow, aimed for Marcus' head, caught him on the shoulder, knocking him off balance; but the momentum of the charge brought them into contact, and the knife, aimed for Newt's heart, sliced his left shoulder instead. Newt felt the blade tear through his skin. He hollered, jumped back and frantically swung again. The stick found its mark this time, and Marcus dropped to his knees. But quickly he was up—blood running from his nose to his chin—stalking Newt like a wild animal. "You son-of-a-bitch! You gonna die! You gonna die!" Newt felt the warm blood at his elbow, but his eyes stayed on Marcus and the glistening blade."

A caged man, a savage climax at novel's end





Novelist carries o

The Long

by GORDON PARKS

A few days ago I walked through the worst of New York's Harlem and was jolted into a new appreciation of what 350 years of oppression have done to my people. The black ghetto has always swarmed with pain, poverty, despair and resentment, but now there was an exultant anger—clearly capable of erupting into open violence. The restless inhabitants, no longer afraid, no longer passively awaiting divine deliverance, crowded the street corners, listening to impassioned voices screaming invective.

In the midst of all this, disgruntled white policemen, sometimes 50 to a single square block—standing in doorways, hovering on rooftops or poised with their backs against the tired tenement buildings—listened to the diatribes.

One fiery little woman atop a soapbox was screaming: "We're on the move! We're crossing the line—even if some of us get killed! We'll keep comin' till you're ground to red dust under our black feet!"

She screamed on relentlessly: "To hell with your love for us! To hell with your pity for us! To hell with your anger at us! We don't want nothing from you but a chance to live better than the rats that share our homes! If you can't do anything about it, then go find some way to make the rats share the rent with us! . . ."

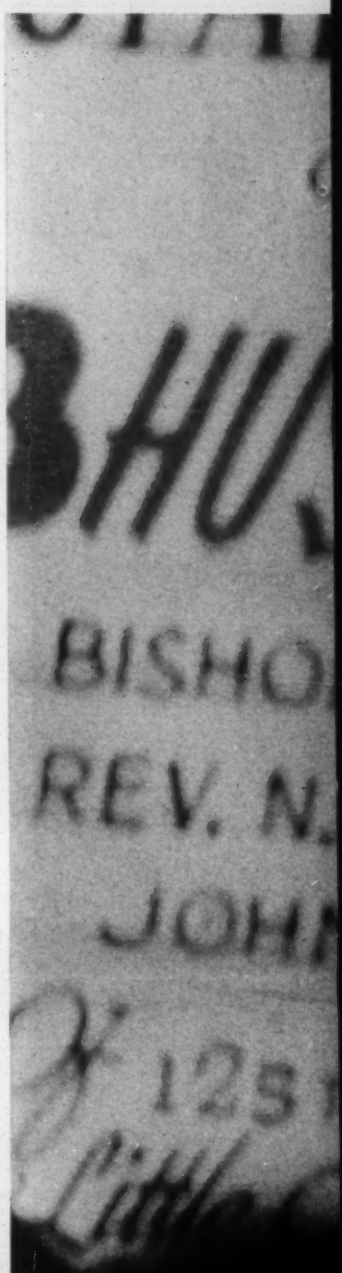
The crowd rallied to her words, raising their hands and voices in frequent approval.

"Tell 'em like it is, sister!"

"Give 'em hell, baby!"

"Preach on! Preach on!"

I lay in bed that night, moved by the black temper of our time, by the courage of that old woman on the soapbox. It was almost daylight before I finally slept, because I knew—and the knowing made my heart pound—that history had caught up with us.



The pain I experienced while growing up in Kansas was relatively small. I was the youngest of 15 children, born of parents who filled
with love and a staunch Method
religion. We were poor, but t
rich soil surrounding our cl
board house yielded enough fo
for the family. In the early days, t
warmth of our household help

the story into real life

Search for Pride

In Harlem, I saw the faces, intent and fearless, and heard the shrill new rallying cry from the fiery little lady on her soapbox: "We're on the move. We're crossing the line even if some of us get killed."

e to suffer the fate of being black. t I went to a segregated school. was warned to avoid white neighrhoods after dark. I had to sit in e peanut gallery when I went to e movies with my brothers and sters. I wasn't allowed to drink a soda in either of the two drugstores in town. I was called "nigger," "black boy," "darkey," "shine" and all those other names that arouse anger and humiliation. I was stoned and beaten. The indignities came so often that I soon began to accept them as normal. But I always fought back. In retrospect, I consider myself lucky to be alive—especially when I remember that three of my close friends died of senseless brutality before they were 21. I also

CONTINUED

In dreams I pulled on a white skin

BEING BLACK
CONTINUED

consider myself lucky that I didn't kill someone.

Until my mid-teens I lived in fear: fear of being shot, lynched or beaten to death—and not for any wrongdoing of my own. I could easily have been the victim of mistaken identity or of an act of terror by hate-filled white men.

In 1921, when I was 8, the Tulsa Riot took place. Whites invaded the Negro neighborhood, which turned out to be an armed camp. Many white Tulsans were killed and rumors swept through our community that the fury would spread into the state of Kansas and beyond. At this time a cousin of mine decided he would head south to work in a mill. My mother, knowing his hot temper, pleaded with him not to go, but he caught a freight south. Months passed and we had no word of him. Then one day his name flashed across the nation as one of the most wanted men in the country. He had killed a white mill hand who called him a "dirty nigger" and spat in his face. He had killed another while fleeing the scene.

I pestered my mother with questions she couldn't possibly have answered: Would they catch him? Would he be lynched? Where did she think he was hiding? How long did she think he could hold out? The only thing my mother knew was what all the rest of us knew. If it were humanly possible, he would make it back to her so that she might pray over him.

He came one night. I remember it was raining and I lay in the darkness of my room listening to it pounding on the roof. Suddenly the window next to my bed slid up and my cousin, wet and cautious, scrambled through the opening. I started to yell as he landed on my bed, but he quickly covered my mouth with his hand and whispered his name, frightening me into silence. He went straight to my mother's room and shook her awake. She prayed over him. Afterward she tried to persuade him to surrender. He refused. He went to our old icebox, filled a sack with food, and went out the same way he had entered.

None of us ever saw or heard of him again. But I had many sleepless nights wondering if the whites had killed my cousin. I prayed that they wouldn't—remembering the huge sacks of peanut brittle he used to bring me and the rides he so often gave me on the back of his old motorcycle. And my days for a long time were full of illusions in which I helped him escape imaginary white mobs.

I was only 12 when another cousin of mine, a fair girl with light red hair, came to spend the summer at our house. One day she and I ran, hand in hand, toward the white section of town to meet my mother, who worked there as a domestic. Suddenly three white boys, ranging from 12 to 15, blocked our path. I gripped my cousin's hand and we tried going around them, but they spread out across the walk before us.

"Where are you going with that nigger, blondie?" one of them said to my cousin.

We stopped. The youngest boy eased behind me and dropped to his hands and knees, and one of the others shoved me backward. Pain shot through my head as it bumped against the sidewalk, but I could hear my cousin screaming as she ran for help. Then someone spit in my face and kicked my neck from behind. I jumped up and started swinging, but they beat me down again. The third time I hit the ground, someone kicked me in the mouth. I grabbed the next foot that came in and upended its owner. Scrambling up, I tried to run. A fist sent me back down. But suddenly I realized that someone was helping me. A white boy I knew had rushed up and was hitting one of my attackers. Suddenly he was down beside me. He had been hit on the head with a stick. The three boys ran off.

"How did it all start?" my rescuer asked as we walked along nursing our bruises. I told him.

"Idiots!" he said. "Hell, I knew she was a nigger all the time."

I bit into my bleeding lip, knotted my fists and walked on in confused silence.

There were several similar incidents and my cousin decided to leave before her vacation was half over. She was never to come back and visit us again.

As my cousin's train pulled out, I asked my mother why white people hated us so much. She looked away from me for a few moments, trying—I'm now sure—to find an answer that would last me a lifetime. Finally she said with gentleness, "All whites don't hate you. And those that do are in such bad trouble with themselves that they need pitying—and they ain't worth worrying about."

Words, I decided. Just words. Somehow the fight because of my cousin was a turning point. The years of frustration had finally boiled into anger. Now every indignity pushed me to the edge of violence, creating one emotional crisis after another.

Some mornings I stood before the single cracked mirror in our house and asked God over and over again why He had made me black. I once even dreamed that I was white, but my skin seemed flabby and loose, so I kept trying to pull it into shape—trying to make it fit. I awoke and found I was clutching at my underwear. I lay there, admitting finally: I was black; I would always be black.

Where could I begin to build pride? In church, God and the angels and saints always were white. In school, the textbooks always showed my ancestors picking cotton, dancing a jig or strumming a banjo. Africans were always depicted as savages. My history books never mentioned such Negroes as Hiram Revels, Peter Salem, Benjamin Banneker or Harriet Tubman. I read Aleksander Pushkin and Alexandre Dumas, but not until years later did anyone tell me that they had black blood.

So, in a black and white world, anyone whiter than I became my enemy. I was 14 and I began strike out—suddenly, quickly, a at times without apparent reas One day, in a fit of temper knocked my 22-year-old inva brother to the floor. (He was a c ple of shades lighter than I.) I mediately ashamed, I reached do to help him. He smiled and wa me aside—and I ran from the ro crying. It hurt many times wo when I learned a few days la that he had known for months was incurably ill. Just before died the following winter, he cal me to his bedside.

"Pedro," he said, using his vorite nickname for me, "for life of me I don't know why you so mad at the world. You ca whip it the way you're going. too big. If you're going to fight use your brain. It's got a lot m power than your fists."

My mother died when I 16 and our family broke up. It decided that I should be sent no to live with relatives in St. Pa Minn. My older brothers and s ters scraped up enough money my coach ticket and, as the tr rolled across Kansas, I scann the prairies and cornfields w mixed emotions. I had a premo tion that I was escaping a do that would somehow certainly snare all my friends and relativ

When I went off on my ou was alone, hungry, homeless, b had a premonition that I was esc ing a doom that would certainly snare all my friends and relati

CONTINU

You get so used to trouble you sense it

Two days later I stepped awkardly onto the cold streets of St. aul. I stayed with my relatives r a little while, but it just didn't ork out. So I decided to go it one. I was to be hungry, homess and more alone than I had ever en in my life. But always there s that premonition of freedom. gave me an indefinable hope that s to carry me through a bitter ne. The longing for my family s often unbearable, yet I never ce wrote them.

In the succeeding years I bussed shes, waited table, tended bar, yed semi-professional basketll and football, and played piano roadhouses and inns throughout e Northwest. By 1937 photogray had become my profession and 1942 I became a Julius Rosenld Fellow. As a Fellow I worked th the Farm Security Adminisition under Roy Stryker, then as correspondent for the Office of ar Information, under Elmer Da. I spent the next five years with andard Oil Co. (New Jersey), aft which I joined the staff of LIFE agazine.

My assignments since have card me several times around the rld. And I have learned that the tle art of rejection, used with esse, can be every bit as abusive a punch in the face.

I remember that, just before ap ing for one job during my early ars in the "enlightened" north, I bed saliva into a single soiled t on my clothing, knowing I uld be closely inspected for an peccability I was too poor to intain. As I sat waiting, a white uth walked past me wearing a r of dirty jeans and was given job.

I feel, sometimes, that I finally ose photography as a profession rtly because it was something I uld work at without white con t. At the time I was a dining r waiter. The car steward, a white uthern gentleman, resented my dying after hours on the long nscontinental run. He began ating me so badly—insulting me front of passengers, assigning to a heavy load of extra duties, ce even "accidentally" bumping arm so that I spilled a tray of d on some passengers—that I ally tried to choke him. I was ed for that, but I swore that the ward would someday serve me a guest, and that I would enter e diner from the first-class end.

That day came. But I didn't gloat over it as I thought I would. Instead, I found myself pitying the smallness of this man who, I was told, was still trying to keep young Negroes "in their place."

If you are a Negro, you get so used to trouble that you can sense it before it actually strikes. So you stay prepared, as I was one evening in front of the Lowry Hotel drugstore in St. Paul, after sizing up three surly white youths who were passing out political handbills. As I approached them, I could feel their eyes on me. Their expression told me they were trouble.

"Here, boy," one said, "tell your pappy and mammy to vote like this thing says."

"You go to hell," I said, throwing the pamphlet to the sidewalk. When one of them kicked me, I jumped at them and knocked one of them backward through the window. He pulled me with him, and my body caught most of the falling glass. I was carried into the drugstore, bleeding profusely, a finger on my right hand hanging limply from its severed joint. The drugstore employes covered my wounds with wet towels.

The three white men were soon caught. The police came and the four of us were taken to jail. I was held as a "material witness." I stayed in jail until 11 o'clock the next morning, without a doctor or medical attention. The three white youths, I learned later, were released four hours after the incident, without bail or charges.

I still bear the scars of that experience: the last sliver of glass from the shattered window worked its way out of my eyelid only a few months ago.

There are other scars that have nothing to do with glass. I remember a night in northern Minnesota with a blizzard raging. I had looked for work for days without success. By 11 o'clock it was 30 below zero. The streets were deserted. Through the driving snow, I saw a red neon sign flickering the word EAT. Already weak, I felt faint as I was pushed along by the strong gusts. I reached the door and went inside.

"What do you want?" the waitress snapped.

I told her I wanted a cup of coffee, then collapsed on a stool. Three white men and a woman sat at a table alongside the wall. They

CONTINUED

by appointment to the neighborhood

Not very far from where you live is a selection of spirits that kings of old would have envied—in fact, could never have enjoyed. Domestic and imported spirits, aged and mellowed spirits, spirits for those very special occasions, spirits for *any* occasion—all are readily available through a reliable, licensed retailer who serves as personal "wine steward" to you and your neighborhood. His stock is not only more varied than kings could muster, it is also of eminently higher quality. For distillers, vintners and brewers today have perfected their art to control the character of their products far beyond the capabilities of even their most gifted predecessors. The most respected brands your licensed retailer handles—the more popular ones with you and your friends—are regularly *Advertised-in-LIFE*. Make it a habit to ask for these nationally known brands at your neighborhood store. Your pleasure is your beverage retailer's command.

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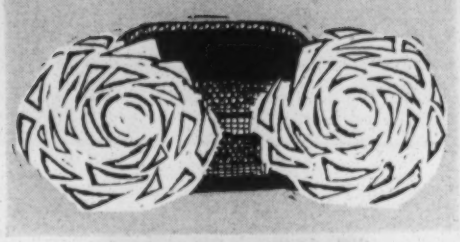

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Brains and courage have never been enough

BEING BLACK
CONTINUED

had been drinking. "Well, Ah declare!" one of the men said in a heavy southern drawl, "Ah seen eva'thing now. A nigga eatin' in the very same place as white folks. Ain't nothin' gonna happen like that down where Ah come from."

I ignored him. He went on, "Black bastards'll be wantin' to git in our beds next!"

Suddenly my control was gone. I grabbed my cup and dashed the scalding coffee on him. He yelled. The woman next to him screamed. I began throwing sugar bowls, salt and pepper shakers, ketchup bottles, anything that I could get my hands on.

All at once the waitress shouted a warning, but it was too late. A chair knocked me unconscious. I came to while being hauled from the diner by two policemen. They took me to jail.

I learned. The years passed and as I pulled myself ahead, I learned the meaning of my dying brother's words. I came to know that they had worth but also that they were much too easy, much too pat. Brains and courage have never been enough.

I remember that, in Minneapolis, after I was married and had started a family, it was a big Saturday event for my 9-year-old son to go with me to a downtown lunch counter, eat a sandwich, wash it down with a huge malted milk and go to a picture show of his choosing. But in 1942 when we moved to Washington, D.C., we could no longer observe this ritual. I knew it was strictly prohibited. Yet I couldn't bring myself to expose so young a mind to the truth. Instead, I looked about for some other kind of enjoyment the two of us might share. This wasn't easy. There were no beaches, playgrounds or amusement parks we could attend—for the same reason. For nearly three months my son was morose, talking little to me, feeling it must be that I, his father, no longer enjoyed our regular man-to-man excursions. Finally, his mother convinced me that I should tell him the truth. And one Saturday morning I did. He listened carefully, puzzled, and after a while he asked me a question.

All our lives we have cloaked our feelings, bided our time, waited for the year, the month, the day and the hour when we could do without fear, at last, what we are doing just now.

"Does the President know about this, Dad?"

I remember a bus ride in 1944. Wearing the uniform of an OWI correspondent, I was sitting midway in the bus with two Negro friends, both pilots in the U.S. Air Force. Opposite us were a major and two colonels, whites. My friends and I were going from Washington, D.C. to Virginia to receive booster shots before shipping to the European Theater.

It was to be my first trip to the war zone—and their second. Flying fighter escort, their planes had been shot out from under them and they had bailed out. They landed miles apart but hooked up again. Together they stole their way back to Allied territory. After processing they were sent back to the States to recuperate. Eventually they were given the choice of staying to train other pilots or taking desk jobs. They asked to be sent back to action.

The door of the bus closed and the words came—harsh, unbelievable: "You niggers will have to move to the back!"

I looked up the aisle and saw the hatred in the white bus driver's face. Of course, we didn't move, despite the driver's angry threat of arrest. But neither did the bus, until the strong pleas of the white officers that they had "urgent business at their base" provided the driver with a patriotic excuse for starting up.

Several months later, en route to Godman Field, Ky., I watched a white restaurant owner at a railway station refuse food to Negro military police, then feed the Nazi prisoners of war whom the Negro MP's were guarding.

Yes, I have learned. And after all the distance I've come, after all the distance I've been, I can say that the only place where I have been excluded because of color from a hotel, restaurant, church or movie is right here at home.

Now when a *maître d'* approaches me with his icy what-can-I-do-for-you greeting, my usual answer is, "Show me a table, then give me a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 87

Nobody knows the Negro, not even Negroes

BEING BLACK

CONTINUED

nu." It is almost a pleasure to tch him hunt nervously for a le where even a waiter can't d me. Once I'm seated—behind post or next to the swinging chen doors—I demand a better le, though I know I'll be told t all those empty tables with signs on them are definitely eserved."

Next time I plan to dine there—d I do go back—I take the preution of telephoning in a "white ice" and demanding the table ft center, under the chandelier with flowers."

After a while, the *maître d'* gets ed of the cat-and-mouse game d begins treating me like any er paying guest—which is all e ever wanted.

I also know the clerk in the xclusive" store who deliberately ks off when I approach him, or o unhesitatingly announces he out of my size—without bother- to find out whether I want a , a suit, shirts or shoes. And now the hotel desk clerk who, er being told that he has a conned reservation for Mr. Parks, ndly looks over my shoulder d inquires as to when Mr. Parks l arrive.

I am 50 now, but I still get led "boy" and I know that some ites will call me "boy" until I 100 years old. I know that if m traveling by car, say, from w York to Kansas City or Chigo, I must reach some town be- e nightfall to give myself ample time to search out a hotel that might accept my family for the night. I know that, when I travel through some parts of the South, I must carry extra gasoline because there are some towns where they won't sell me any, especially if I drive a nice-looking car.

How often have I heard a white man suggest, "I know the Negro." Nobody knows the Negro, not even the Negro. Because all our lives we have cloaked our feelings, bided our time, waited for the year, the month, the day and the hour when we could do, at last, what we are doing just now—looking our white oppressors squarely in the eye and telling them exactly what we think, what we want and what we intend to get. And all this without fear.

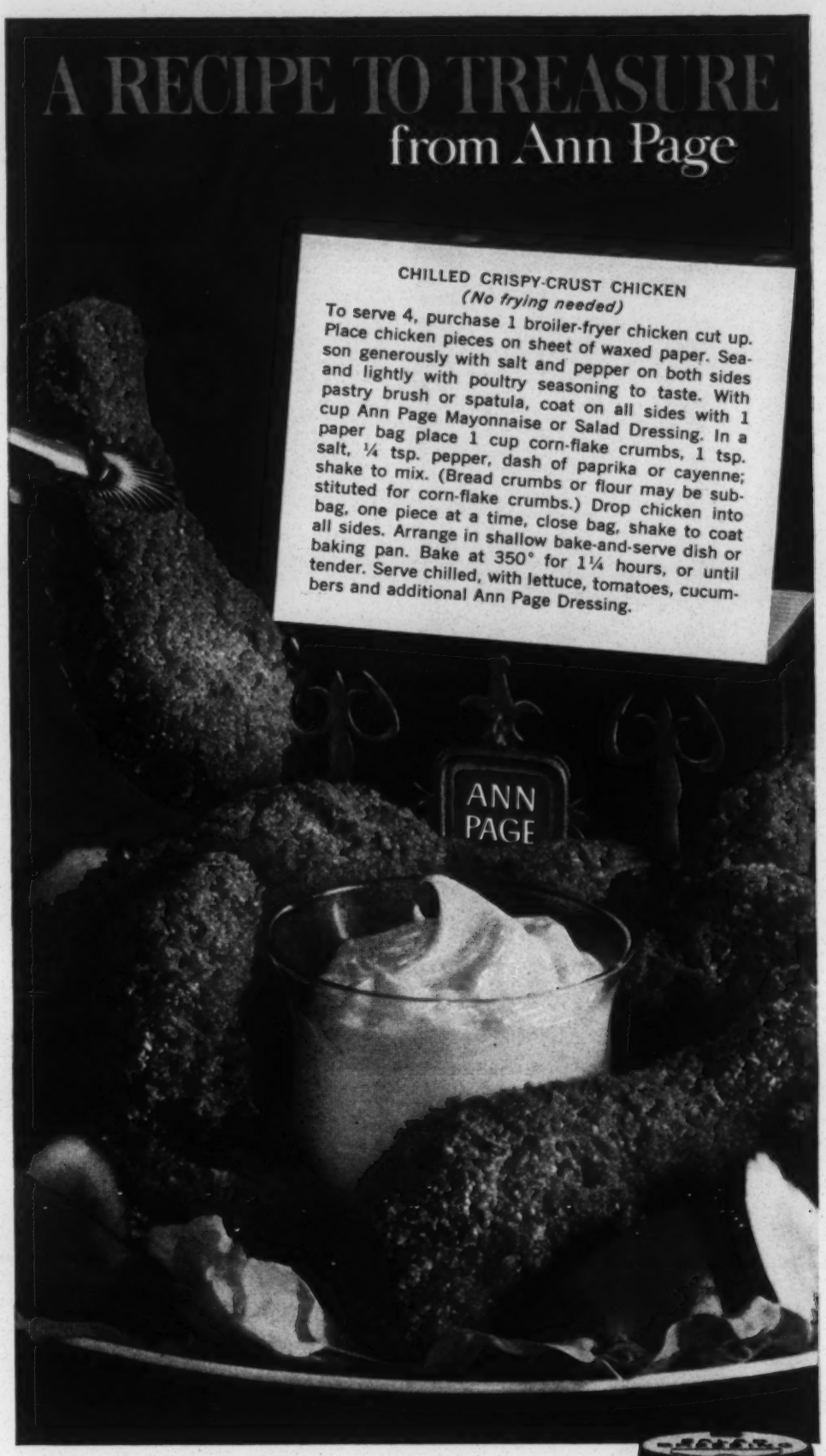
Our young people tell us boldly: We will not go on suffering while the white man insists on slow surrender through law and time. If some speak to them of new laws and legislation, they answer: It's one thing to make a law and another thing to enforce it. If some speak to them of well-intentioned whites, they answer: If they are sincere, they will raise their voices above those of the racists. And if some tell them times are changing, they answer: *We* are changing the *times*. So, my generation yields to them—and in doing so finds pride.

Wherever and whenever Negro crowds gather, young and old are all raising their hands to be counted. "The time is now," they say. "You show us the way and we'll follow."

A RECIPE TO TREASURE
from Ann Page

CHILLED CRISPY-CRUST CHICKEN
(No frying needed)

To serve 4, purchase 1 broiler-fryer chicken cut up. Place chicken pieces on sheet of waxed paper. Season generously with salt and pepper on both sides and lightly with poultry seasoning to taste. With pastry brush or spatula, coat on all sides with 1 cup Ann Page Mayonnaise or Salad Dressing. In a paper bag place 1 cup corn-flake crumbs, 1 tsp. salt, ¼ tsp. pepper, dash of paprika or cayenne; shake to mix. (Bread crumbs or flour may be substituted for corn-flake crumbs.) Drop chicken into bag, one piece at a time, close bag, shake to coat all sides. Arrange in shallow bake-and-serve dish or baking pan. Bake at 350° for 1¼ hours, or until tender. Serve chilled, with lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers and additional Ann Page Dressing.



"Crispy Crust"...easy, exciting new flavor coat made with Ann Page Dressings

No pre-browning, no spattering grease . . . great fix-ahead dish for family or company. Delicious chilled or hot, it's the tastiest thing that ever happened to chicken . . . crispy-crusted and "oven-fried." It's crunchy, deftly spiced outside, tender and moist beneath. And so easy! Just season, brush chicken with flavorsome Ann Page Mayonnaise or Salad Dressing, dip in crumbs and bake. Costs only 29¢-31¢* a portion to serve.

Versatile Ann Page Dressings accent summer's favorite salads, cold platters and picnic foods with delectable flavor. They're made in A&P's own Ann Page plants, sold only at A&P. This eliminates needless in-between expenses and *you* share the savings. Once again, *Ann Page proves fine foods needn't be expensive!*

*Cost based upon A&P prices at press time.

ANN PAGE FOODS—SOLD ONLY AT YOUR A&P

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
Friday, August 23, 1963 13

A Label for Goldwater

Is Sen. Barry Goldwater a segregationist? It depends on whom you ask. California's Gov. Pat Brown thinks he is. So does Georgia's Governor, Carl Sanders. But Gov. Rockefeller admits he really doesn't know whether the Senator "was or was not a segregationist." All of which has the Arizona conservative hopping mad. Why? See Roscoe Drummond's column on page 15.

JIMMY BRESLIN

Sit-Ins & Marchers

The Mayor started to walk around the guy, but the guy wouldn't get out of the way and now somebody bumped the Mayor and that did it. The big plainclothesmen who were assigned to Robert Wagner yesterday came through this little gate in City Hall and started to move these kids as they should always be moved.

There were 22 chanting, disheveled Sit-Ins who packed together in the lobby at City Hall yesterday afternoon and created a riot by trying to stop the conduct of the business of this city. They had the incredible nerve to physically interfere with Mayor Wagner, who runs a city that had 8 million people on its streets at the time this was happening.

Who were bothering him? The worst group of young bums you'll ever see outside Department of Corrections supervision. The ringleader inside City Hall yesterday was a guy with a black beret and a beard who said he was Nicasio Martinis. He said he was 25 and that he did not trust white people because of what happened to the American Indian.

"Commissions, meetings, resolutions, they mean nothing," he was saying. "That's just what they did to the Indians." He talked, as the lunatic fringe always talks, about history that cannot be defended nor ever paid for.

THE MARCH

Outside on the steps, demonstrators who had planned this thing for days were chaining themselves to the pillars. A crowd of 150 milled on the sidewalk. The police had to move in on them. It was an ugly thing to see. Then it became frightening, because all you could think of was what it would be like next Wednesday in Washington if something like this ever happens. There might be as many as 250,000 people demonstrating for civil rights on that day. If a flareup occurs in a crowd this large, and a crowd edgy from the heat and from lack of sleep, there will be a mess the likes of which this country has not seen.

But late yesterday afternoon, after the City Hall trouble was over, Bayard Rustin, who is national director of the march on Washington, sat in a hot, dingy office on 130th Street and said there was no chance of trouble.

"I would say we have done everything possible to prevent it," Rustin said. "The combined organizations participating in this march approved unanimously on June 2d a statement that they would not engage in civil disobedience in Washington. This includes no sit-ins and no march on Capitol Hill.

"And there are over 1,500 of our own marshals who shall discipline this march from within."

A cigarette burned right down to Rustin's long fingers as he spoke. He is a lanky, intense man of 53 who speaks in a British accent. His hair and mustache are graying. He had on a white shirt that was rumpled and grimy from working through a night and into the

After Heated Clash With Gross

Negro School Boycott Threat

5 BODYGUARDS BRING GALLO IN & 5 MARSHALS TAKE HIM AWAY

By Sam Rubenstein
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Larry Gallo, who is reported to be marked for death by rival Brooklyn mobsters, was taken out of circulation yesterday for at least four months.

Gallo drew an 18-month prison sentence in Brooklyn Federal Court for fraudulently obtaining a Veterans Administration mortgage on a house, since sold. But Judge Leo F. Rayfiel told Gallo he could go on probation after serving four months if he behaves himself.

Gallo's father, Albert Gallo sr., 62, drew a suspended sentence from Judge Rayfiel, who told him:

"Your part was a comparatively minor one and what you did was inexcusable but understandable. You tried to help your son."

His son, the mobster, is a leader of a gang that has been feuding with the Profaci mob in Brooklyn. The Profaci group does not like Larry Gallo. It is said that there is a $20,000 price tag each on the head of Larry and his brother, Albert jr.

Because of all this, there was a full retinue of newsmen, photographers, FBI men and U. S. marshals on hand in Brooklyn Federal Court when Larry Gallo emerged from hiding and stood with his father before Judge Rayfiel for sentencing.

With the younger Gallo were five bodyguard-type friends, who were carefully frisked before being allowed in the courtroom. They were proclaimed by marshals to be

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

MUM'S THE WORD—Brooklyn mobster Larry Gallo has little to say yesterday as he leaves court after being sentenced to 18 months in jail on fraud charge.

VA mortgage application. He had stated that he was employed as manager of his father's restaurant in Flatbush. But the government charged he was unemployed at the time.

Judge Rayfiel did not agree with the contention of the Gallos' lawyer, Joseph Iovine, that the charge was based on a technical violation of the law. The lawyer contended that there was "no evil motive" in making the false

would have no adverse affects on deportation proceedings against the elder Gallo. Judge Rayfiel did not buy that either. He said as far as he knew the deportation matter was still in the hands of the Attorney General.

The ranks of the Gallo gang have been thinning because of various violent and non-violent reasons. Another Gallo brother, Joseph, who is sometimes called "Crazy Joe," is serving a jail sentence for

down to the relative security of a third-floor cell to start his sentence. His record shows two previous convictions, both in 1952—one year for criminally receiving stolen property, and three months for conspiracy. He served the sentences on Rikers Island.

When Gallo & Co. appeared in court last Monday there had been a lot of pushing and shoving, but yesterday things were more orderly as the reporters gathered

The Big Issue: Bus Shifts of White Pupils

By Terry Ferrer
Education Editor

A bitter public argument between School Superintendent Calvin E. Gross and a Negro CORE leader yesterday erupted in the hallway of the Board of Education building, with the two in a hot cross-fire about "ramming integration down white people's throats."

The argument was the climax to a firm declaration by civil rights leaders that a citywide boycott of schools be organized for the opening of the school year Sept. 9.

The hallway argument followed a 2-hour meeting between r. Gross and the civil rights leaders on how best to integrate the city schools. Dr. Gross conceded to reporters that "the specific issue" divindg him from the Negro groups is the "involuntary busing" of white children into largely Negro schools.

Dr. Gross said firmly that "we are not prepared to bus children involuntarily in a neighborhood switch. Our plan does not include that. We are not making plans to bus white children."

As Dr. Gross talked to reporters, Oliver Leeds, chairman of the Brooklyn chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, broke into Dr. Gross's conversation and said: "We are convinced that sooner or later integration will have to be done. People in New York are basically good people. There is no reason for equivocation and experiment."

Dr. Gross snapped back:

Javits Plea —Mediate Pay Dispute

By Joseph Michalak
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Sen. Jacob K. Javits last night urged that a mediator or task force of leading citizens be appointed to recommend a settlement of the teachers dispute.

Speaking to the convention of the American Federation of Teachers, parent union of the United Federation of Teachers, Sen. Javits said the task force "could include a representative of your organization and the city, and could be chaired by some distinguished leader in education, in business or in philanthropy."

In another development, the New York Central Labor Council voted yesterday to request a meeting with Mayor Wagner to head off the teachers' strike threatened for Sept. 9.

"And there are over 1,500 of our own marshals who shall discipline this march from within."

A cigarette burned right down to Rustin's long fingers as he spoke. He is a lanky, intense man of 53 who speaks in a British accent. His hair and mustache are graying. He had on a white shirt that was rumpled and grimy from working through a night and into the next day without a change of clothes.

"You see," Rustin said, "sits-ins are a strategy. This march in Washington is no place for strategy. Our image is enhanced by absolute order."

"What if anything goes wrong?" Rustin was asked. "One fist fight could turn it into a mess that sets everybody back 50 years."

"I understand your concern," Rustins said. "But nothing shall happen. We have seen to that."

HEADQUARTERS

The march on Washington for Civil Rights is being run out of a four-story brick building a few doors down from Seventh Avenue in Harlem. It is a series of makeshift offices and narrow, steep staircases. And Thursday afternoon the building was alive with the sound of mimeograph machines and typewriters and little kids who kept running in from the street for a drink of water from the cooler in the first-floor hall.

Dick Cohen of the American Jewish Congress and Calvin Banks of the NAACP were in an office in the back of the first floor. A door was opened onto the usual Harlem backyard, tin cans, makeshift wooden fences, an old soft drink machine, broken cement.

The two sat and talked about the meetings that were going to be held with President Kennedy and Vice-President Johnson on Wednesday. It seemed like a strange place for people to be talking about a date with a President, but this is not an expression of people who walk on carpet, this march in Washington next week.

Both Cohen and Banks are the kind of bright people you associate with an undertaking like this.

"Lunatic fringe," Banks said when he was told about the trouble at City Hall.

"The entire social thinking of a country is going to be shifted in one day," Banks said. "Quiet orderliness. Its impact will be tremendous."

"What do you think the impact will be if something goes wrong?" he was asked.

Banks didn't answer. It was too big even to think about.

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his father before Judge Rayfiel for sentencing.

With the younger Gallo were five bodyguard-type friends, who were carefully frisked before being allowed in the courtroom. They were proclaimed by marshals to be unarmed.

The Gallos interrupted their trial last June 14 and pleaded guilty to the charge of making a false statement on Larry's

Judge Rayfiel did not agree with the contention of the Gallos' lawyer, Joseph Iovine, that the charge was based on a technical violation of the law. The lawyer contended that there was "no evil motive" in making the false statement and that Larry had made substantial improvements on the house.

Mr. Iovine also wanted the Judge to say that the case

Attorney General.

The ranks of the Gallo gang have been thinning because of various violent and non-violent reasons. Another Gallo brother, Joseph, who is sometimes called "Crazy Joe," is serving a jail sentence for extortion.

And yesterday Larry Gallo was handcuffed and escorted by five marshals from the seventh - floor courtroom

for conspiracy. He served the sentences on Rikers Island.

When Gallo & Co. appeared in court last Monday there had been a lot of pushing and shoving, but yesterday things were more orderly as the reporters gathered around and asked the sad-looking younger Gallo how he felt about the sentence.

"I don't know," he replied. That was all he would say.

Bad Debts Increasing in England

Our 'Amazed' State Betting Probers

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

LONDON.

Two investigators from a place called Albany, N. Y., told a news conference yesterday they understood that bad debts in England have increased by 20 per cent since off-track horse betting was legalized here in 1960.

Henry Paley and John Glendinning, staff aids of the N. Y. State Assembly, sent here to study off-track wagering in England, said they were "amazed at the amount of gambling here. It seems much larger than in New York."

The men, making their study in view of pressure in New York to legalize off-track betting, said they'd been told that Britons bet $2.8 billion a year at and off the track, and gamble $1.4 billion in other ways. This totals to 65 per cent of the country's defense budget.

It is estimated that billions of dollars are bet annually in the United States, one figure of $25 billion being advanced by Mortimer M. Caplin, director of the Internal Revenue Service.

The New Yorkers said they were not making moral judgments, merely gathering information for their superiors.

They said that the reason for increased gambling here seemed to be simply a greater availability of places in which to make bets. They added that they found the more profitable bookmaking stalls in the city's poorer districts.

It was bill collectors, they said, who told them that bad debts have shot up 20 per cent under off-track wagering.

Mr. Paley and Mr. Glendinning held their news conference in a church hall. They said that the Churches Council on Gambling seemed to be the only organization making an effort to determine the effects of off-track betting, and that the Council had helped them in their investigation.

While the two New Yorkers were conducting their study, the British Information Office, 845 Third Ave., in New York City, supplied reams of the comparative statistics on British gambling before and after the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960.

The act became effective January 1, 1961. The figures were based on surveys conducted by the Churches Council on Gambling.

They showed, for example, that betting on horse races increased, in estimated amounts, from $1.022 billion in 1959 to $1.078 billion in 1960. But in 1961, after the introduction of legalized off-track betting, the figure rose to $1.232 billion. In 1962 it jumped to $1.512 billion.

All forms of British gambling, in 1961, was set at a total $2.133 billion, an increase of $221.2 million above 1960, prior to legalization.

The latter figures were released by the Church Council in its report of May 11, 1962.

In 1960 Britons had bet a total of $1.913 billion on all forms of gambling, an increase of $100.8 million over 1959.

Thus, in the first year under legalized gambling, the national annual gambling figure more than doubled.

Last year, the totals continued to spiral. In 1962, Britons bet a total $2.388 billion, according to the Council. This was an increase of $254.8 million over the 1961 totals.

In one of its reports, the Council secretary drew attention to the fact that "the Betting and Gaming Act of 1960, though apparently reducing illegal betting, had also resulted in the emergence of new forms of commercialized gambling in bingo clubs and gaming clubs."

He also noted an "increase in turnover on betting on horse races," and a proportionate decline in greyhound races and football pools. Greyhound races drew bets amounting to $350 million in 1961, but dipped to $322 million in 1962. Football pools, correspondingly, nosedived from $284 million in 1961 down to $239.1 million in 1962.

Council figures note that all totals must be understood "not to include the amounts wagered in gaming clubs, which it is impossible to estimate."

On June 1, 1962, England by actual count had 13,340 licensed betting offices. That number has since risen to an estimated 15,000.

sooner or later integration will have to be done. People in New York are basically good people. There is no reason for equivocation and experiment."

Dr. Gross snapped back: "I don't think this is equivocation. It is not good to ram this (integration) down white people's throats."

Mr. Leeds came back: "We don't want to ram anything down people's throats. No child should be allowed to go to an inferior school."

Dr. Gross retorted: "We are just trying hard to make better schools. Some parents are just in terror of having their children plucked from their home school and sent to outside schools. I'm talking frankly. We just don't agree."

The CORE leader then said: "I know there is a problem of whites accepting this program. By integrating our schools now, white parent's objections will be instrumental in forcing better schools in Harlem."

Dr. Gross and the civil rights groups broke off without setting any future meeting. Mr. Leeds and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League of New York, the Harlem Parents' Committee and the Parents Workshop for Equality agreed to "organize a boycott of the city school system."

The board which has its headquarters at 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn, must submit a plan to the State Education Department by Sept. 1 on racially imbalanced schools in the city and its plans to integrate them.

The civil rights leaders also said yesterday that they rejected Dr. Gross' proposal of a "free transfer" plan, outlined to them in a meeting on Monday. The plan, to take effect in February, would permit a child in any school that is racially imbalanced to transfer to any other school in the city.

thropy."

In another development, the New York Central Labor Council voted yesterday to request a meeting with Mayor Wagner to head off the teachers' strike threatened for Sept. 9.

It left unsettled, however, the question of a general strike of the city's 140,000 unionized city employees if the Condon-Wadlin Law is invoked against striking teachers.

The Central Labor Council's call for a meeting with the mayor was announced by its president, Harry Van Arsdale, after an emergency meeting with leaders of 31 organizations representing 140,000 city workers. He said the council wanted to discuss with the Mayor the problems of any civil service employees, including teachers, who "could be victimized by the Condon-Wadlin law."

He said the Council would be in "continuous session" on the situation, subject to call on short notice.

During the meeting John J. DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitation men's Association, asked for a general strike embracing all 1,000,000 union workers if the Condon-Wadlin law is invoked. The law calls for automatic dismissal of public employees who go on strike. It permits rehiring, but carries monetary and job-rights penalties.

UFT President Charles Cogen and Board of Education president Max J. Rubin viewed Sen. Javits' mediation idea coolly, at least for the present.

"Mediation would not be necessary until a few days before the deadline" Mr. Cogen said, "and we should be allowed to continue our bargaining so long as there still is hope."

Mr. Rubin said that "since the negotiations are proceedding, we agree with that view." He added that no mediator could do anything about the budget already adopted.

Batting for Crosby

The Way of a Coward

By Ed Begley

John Crosby is on vacation. In his absence his column will be carried on by guest writers.

I am a coward trying to prove myself a brave man—else why would I attempt to write a guest column. But that is only one item in the long list that proves my argument.

When I was 11, 12, and 13 years old in Hartford, Conn., I used to do an amateur act. I had to find ways to propel myself onto the stage. It was like diving off the high board. If you lived through it, it was fun, but, oh, the courage it took to leap.

* * *

When I was 18, I served in the U. S. Navy as a fireman. On the Naval Reservation was a towering mast rising 840 feet. The challenge to each man: "You have to climb the tower." The coward in me forced me to try, and that very same cowardice triggered me into venturing beyond the required limit. I ascended to the very pinnacle, climbing two beams having cross-pieces nailed on like rungs of a ladder. As I climbed up, one of the cross-pieces gave way beneath my feet. How I ever got back down is still a mystery.

After getting out of the Navy, there were numerable jobs, but always the urge for an acting career. For a while I managed motion pictures theaters in Philadelphia. A milestone was reached in 1931 when I made my debut as a radio actor. After 10 years of varied and interesting—yes, and remunerative—acting jobs, I stormed the citadels of Manhattan, working first in radio and shifted rapidly to the dubbing of foreign films. Then on to Broadway.

Next came live television and horrendous years for this coward, still trying to prove himself a brave man.

Now came another milestone in my career. The motion picture "Boomerang" was being made in Stamford, Conn. Elia Kazan wanted me for the film. Because of Kazan's interest in me and his great directorial ability, I was made to look very good. Then Kazan gave me the meaty role of Joe Keller in "All My Sons," Arthur Miller's first success, which won the Drama Critics' Award and established me in the theater.

* * *

Shortly thereafter, Hollywood beckoned and the trek West was made. I did 21 pictures between 1947 and 1951. Now to live television shows which came in rapid succession, with all the torture and fear that accompanied each and every one.

At this time, when friends feel that I could let down, take it easy, I find the greatest challenge of all.

I somehow feel that my brief occupation as night watchman, steamfitter's helper, hospital orderly, radio announcer, dishwasher, theater manager, all helped to bolster the courage of a coward trying to prove himself a brave man.

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The City Hall Chapel Opens on a Love Note

By William G. Wing

Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Advice to those about to get married: Go ahead. Green wall-to-wall carpeting, orange settees and a fused glass mural have replaced the old jailhouse drab in the chapel of the Marriage License Bureau in the Municipal Building.

The chapel was redecorated along with all of the other second - floor offices of the City Clerk. The job took 18 months and cost $118,000.

Yesterday, the new marriage chapel was opened. Fittingly, there was a love story to go with it.

Renovation of the second floor was done by an architect and an interior designer employed by the Department of Public Works, Eli Eisner and Mrs. Rosalind Clark.

Mrs. Clark, widow, plunged into her work as a labor of love for this reason:

"I was married here and it was so depressing that I never forgot it. That's why I went in for colors. I was principally concerned with color because it creates a mood."

The mood she created must have been a strong one because, as she and Mr. Eisner worked together they fell in love. Last May 9, they were married in the new chapel they were re-designing. That was by special dispensation, however. Other couples have been married across the street at 52 Chambers St. while the renovation was in progress.

Yesterday, as the new chapel opened for business for everyone, Mrs. Eisner said:

"I hope it makes the people who pass through here happy. The environment, as you start a new life, should reflect a moment of joy because when you are married, it is the greatest moment in your life."

Herald Tribune photo by MORRIS WARMAN

A CHAPEL AND A MARRIAGE were what the plans of Eli Eisner and Rosalind Clark came to. Designing this new city chapel, they fell in love and were married in it.

FOR RELEASE

TUESDAY September 3, 1963

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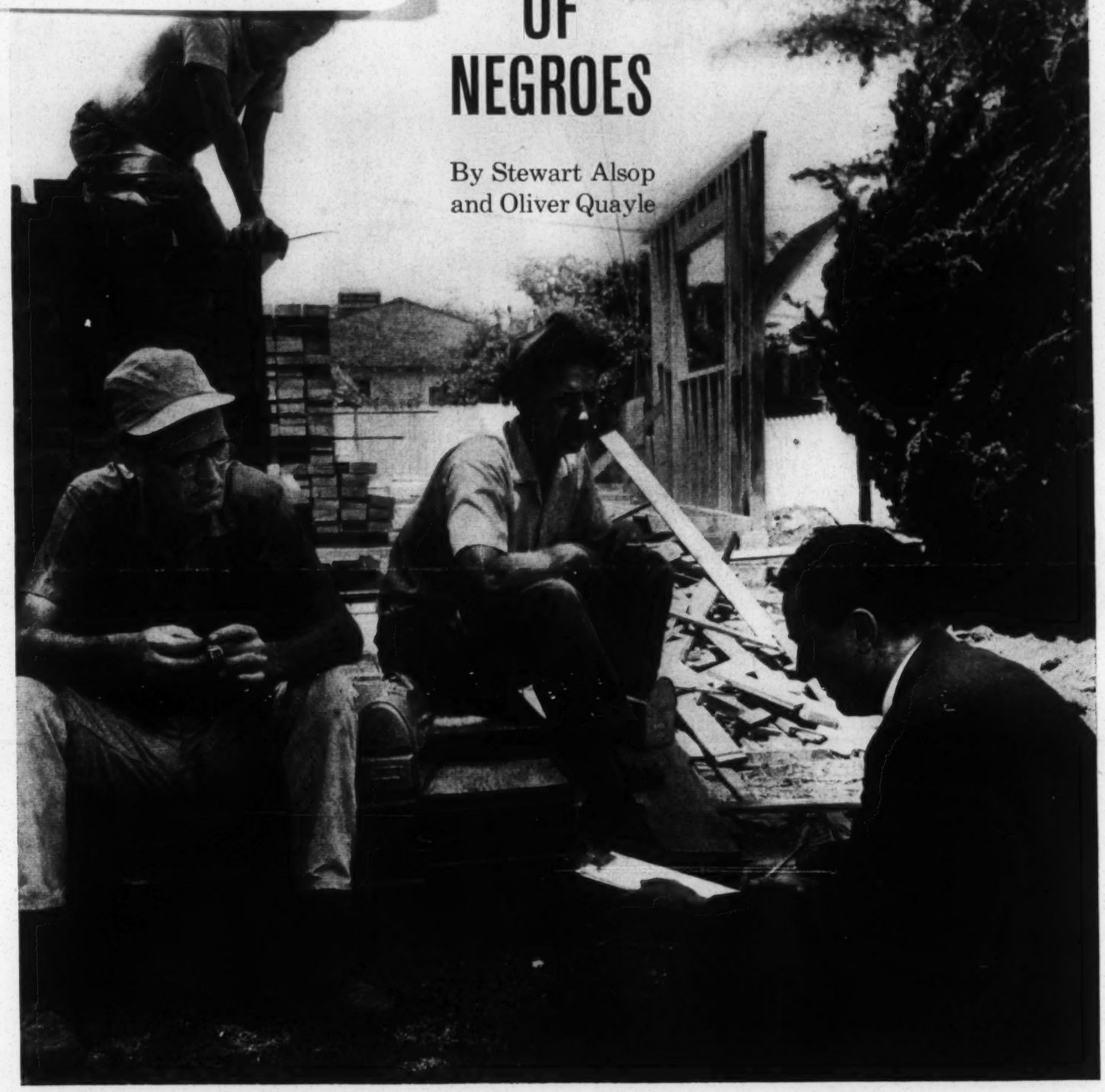
Public Relations Office
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
666 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N. Y.
PLaza 7-9800 (Night Phone: Area Code 203; 327-0736)

WHAT ORTHERNERS REALLY THINK OF NEGROES

By Stewart Alsop
and Oliver Quayle



In Los Angeles, Alsop interviews a pair of house builders, Ward Peterson and Norman Larson.

Washington Editor Alsop and public-opinion-expert Quayle pooled their talents to discover the real reaction of the white North to the growing racial crisis.

The white North is no more ready to accept genuine integration and real racial equality than the deep South. This conclusion may seem sweeping. But it is based on a lot of legwork—specifically it is based on 500 lengthy interviews in 12 statistically typical voting districts in the East, the Middle West and the West Coast. The statistical results of these interviews, and the answers to a number of the key questions, accompany this report. But the conclusion stated above is not based on statistics alone. It also is based on the way people in the North talk about racial equality.

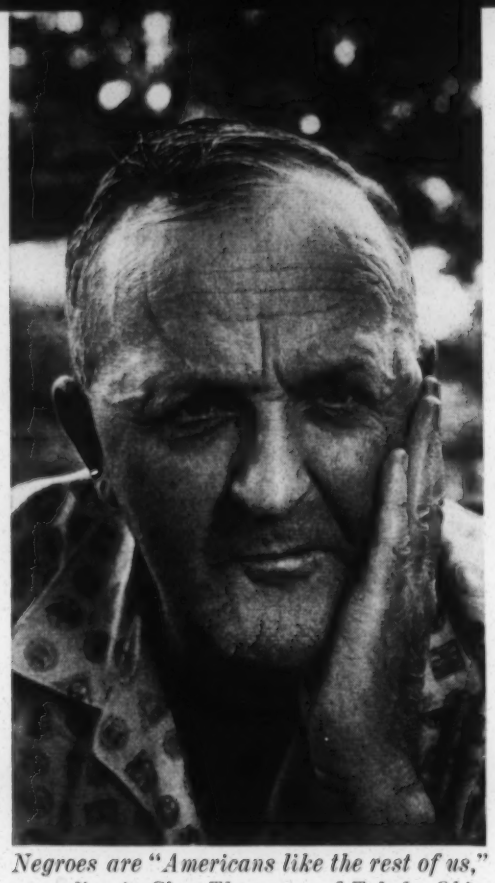
Here, then, is the way people talk. Here are the phrases you would hear again and again and again all across the North, if you spent many hours ringing doorbells and asking people for their views on the race problem:

"They been held down too long, but they're pushing too hard."

"The colored got rights, just like us whites, but I don't see why we got to mingle together."

"They're human beings just like the rest of us, but I wouldn't want one living next door."

Ray Yoshiyama of Gardena, Calif., feels Negroes "have not worked their way up."



Negroes are "Americans like the rest of us," according to Clay Thomason of Toledo, Ohio.

August de Santolo of Mount Vernon, N.Y., believes that hard work and not demonstrations is the way to get ahead in life.

"They're just human beings like the rest of us, but I wouldn't want one living next door."

"It says in the Constitution (or the Bible) that all men are equal, but they're not ready yet."

"There's some good, some bad, just like the rest of us, but I don't care for all this violence."

"Sure, they deserve a break, but look what happens to property values when they move into a neighborhood."

Each of the above sentences contains one small but significant word—"but." That word expresses the amazing and almost universal ambivalence of the northern white American's reaction to the racial crisis. The "but" neatly divides his mind into two parts.

One part of his mind mistily recalls that "all men are created equal"—it is surprising how many people use that phrase, or a variant. The other part of his mind insists that "some are more equal than others." If there had been no Negro drive for equality, there would have been no civil-rights bill. But what is very striking is the way in which the Negro drive—the demonstrations above all—has tended to alienate the northern white, to make him nervous and unhappy, to convince him that "the colored are getting out of hand." In case of widespread racial violence in the North, no matter who throws the first brick or draws the first blood, the alienation could very easily become total.

There are, of course, some whites in the North who have a one-part mind, an undivided mind. There are a good many people like Mr. Claude Tassell, of Toledo, Ohio, for example. "Boy, you fellows really want all the answers, don't you?" Mr. Tassell remarked to one of us. "OK, here goes. I think white people are a little superior. The Negroes are like savages. Have you seen them chanting and dancing in these demonstrations? Then you know how I feel. I believe in segregation really—now that you've asked. They should live by themselves and they should *want* to live by themselves. The trouble is, they don't want to. They want to feel equal to the whites."

Mr. Tassell is by no means alone. Of the people interviewed, a surprising 16 percent were convinced that whites are *innately* superior to Negroes—another 27 percent thought Negroes were inferior, but because of education and environment. (Two persons out of 500 thought the Negroes were *superior*. "The Negroes are physically superior," explained one. "When was the last white heavyweight champ? And the experts say there's no difference in intelligence. So the Negroes must be superior.") Like Mr. Tassell, the people of the 16 percent are, in general, unconditional segregationists.

There are also people like Mr. Clay Thomason, of Toledo, and Mrs. Marie Honcharik, an attractive housewife in Yonkers, N. Y. Mr. Thomason hails originally from Paducah, Ky., and he wants it clearly understood that "I'm no nigger-lover." But, he says, Negroes "are Americans like the rest of us." He admires President Kennedy for his civil-rights stand, and believes that it should be a Federal offense "to deny a person because his skin is black." Mrs. Honcharik recalls that "ever since I was a little girl I remember looking at colored people and feeling sorry for them." On every major civil-rights issue, she is on the side of the Negroes.

A minority of extremists

But Mr. Thomason and Mrs. Honcharik, as all-out integrationists, are in the minority too—a minority of 23 percent, according to our sample. Thus taken together, the people like Mr. Tassell, who say an unconditional "no" to Negro demands for equality, and the people like Mr. Thomason and Mrs. Honcharik, who say an unconditional "yes," comprise less than 40 percent of the northern white population. The rest, three people out of five, say "Yes, but . . ." And the more you talk to these people, the smaller the "yes" sounds, and the bigger the "but."

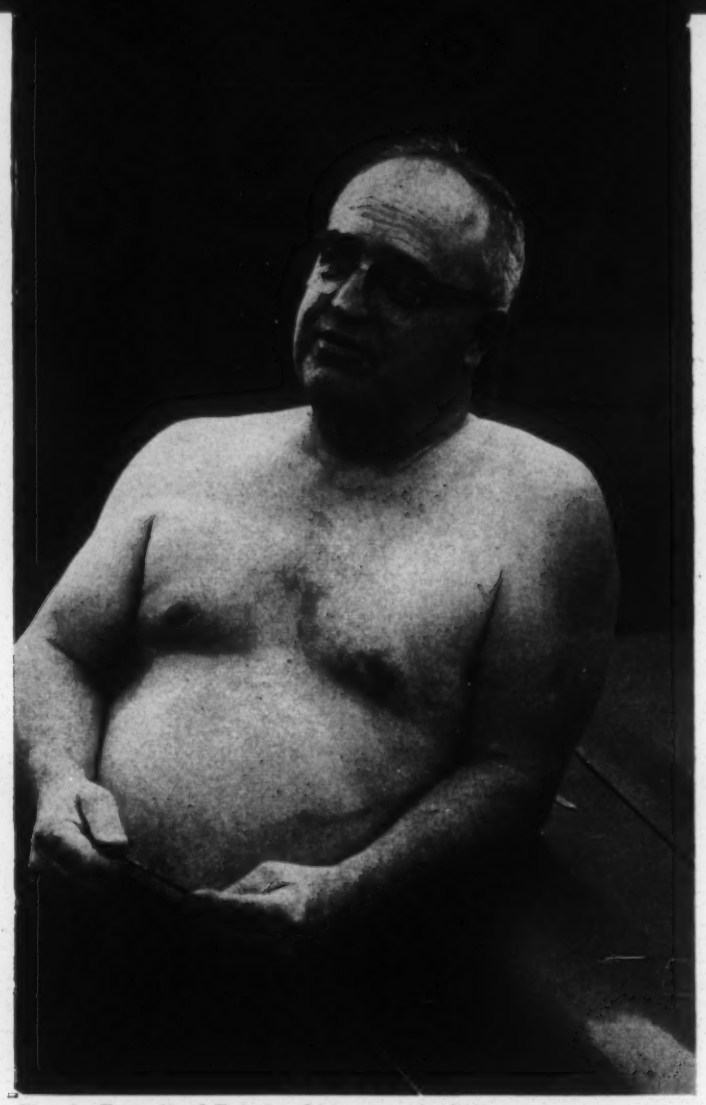
A couple of neighbors, Mrs. Clarence Main and Mrs. Nancy Kalk, both of Redondo Beach, Calif., are fairly typical yes-butters. Mrs. Main and Mrs. Kalk disagree on a number of points. Mrs. Main would vote for President Kennedy in 1964, while Mrs. Kalk prefers Barry Goldwater. Mrs. Main approves the accommodations section of the Kennedy civil-rights bill, and Mrs. Kalk is against it.

Mrs. Kalk believes that Negroes "should have more rights," but she is convinced that "they're just creating hate by the way they're pushing this," and she suspects that "it's pushed by the Communists." Mrs. Main feels that "these people deserve to be Americans—they pay their taxes and fight for their country the same as we do." But despite this she too thinks that "they're pushing too fast."

That curious phrase—"they're pushing too fast"—is a phrase the ringer of doorbells hears from coast to coast, and more than any other phrase it is the key to the white North's attitude toward the racial crisis. It is the key to what the present writers, about halfway through our project, began to call "the other side of the but." But first let us have a look at "this side of the but," the "yes" side. This is the side which is most easily reduced to statistics, which is one reason why the liberalism of the white North on the race question tends to be grossly overestimated by most people.

For example, those who were familiar with it (more than a third had no idea what it was about) approved Kennedy's civil-rights program by a two-to-one margin. They approved the key public-accommodations section by three to two. They agreed with Kennedy (as against Goldwater and the southern leaders) that civil rights is a matter for the Federal Government, rather than the states, to deal with. And they were in favor of the Supreme Court's school-integration ruling by a decisive three-to-one margin.

Public-opinion-sampler Oliver Quayle talks to Mrs. Marie Honcharik in Yonkers, N.Y. "Ever since I was a little girl," she says, "I remember looking at Negroes and feeling sorry for them."



Claude Tassell of Toledo, Ohio, says he believes in segregation, because "Negroes are like savages" and should want to live apart.

These figures seem to suggest that the white North is solidly liberal, tolerant and high-minded on the race question. And in one sense the figures are not lying. There *is* a basic difference of attitude between the white North and the segregationist South. The difference is most marked in the attitude of white northerners on the public-accommodations section of the civil-rights bill.

It was usually necessary to explain the accommodations section—"President Kennedy wants to make it against the law for the owner of a hotel, store or theater to deny service to a person because of race." Once explained, the reaction was very often the same—"That seems OK to me," or "I see nothing wrong with that." Often people sounded puzzled, as though wondering why the issue had ever been raised. Most white northerners, even passionate Negrophobes, take for granted the right of Negroes to be served in public places.

Many of the people we talked to also recalled going to school with Negroes—"never did me no harm," said one old lady, and several remarked that "that color don't rub off in school." These differences in attitude between the white North and the segregationist South are genuine, and they are important. But there are ways in which the white North and the segregationist South see eye to eye, and these similarities are also genuine and important.

Here we come to that phrase we heard again and again—"but they're pushing too hard." What does the phrase mean?

Many people, when they use the phrase, have the Negro demonstrations in mind. A great many people regard the demonstrations as somehow disgraceful, like a dirty house. "What must they think of us abroad?" several people asked. Mrs. Peterson, a housewife we interviewed in Southern California, feels that "the colored people are playing straight into Khrushchev's hands," by undermining the American position abroad.

In some people the Negro demonstrations have also created an underlying layer of simple physical fear. A lady in the Bronx was aghast when asked whether the *Post* could take her picture to go with her rather mild views on the race question. If her name were used, she said, "the colored will come and knife my kids."

The phrase also expressed another sort of fear—the fear that Negroes will "push" into white jobs, white schools, white neighborhoods; perhaps—for intermarriage is a widespread bugaboo—into white hearts.

This is the "other side of the but." And there is a very marked difference between the two sides of the but. On the "yes" side there is an abstract desire to see justice done to the American citizen whose skin happens to be black. But the desire is abstract; it is not deeply felt. On the other side there is the question: "How will it affect *me?*" And if the answer is that Negro advance may endanger social status, or a job, or the value of a house, the desire for abstract justice evaporates quickly, and the desire to "keep the colored in their place" appears instead. That desire can be very deeply felt.

The touchiest subject of all

If a politician's constituency is white by a big majority, and if he wishes to commit political suicide, there appear to be three easy ways to do so. One is to espouse the demands of some Negro organizations for exchanges of white and colored students by bus, to end "de facto segregation." When a lot of people in the New York area volunteered complaints about this scheme, we added a question about it to our interview. But we dropped the question later, because everybody, including those strongly pro-Negro on every other issue, denounced the idea. The feeling against job quotas for Negroes, we discovered, is almost as strong. But the touchiest subject of all, because it affects more people than any other, is the subject of housing.

Again and again we had the same experience. A person would seem a very paladin of racial tolerance. In favor of the accommodations section of the civil-rights bill—"How would you feel if you were turned out of a restaurant because of the color of your skin?" In favor of better treatment for the Negroes—"They been held down too long." In favor of the Supreme Court integration decision, and willing to have his or her children go to an integrated school—"That color don't rub off." And then the question about housing, and a pause, often embarrassed, and then, in the words of a kindly-faced man we talked to in a Los Angeles suburb: "Look, mister, the colored move into an area and values go down twenty percent, even more—I just can't afford that."

The statistics speak for themselves. Of those with an opinion in the matter, 77 percent of the people we interviewed, more than three out of four, believed that a white man should have the right to refuse to sell his house to a Negro on the basis of race. We found the same lopsided reply to our question everywhere we went, from coast to coast. It is remarkable that any politician who has favored anti-discrimination statutes in housing survives in office.

The motivation for this reaction is partly, but only partly, economic. Mr. H. Gene Creecy of Toledo pointed out that if he sold his house to a Negro "all the others in the neighborhood will automatically go down from $2,000 to $4,000." But he also said, "Personally, I don't want to live beside them—they're different, that's all."

Another Toledoan, Mr. Elmer Dowling, a retired accountant, considered the problem in terms of the life after death: "I wouldn't want to live near one, but of course if I die and go to Heaven I know I'll have to live with them then. I might feel the same way I do down here, but

"Look, mister, the colored move into an area and values go down twenty percent, even more.

THE ALSOP-QUAYLE POLL

To produce this report, Oliver Quayle selected 12 "barometric" voting districts in the East, the Middle West and the West coast, for 500 interviews in depth. Alsop and Quayle were assisted by Quayle's staff of trained interviewers, but they did more than half the interviews themselves, since their purpose was to interpret, report and analyze, as well as to produce statistics. The statistical results of their project are also interesting, however, and in some cases startling. Here are the most pertinent ones—with "no opinion" responses eliminated in every instance:

What kind of a job do you think President Kennedy is doing? Robert Kennedy?

	President	Robert Kennedy
"Excellent" or "pretty good"	57%	48%
"Only fair" or "poor"	43%	52%

If the election were being held tomorrow, would you probably vote for:

Kennedy	64%	Kennedy	57%
Rockefeller	36%	Goldwater	43%

What do you think are the most important issues facing the United States?

Race 33% Foreign-policy problems 22% Taxes 16% (rest scattered)

What do you think of the President's civil-rights program?

Approve 63% Disapprove 37%

What do you think of accommodations section (explained by interviewer)?

Approve 61% Disapprove 39%

What do you think of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration?

Approve 75% Disapprove 25%

Is civil rights a matter for the states or the Federal Government?

States 36% Federal 64%

Suppose you yourself had school-age children, other things being equal, would you prefer that they went to integrated school, all white, or would it make no difference to you?

Integrated 17% All white 42% No difference 41%

Do you think a Negro should have the right to buy a home anywhere, or do you think a white man should have the right to refuse to sell to a Negro?

Negro should have right to buy 23%
White should have right to refuse 77%

Do you think there is a basic difference between the white and Negro races?

White superior innately 16%
White superior because of education 27%
Races about the same 57%

Do you think the Negroes in this country are treated too well, not well enough, or about right?

Too well 11% Not well enough 38% About right 51%

if the Lord says to me I have to make a choice, I'd live with them just to be with Him."

Some whites complain that anti-discrimination statutes really discriminate against whites. "Look," said a jaunty businessman in blue slacks, who lived in the Bronx and refused to have his picture taken, "suppose I won't sell you this house because I don't like the look of you. So you're white, so OK. Suppose you're colored. So if I refuse to sell it to you, I'm in trouble, maybe bad trouble. There really ought to be a National Association for the Advancement of White People."

Others complain that Negroes "don't keep up their places." There seems to be a widespread notion, easily disproved by a tour of any Negro middle-class area, that "the colored throw their garbage on the lawn." Such complaints are most likely to be voiced by sloppy housekeepers in rundown areas.

In fact, contrary to the mythology of the liberal intellectuals, on the race issue as on other issues, the poor are apt to be a lot more reactionary than the reasonably well off. A person with a neurotic hankering to hear rabidly racist views should avoid the comfortable suburbs with well-kept lawns, and he should not ring the doorbells of people with Jewish or Anglo-Saxon names.

He should go, instead, to the working-class areas, especially where Negroes are moving in, and especially where there are immigrants and minority races other than Jews. There is a widespread feeling among the minorities that the Negroes, in the words of Mr. Ray Yoshiyama, of Gardena, Calif., "haven't worked their way up." Mr. Yoshiyama spent his boyhood in a wartime detention camp, and he is proud that he now makes a decent living as a market gardener. Hard work, not demonstrations, he thinks, is the way to get ahead.

Mr. August de Santolo, of Mount Vernon, N. Y., who came over from Italy as a boy and is proud of his successful sons, feels much the same way. So do Mr. and Mrs. Leslei Toths. Mr. Toths is a refugee from Hungary, and he and his German wife are intensely proud of their $25,000 house in Culver City, Calif. The value of their previous house in another suburb depreciated badly when Negroes began to move in, and the memory rankles. "The Negroes are pressing too fast," complains Mr. Toths. He feels they should realize "that white people are a thousand years ahead in culture."

Northern whites, in short, are willing enough to share a restaurant or a hotel with Negroes, and they will even share their schools—although better than two out of five said they would prefer to send their children to all-white schools. But aside from the three sticking points mentioned earlier, there is also an underlayer of mixed fear and prejudice. This underlayer is far more prevalent in the white North than the writers of this report had realized before they set out on their tour. And for the first time, the racial issue has suddenly become the dominant issue in this country. Last year one of us asked 500 people, "What concerns you most?" Race was way down on the list. Now it easily leads all the other issues, including the survival issue of war and peace.

What, then, with a presidential election year coming up in 1964, is the probable political impact of the racial issue?

One of us recently asked that question of New York's shrewd Sen. Jacob Javits. Surely, the reporter said, in view of the way so many northern whites talked about the Negro question, it was a dangerous thing for a politician, like Javits himself, to be an all-out advocate of civil rights?

"Sure," said the senator, "I know they talk that way. But they don't vote that way."

This is the Javits Rule. Our sample strongly suggests that the Javits Rule remains valid. President Kennedy himself (belatedly, according to his critics) must now be counted an all-out advocate of civil rights. He must be counted with the one-in-four minority in the white North who say an unconditional "yes" to Negro aspirations, as against the three out of four who say "yes, but" or "no."

Logically, therefore, the civil-rights issue, as the dominant issue today, ought to hurt the President politically, perhaps even wound him mortally. But, at least in the north, the hurt to the President seems hardly more than a pinprick.

Seven percent of the people we talked to gave his stand on the race crisis as a reason for liking the President, against 11 percent who disliked him for the same reason. The spread in Robert Kennedy's case was markedly wider—5 percent to 12 percent—which suggests that the Attorney General acts as a useful lightning rod for his brother, where the race issue is concerned. Remember, moreover, that we interviewed only whites, and what the President has lost among whites has certainly been balanced at least in part by what he has gained among Negroes.

Kennedy is still popular

Moreover, in our sample, President Kennedy inflicted on both Sen. Barry Goldwater and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller a political "murder most horrible," although the murder of Goldwater was notably less horrible than Rockefeller's. In voting districts which voted 50 percent for Richard Nixon in 1960, in two states (Ohio and California) which Kennedy lost in 1960, and with the pro-Kennedy Negro vote excluded, Kennedy beat Rockefeller two to one, and Goldwater by a spread of 14 percentage points.

The real question, then, is not whether the racial issue has already hurt the President badly; it hasn't. The real question is whether the Javits Rule can be broken by circumstances and an astute opposition. Suppose, for example, that there is *really* bad racial trouble in the North before next year's election. This is not impossible, as anyone who has smelled the atmosphere in the streets of our big cities can attest.

Even bad racial trouble would not bring the white North to support a racist segregationist on the southern pattern. The real northern Negrophobes are so small a minority in the North that any candidate carrying the label "anti-Negro" would be doomed from the start among the majority of whites. But suppose Kennedy's opponent presented himself as a moderate, a middle-of-the-roader—a yes-butter, like the

I just can't afford that."

white majority. And suppose he succeeded in implanting in the minds of the yes-but majority the notion that on racial matters the President is an extremist, a Negro yes-man, indifferent to "the rights of the white majority," intent on forcing Negroes and whites to live together.

Under these circumstances, is it possible that the Javits Rule might be broken, and that the racial issue might be used to encompass the defeat of an extremely popular President?

No one really knows the answer to that question, of course. But after all our walking and talking, the writers of this report are convinced that the racial issue is a sleeper—an unpredictable but potentially decisive political factor. The white North does not really feel strongly about such issues as the civil-rights bill or the Supreme Court's integration decision. The white North feels very strongly about such far more personal matters as housing and social integration. These are the kind of strong feelings that really can cause election upsets.

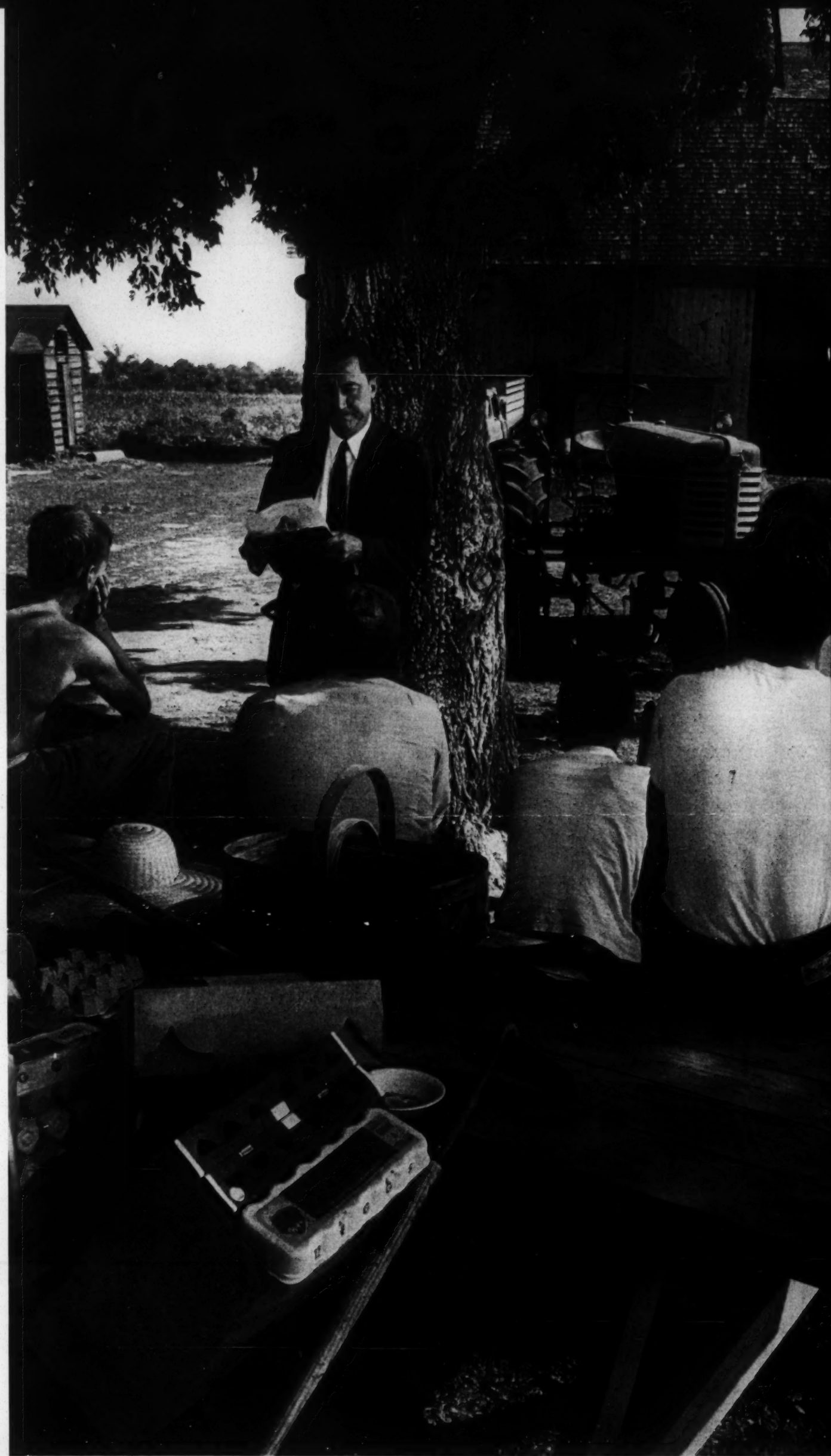
The writers of this report are convinced of something else as well. For the time being there is simply no way to reconcile the aspirations of the new generation of Negroes for real integration and true equality with the resistance to those aspirations of the majority of whites. For a time this country will simply have to live with the irreconcilable.

The finding that astonished us most—we went back and rechecked it to be sure it was correct—was that only 38 percent of the people we interviewed feel that the American Negro is treated "not well enough." More than six out of 10 feel that the Negro is being treated "about right," or even "too well."

These six people out of 10 have no understanding of the brutal meaning of the statistics cited by the President: "The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or state in which he is born, has about one half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; . . . twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and prospects for earning only half as much."

As long as six out of 10 northern whites are unaware of such facts or indifferent to them, the gulf between what the Negroes want and what the whites will accept will continue to be very wide. It is much wider today than most people realize, which is why the racial crisis in this country is more dangerous than most people have yet discovered.

The danger lies less in violent Negro action than in violent white reaction. It is easy to imagine the kind of political oratory, perhaps sweetly reasonable in seeming, which would ignite all the fears and prejudices which lie on "the other side of the but." The racial crisis today is like a controlled cancer. The excitements and temptations of a presidential election year might cause the issue to be exploited in such a way that the cancer might get out of control. That is a risk the responsible leadership of both parties should weigh most seriously. THE END



Surrounded by his sons and farm equipment, truck-gardener Wayne Bressler of Monroe, Mich., sits for his interview by Washington Editor Alsop. Some 500 such interviews contributed to this report.

August Meier

New Currents In the Civil Rights Movement

Reprinted from
NEW POLITICS
Summer 1963

2-17-64

Pine Bluff

Dick Gregory at Pine Bluff:

'Now the Uncle Toms Have Got to Go'

By LEROY DONALD
Of the Gazette Staff

PINE BLUFF — Dick Gregory, the Chicago Negro comedian, who commands $5,000 a night to perform, came here Sunday night for free to tell Negroes of this community that the "ameners", the "uh-huhers" and the "Toms" have got to go.

"The days are over when these little kids are gonna fight your battles for you, old folks," Gregory told some 500 plus Negroes crowded into the Allen Temple AME Church.

He reminded the older Negroes that they were the ones who brought up the white man, nursed him from infancy, worked in his home and from this acquired his ways and learned how the white man thinks.

"Every Negro can think like a white man, but few white folks can think like us," he said. "The job's over now and you've done a good job and you don't have to keep on Tommin' no more.

"One of these days just stop shouting and hollering long enough to listen to those words (of freedom songs). Stop clapping long enough to listen to that prayer and you'll find out what you're committed to. You sing about 'You won't be moved' but if that white policeman come in here now and tell you go home, you go."

Pointing at a picture of Christ on a cross on the pulpit, Gregory said, "It's so easy, so cheap to sing a song 2,000 years later. How many of you would've been there?"

Then Gregory, sometimes funny, sometimes deadly serious, talked about the church's failure on the part of both white and black to aid in the civil rights cause.

"The church is the most segregated part of American life today," he said. "We've integrated pool halls, night clubs and prostitution houses, but if me and you walked into some white church with some white man, we'd go to jail."

"* * * Instead of saying 'Thank God we're saying 'Thank the Supreme Court.'"

He told the Negro elders if they couldn't do anything else to at least pray for the anti-segregation movement.

"It's an easy battle. Don't make it difficult." Referring to apathetic Negroes, he said, "You'd better get out of the way or you're going to get stomped to death accidentally. You do us more harm than the Ku Klux Klan. At least we know where they are."

He told the crowd that the Negro was the only one who could save this country. "We got a strange mind in this country, both white and black," he said. "This country got the sickest mind in the world * * *"

"Martin Luther King says love your brother, turn the other cheek. Malcolm X say don't love your brother, don't turn the other cheek. They put Martin Luther King in jail and Malcolm X can't even get arrested—you've got to save your white brother today because he's just out of it."

"You better know your strength and know your power. You brought us a long way. Well now, momma, come on join us. We control it now * * * You the No. 1 strong man.

"There's two things make a man strong — joy and pain. There's no race on the face of the earth today that's had as much of both as the American Negro * * * One Negro woman up in South Carolina went to go in swimming and they closed 17 swimming pools and she couldn't even swim—that's strength.

Talking about the march on Washington last summer in which he participated, Gregory said, "We, the Negro, had a 300-year-old gripe and we didn't fight. We proved that day that the American Negro is not mad, he's just tired. It's not love, baby, it's respect we're after. Every white person in the South got a nigger he loves but he don't respect you enough to let his kids go to school with yours. Love ain't nothing but passion, baby, that swings and sways with the wind."

Pointing to the picture of Christ, he said, "The only reason they got by with that is that you didn't show up.

"One hundred and fifty years ago I was the white man's slave and I hated his guts. He was the master and he loved me. Today he hates me and I don't hate him—now who's the slave."

Gregory said the white man didn't realize that the Negro is right in his anti-segregation movement and wants to go to jail to prove that he's right.

"He [the white man] is not aware that the harder the wind blows, the tighter I'll pull my coat," he said. "He's not aware that the only time I shed my garments is when the sun comes out."

"He [the white man] taught us about reaping and sowing. Now it's harvest time. And I got the sickle. He [the white man] didn't have sense enough to put me in the front of the bus so that he could watch me. He put me in the back where I could watch him."

Gregory's appearance here was sponsored by the Pine Movement, which has been here a little more than a year. The young members of the Movement, most of them teenagers, sat in the choir loft behind Gregory.

Gregory's talk lasted two and a half hours. He got a standing ovation when he appeared, accompanied by Bill Hansen, a white leader of the Movement and of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee.

Gregory has been involved in numerous civil rights demonstrations and has been arrested a number of times.

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File Freedom Songs

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 88th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Freedom and Freedom Songs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 25, 1964

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, a fascinating article by Theodore Bikel appeared in the March 1964, issue of the national folk music magazine Hootenanny. The noted singer and actor eloquently describes the importance of folk songs and folk singing to the civil rights movement. Theodore Bikel has dedicated his time and talent to the struggle for equality, and his article provides much insight into the dynamic of the civil rights movement. I recommend it to my colleagues:

FREEDOM SONGS—FROM EGYPT TO MISSISSIPPI

(By Theodore Bikel)

A logical and obvious statement: "There would have been no contemporary 'freedom' songs but for the integration movement in the South."

A seemingly illogical statement: "There would have been no movement but for the songs."

Yet, for all its irrationality, the latter statement was made in complete seriousness by one of the leaders of the movement, the closer examination more than bears out his contention. It asserts, in fact, that the music emanating from the Southern streets, churches and jails is not merely a product but, rather, one of the prime causes of the demonstrations, the prayer vigils and the mass meetings.

It emphasizes that many of the so-called direct action undertakings could not have been conceived or carried out, that the beatings and the jailhouses might have stopped the movement in its tracks, that faith and courage would not have prevailed had it not been for the songs.

This, of course, may be fairly true of any liberation movement in history, but it is doubly true of the Negro movement, and for sound psychological reasons, I do not refer to mass psychology, which no doubt can easily explain crowd behavior and reaction to musical stimuli during times of stress and in a group's pursuit of a common ideal. I refer to psychology based upon the ethnic and social structure perculiar to Negro society, especially in the South, a society that is applying its own temperament and time-worn mode of behavior to this 20th century political movement.

One need be no ethnomusicologist or anthropologist (indeed, this writer lays no claim to any such scholarly distinction) to know that Negroes, by tradition and natural inclination, are incapable of conducting a gathering of any kind without punctuating and underlining what is being said with music and song. Speeches and even prayer in a Negro meeting must evoke the crowning experience of song, without which no feeling of mass communication is possible. Such was the trademark of the Negro church, and such is the trademark of the mass movement aimed at integration. Although this is a black-and-white-together movement, it takes its emotional shape from the Negro characteristics of mass dedication.

It should be noted that this obviously secular movement not only has insoluble ties with the various Negro churches, but also relies on religious traditions and practices in its everyday workings. The mass meeting—planning a sit-in, a freedom march, or a voter registration drive—is held in the church; the demonstrators, bleeding and weak from the beatings and the fasting in jail, make their way to the church; the local leader of the movement is more often than not the minister of the church; and many of the songs that are sung are the old spirituals and gospel tunes with new words.

Where yesterday the minister from the pulpit promised the congregation a slice of the Kingdom of God, and everyone answered, "Amen, hallelujah," he admonishes them today from the same pulpit to "go down and register to vote," and the answer is still, "Amen, hallelujah." For he is asking for an act of religious dedication, and they receive it as such.

Indeed, what else does it represent when those who heed the call find physical violence and humiliation of personal dignity in their path. How inevitable must the identification seem that draws a parallel between the early martyrs and the fate of Medgar Evers, William Moore, James Travis, and the hundreds of Freedom Fighters who were beaten, shot at, trampled on or killed, carrying the word "freedom" on their lips. Little wonder then that the hymn and the freedom song become as one, that there is no telling where man leaves off and God begins.

"Over my head I see freedom in the air;
There must be a God somewhere."

To anyone who still thinks it exaggerated to say that there could be no movement without the songs, one must answer from personal observation. The sights and sounds of a little Negro church in Albany, Ga., or in Clarksdale, Miss., or of a larger church in Birmingham, Ala., are a powerful memory to have. You are a participant, true, and less than objective because of a personal involvement with the cause. But you are also a guest from the North, with the observing eye of a visitor. And you know the tell-tale signs of weariness, of boredom with the repetitiveness of the speeches that lurk in the eyes of the congregation. A crisis is on. That means there has been a mass meeting every single night for the last week or more.

Although the speakers may be most revered as leaders and bear illustrious names such as King, Shuttlesworth, Abernathy, or Walker, the heart is heavy from the bombings, the bloodshed, the look of children fresh out of jail. Also, nonviolence does not come easy. How do you teach yourself not to lash out in fury when the white man raises a fist, a club, or a gun? How do you master your impulses when your own child is carried into your house, beaten senseless and bloody for having committed the crime of sitting at a soda fountain or going to a movie? The words, inspiring as they are, do not quite penetrate the curtain of dull pain and anxiety. But then someone begins to sing:

"We have walked through the shadow of death
We've had to walk all by ourselves
But we'll never turn back,
No, we'll never turn back."

Until we've all been freed and we have equality. All of a sudden it begins to make sense, not in a rational way, but in an emotional acknowledgement; although the mind had failed to understand, the soul had nodded assent. And the singing continues:

"We shall not, we shall not be moved,
We shall not, we shall not be moved,
Just like a tree that's standing by the water,
We shall not be moved."

"That's right, brother," come the exclamations. "You tell 'em." And a new verse, with acid humor this time:

"Tell Governor Wallace he shall be removed,
Tell Governor Wallace he shall be removed,
Just like a pail of garbage in the alley,
He shall be removed."

The eyes are brighter now; there is a dawning of fresh energy and renewed courage. And the songs do not let up. They attack apathy and resigned complacency in various ways: with earthy sarcasm, and a new verb:

"Down here in Mississippi
No neutrals have we met
Tell me, will you fight for freedom
Or 'Tom' for Ross Barnett?
Which side are you on?
Which side are you on?"

And with words of inspiration that in any other context might have sounded forced or even corny:

"I don't mind the jailhouse
'Cause I want my freedom
I want my freedom now."

Many words of this are often substituted—such as: I don't mind "walking" or "marching" or "dogs" or "Bull Connor." As you watch a boy, no older than 9, sing in all seriousness and fervor, "I dont mind dying 'cause I want my freedom," and you realize that he is not just mouthing words, but knows what he is saying, you look about and see all the weariness and listlessness gone from the eyes of the assembled. They are ready to meet the haters again. Tonight, if need be; because freedom is already 100 years too late in coming.

A large number of these songs have existed for a long time; they were sung by Negro congregants at every service. Why then assume that the texts of such songs should have suddenly triggered or even inspired action in the 1960's when they failed to do so 15, 25, or 40 years ago? I suppose the answer lies in a shift of interpretation. The term "freedom" was, until recently, used as a word of solace. It referred to a freedom that was promised in the afterlife; in the Kingdom of Heaven, in the arms of Jesus:

And before I'd be a slave,
I'd be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord and be free.

Or:

I have trials here below
But I keep singing 'cause I know
Yes I know—(Oh my Lord)—
My change will come.

It was not until the boycott of Montgomery, Ala., in 1955, the freedom rides and sit-ins in North Carolina and Tennessee, the Albany movement in 1960, the voter registration drive in Greenwood, Miss.; not until Birmingham, Cambridge, Md., and Danville, Va., that the words "change" and "freedom" were read with an appended "now." Even the unofficial anthem of the movement, every verse of which used to include the words "some day," has undergone changes:

Black and white together now it says, and
We are not afraid today.

The movement of the 1960's is, in fact, pledging its efforts, its energy, its dedication to the brotherhood of white and black, its determination to remain nonviolent in the struggle, its willingness to risk jail—and even death—for the cause. Anything but its patience. For that has run out.

"Avadim Hayinu Ve'ata B'ney Chorin"—goes an old Hebrew song. "Once we were slaves, but now we are freemen." It is quite obvious why the freedom movement of today draws upon the Biblical source so much, and finds itself particularly moved by the analogy of Egypt and Mississippi, Pharaoh and Barnett, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and George Wallace, overseer of Alabama. There seems to be an heirloom of suffering that slaves and former slaves understand profoundly. So it appears that the song of the Israelites, building Pharaoh's pyramids in Egypt, was but a forefather of the tune sung by the Negroes picking Eastland's cotton in Leflore County. By a curious set of circumstances, the analogy goes even farther:

Go down Moses
Way down in Egypt Land
Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go.

Negro ministers and church choirs have been singing this for generations. But in today's crisis in the Mississippi Delta, one wonders if those who sing these words are not quite reverently referring to Robert Moses of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who has come to lead his people to freedom as did his namesake in Egypt. History's pun, perhaps; but was not the original Moses an "outside agitator" too?

There is an old Talmudic saying: "In every generation, man must look upon himself as if he had personally come out of the bondage of Egypt." So it is with the idea—and the song—of freedom. If it is a fire of the same torch, and a torch of the same making, then the fire is being rekindled and the song being sung anew each time man's yoke becomes unbearable.

For freedom is not something that can be won and stashed away—it has to be fought for over and over again in each generation, whenever men seek to enslave others. Thus I see a chain throughout history that links the song of the slaves in Egypt with the battlecry of the Maccabees, the song of the French Revolution, the Greek revolt against the Turks, the Industrial Revolution in Europe, the Irish Rebellion against the English, and today's song of freedom in America.

A new day is coming upon us at last. It does not come unaided. If we are privileged to see its dawn at all, then surely we owe recognition to those who hastened the hour—to Martin Luther King, James Farmer, Medgar Evers, Bob Moses, Jim Forman, Charles Sherrod, Bob Zellner, Jim Peck, Sam Block and the host of leaders, students and ministers who gave a new meaning to hackneyed words such as "justice" and "brotherhood."

History, however, will owe the greatest debt to those who sang in the jails and on the courthouse steps, for their song will stand as the one tangible reminder of this era, its shame and its nobility, long after the hatemongers—and their victims—are forgotten.

Written by -
Mrs M. E. Tilly

MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY

File: Misc.

May 1, 1964

WORSHIP SERVICE

One Family Under God:
Freedom of Residence and Job Opportunity

ORGAN PRELUDE

CALL TO WORSHIP

First Reader: Exalt the Lord, our God and worship in his holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy. I will meditate on his precepts. I will observe his statutes.

HYMN: "Come, Thou Almighty King" Anonymous, 1757
Stanzas 1, 3, 4 Tune: Felice de Giardini, 1769

STATEMENT ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY

SCRIPTURE

First Reader: I looked again and saw all the oppression that goes on in the world; there were the oppressed in tears with no one to redress their wrongs. (Ecclesiastes 4:1)

Second Reader: Console my people, console them—'tis the voice of your God. (Isaiah 40:1)

First Reader: The Lord Eternal showed me this, showed me himself standing beside a wall, a plumb-line in his hand. The Eternal said to me, "Amos, what do you see?" "A plum-line," I replied. The Eternal said, "With a plumb-line I test my people." (Amos 7:7-8)

Second Reader: "We are apt to think that the early Church was made up of a small band of people with very much the same experiences and very much the same culture. However, if we re-read the book of Acts we will quickly discover that a glorious unity of various kinds of people resulted from the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. . . . "People of sixteen nationalities and three continents were baptized into the Christian church and made members of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. . . .

"It was no accident that God chose such a motley crowd on which to bestow his gifts of faith, cleansing, and brotherly love. Pentecost was a mighty demonstration of his purpose '. . . that they may all be one.' "

—*Edge of The Edge,* by Theodore E. Matson

First Reader: The glorious unity did result in the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit on that day of Pentecost. But does the Church today say, "Come, whosoever will?"

Not many members have easy consciences. God is stirring the mind and hearts of men. In his book, *The South and the Southerner,* Ralph McGill writes, "The most prophetic words were those of a minister who said: 'We are all integrated . . . every one of our churches is integrated. The faces in the pews may all be white. But the Negro is there. He is present in the angers and guilt of some of the congregation. He is present in the consciences of many. He is present in the fears of the ushers who wait each Sunday to see if one will come. . . . God is at work. Some of the churches may become private clubs and establish rigid rules against the presence of nonmembers. . . . They will never know peace. We are all integrated and there is nothing we can do about it save ask God's grace to make us see the fact of it.' "

Second Reader: The Eternal said: "With a plumb-line I test my people." There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. . . . love one another with brotherly affection; outdo one another in showing honor.

(Galatians 3:28; Romans 12:10)

Freedom of Residence

First Reader: The preamble of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations states: "Recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace."

The Indian, the Puerto Rican, the Negro, the Jew, and members of other races in our nation are in the fellowship of suffering with Him who said:

Second Reader: "Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head." (Matthew 8:20)

When a member of one of these does succeed in buying a house in a "better" neighborhood, he is often met with unfriendliness.

First Reader: And if he is allowed to stay, the community may become all Puerto Rican, or Negro, or Jewish, or Chinese, as the case may be.

Second Reader: God speaks through Micah:

"But they shall sit every man under
his vine and under his fig tree,
and none shall make them afraid;
for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken."

(Micah 4:4)

First Reader: The Eternal said: "With a plumb-line I test my people."
He has showed you, O man, what is good;
and what does the Lord require of you
but to do justice, and to love kindness,
and to walk humbly with your God? (Micah 6:8)
. . . I was a stranger and you welcomed me.
(Matthew 25:35)

Job Opportunity

Second Reader: "O God, we remember with pain and pity the thousands of our brothers and sisters who seek honest work and seek in vain. . . . We acknowledge our common guilt for the disorder of our industry which thrusts willing workers into the degradation of idleness and want. . . ."

—*Prayers of the Social Awakening,*
by Walter Rauschenbush

First Reader: Life in the United States is often difficult for people who are different from the majority in their skin color, their manner of worship, or even their names. We know there are places where a man named Jones, although no better qualified, gets a job more easily than a man named Cohen. We know the Negro is "the last to be hired and the first to be fired."

Second Reader: The Eternal said: "With a plumb-line I test my people."
Justice is turned back,
and righteousness stands afar off;
for truth has fallen in the public squares,
and uprightness cannot enter. . . .
The Lord saw it, and it displeased Him
that there was no justice. (Isaiah 59:14-15)

A LITANY FOR THE FACING OF THIS HOUR

Leader: O God, the Father of all of us, who art
all seeing, all knowing, all understanding,
We pray:
For those who seek homes and suffer defeat.
For those who are forced to live in
city slums or country shacks.
For the homeless migrant and the refugee.
For all of those anywhere in the world who sleep in streets.

Response: *Hear our prayer, O God. Teach us thy will.*

Leader: For those who are denied jobs
because of color of skin, religion or national origin.
For those prepared for jobs, but judged too old;
and the youth well equipped, judged too young.
For the Indian on the reservation,
unprepared for a job outside.

Response: *Hear our prayer, O God. Teach us thy will.*

Leader: For all those who are unemployed,
For all those who labor without hope.

Response: *Teach us thy will, O Lord, and show us the way. Amen.*

Leader: The Eternal said: "With a plumb-line I test my people."

HYMN: "The Voice of God Is Calling" John Haynes Holmes, 1913
Tune: George J. Webb, 1837

Soloist: The voice of God is calling
Its summons unto men; as once He spoke in Zion,
So now He speaks again.
Whom shall I send to succor my people in their need?
Whom shall I send to loosen the bonds of lust and greed?

Congregation: *We heed, O Lord, Thy summons, and answer, here are we!*
Send us upon Thine errand, let us Thy servants be.
Our strength is dust and ashes, our years a passing hour;
But Thou canst use our weakness, to magnify Thy power.

Soloist: I hear My people crying in cot and mine and slum;
No field or mart is silent, no city street is dumb.
I see My people falling in darkness and despair,
Whom shall I send to shatter the fetters which they bear?

Congregation: *From ease and pleasure save us, from pride of place absolve;*
Purge us of low desire, lift us to high resolve,
Take us, and make us holy, teach us Thy will and way,
Speak, and, behold! we answer, command, and we obey!
Amen.

Leader: And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice.
(1 Kings 19:11-12)

UNISON PRAYER: *May we hear thy still small voice,*
O God, and follow where it commands. Amen.

POSTLUDE

All Bible references are from the Revised Standard Version except those on page 1 which are from Moffatt's translation.

This service was written by Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Published for United Church Women

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FO5-144 Printed in the U.S.A.

MIGRANT STUDY: SOCIAL RESEARCH II, MAY - JUNE, 1964

On April 22, 1964, the classes of Dr. Joseph Golden (A. U. School of Social Work) and Dr. Eric Lincoln (Clark College), met with Mr. Pat Watters of Southern Regional Council (SRC), to discuss preparations for a study of migrants from rural areas to Atlanta.

The aims of the study had been stated in a letter from Pat Watters. SRC was interested in the situation of such people, simply as a general problem of the South. They wondered just "what goes" with poor people who moved to the city from the farm. Refinement of the general purpose is to be thejob of the combined student team. The following are to be considered in our research:

Hypotheses

1. That the experiences of poor Negro rural migrants to Atlanta are similar to the experiences of poor white rural migrants to Atlanta.

2. That the background of the two groups is similar.

3. That the characteristics of the two groups are similar.

4. That what has happened to the two groups in Atlanta has been similar.

The sample is to include only poor rural farm migrants, and not persons with non-farm rural backgrounds. At this point, the concept "poor" has not been defined. It was agreed that the best way of finding people in the categories we want will be to knock on doors in areas where large numbers of migrants live. If the areas are large enough, area sampling techniques will be used to find respondents. Maps of such areas will aid in our finding of desired migrants.

A schedule will have to be devised to include sections on (1) background, (2) what caused respondents to move, (3) description of who the respondents are, (4) what has happened to them in Atlanta.

The following material comes from class and committee notes.

April 22

The combined student group met with the instructors and Pat Watters of SRC. Dr. Golden stated that this project will not quite offer experience in every phase of the research process in that the problem for research is being chosen for us. In addition, the process of problem identification and formulation must be greatly foreshortened. We should attempt to review the literature on this subject as much as possible in the time available. In response to a question about migrants from a rural area, it was answered that it applie. to persons recently moved to Atlanta from a rural area anywhere in the USA. The question was raised whether certain neighborhoods and the sample we select would be representative of the migrant population as a whole. We would have to work out a technique for random selection of a sample of migrants.

On the question of focusing on race as an element that adds further problems to urban adjustment, it was pointed out that economic problems cut across racial lines. The Populist Movement was cited as an example of the alliance of poor Negroes and whites. A student asked if the subject was not too diffuse, too broad. It was agreed that we need closer focus. The difficulty of analysis without tabulating machines is tremendous. We must reduce the number of questions. However, Watters is primarily interested in doing a human relations report; therefore, he can go further with certain families and ask whatever he wants to ask.

WATTERS: Can we afford not to focus on how these people really see themselves in this society? We want to know how these people feel, about money, about life in the city. What other attitudes have influenced them since moving here? By focusing on race as a problem, are we not presupposing what our answer will be? Do we make it more likely that race will emerge as the problem if we form our questions in such a way that we are looking for that? We are interested in finding out about these people as people, yet getting enough about them as a type so that two or three representative families can be chosen and a story gotten on them.

Movement from one culture to another creates problems for them and for society, a compelling human story; the move is a tremendous distance in time. How does it thwart and cripple them? How does it make them grow? Deprivation is discrimination. It is similar to Oscar Lewis' Five Families as nearly as he could describe what he is seeking. Focus: Improving living conditions of people who live in the South. We must befriend them and gain their trust.

GOLDEN: According to the 1960 census material which we will use, a "migrant" is one who was not living in the Atlanta metropolitan area in 1955. In this project, we will be interested in persons who have been here a year or so. So far as locating neighborhoods, we will have to assume that things are pretty much the same now as in 1960, that those tracts showing a high percent of recent migrants will still be where most migrants are located.

May 1

Friday's class had the task of working out a way of finding the poor migrants from rural areas. Dr. Golden brought the manual, U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960 - Census Tracts in Atlanta, Ga.

We set up three committees to work on the problem. One will select which census tracts we are going to work in using the manual, a map by census tracts, and a sheet given to them by Dr. Golden. This committee also had to work out an operational definition of the concept "poor".

May 3

1. A committee reported on a technique of area sampling in which certain blocks will be selected and certain households within that block. Select alternate blocks within the tract and get all houses with numbers ending in 3 and 6. If there are apartment houses, choose apartments ending in 3 and 6. For those apartments using letters instead of numbers, use A for 1, B for 2,etc.

Use the same procedure in a rooming house, by numbering the doors beginning with one.

2. Who in the house should be interviewed.

Father or mother; if they are not available, then any relative, then anyone over 18 years of age who moved there as a part of the family group.

3. How to separate the migrants from rural areas and those from urban areas. We did not really solve this, but we defined rural areas from the book Society, by Eli Chinoy, 1961. Rural area - any settlement with a population of 2500 or less.

4. What time should interviews be held?

Up until 8 p. m.

May 8

Exploring teams will go out and find out where Negroes are located. We will take the F-10 census tract for white respondents, and F-72 census tract for Negro respondents. The exploring teams will go to F-72, locate Negroes, type of housing, etc., to get an idea of where the migrants are.

May 9

The following is a report from the exploring team. The tract was bounded by Oxford Ave., Browns Mill, Poole Creek, South River, and Moreland Ave. Two Negro neighborhoods or sections were old with a few older deteriorated homes, the remainder being new or relatively new. The other section was composed of new homes. In both sections it was found that family dwellings, rented homes, and apartment buildings were predominant. It became apparent that we could not rely on the publication Census Tracts to provide us with a guide for selecting areas with large numbers of migrants, since there have been tremendous changes since 1960.

May 14

On the above date the committee for the assignment of various blocks for each team met. The blocks were selected from census tracts 55A and 26. Thirty-six assignments were selected, each consisting roughly of three blocks. Thirteen were taken from 55A, and thirteen from 26, in case no migrants were found in census tract 55A.

May 15

The groups have met and decided on the tracts we will use for interviewing Negroes and whites.

There were volunteers for a committee to work out a method for analyzing the results of the study. Volunteers from the Monday group will be added.

May 16

The committee for completing the schedule met. The schedule was completed, and the general instructions for filling out the schedule were decided upon. Most of the changes consisted of making unstructured questions structured, taking out those words or questions which might influence the respondents' answer, and those irrelevant to the stated purpose of the study.

May 20

The analysis committee met to devise a method for analyzing data. It was decided that we will have two tabulation sheees to compare Negro and white respondents.

For the unstructured questions we attempted to anticipate responses; those we could not anticipate would be considered after the data are collected. The structured questions will be tabulated according to percentage.

Interviews were carried out in the last week of May. As Dr. Lincoln's class had completed the semester, they were not available for interviewing. A total of 31 respondents were interviewed - 21 Negro and 10 white. After committees had tabulated data from the schedules, there was no time remaining for analysis of the tabulated data.

In evaluating the following tables, it should be kept in mind that the 31 respondentents interviewed do not constitute a random or representative sample of the "poor", rural migrants in Atlanta. The data set forth in these tables can be only suggestive for a study using a well-selected sample. Since existing source materials were not useful in sample selection, it is suggested that a more useful source might be found in registrations for utility service.

TABLE I

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ATLANTA

LENGTH (in months)	Negro	White	Total
6 - 12	15	7	22
13 - 18	4	3	7
19 - 24	2	--	2
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 2

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BY STATE

STATE	Negro	White	Total
Georgia	17	8	25
Other state	4	2	6
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 3

DID YOU LIVE ON A FARM?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	14	3	17
No	7	7	14
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS BY FAMILY ROLE

ROLE	Negro	White	Total
Head of Household	4	2	6
Spouse	13	8	21
Relative	3	--	3
Other Adult	1	--	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

AGE	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	17	10	27
6 - 11	4	--	4
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 6

RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD BY AGE

AGEk	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	20	10	30
6 - 11	--	--	--
12 and over	--	--	--
Total	20	10	30

TABLE 7

NON-RELATIVES IN HOUSEHOLD BY AGE

AGE	Negro	White	Total
5 or less	--	--	--
6 - 11	--	--	--
12 and over	1	1	2
Total	1	1	2

TABLE 8

REASON FOR MOVING TO ATLANTA

	Negko	White	Total
Employment	10	9	20
Education	2	--	2
k Health	--	1	1
s Other	10	--	9
Total	22	10	32*

* Cne respondent gave 2 reasons.

TABLE 9

REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Full time	15	7	22	15	10	25
Part time	4	2	6	3	--	3
Seasonal	1	1	2	1	--	1
Other	1	-	1	--	--	--
No Answer				2	--	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 10

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYMENT	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Skilled	--	2	2	1	2	3
Semi-skilled	10	7	17	2	3	5
Unskilled	11	1	12	18	4	22
Other				1	1	2
No Answer				2	--	2
Total	21	10	31	24	10	34

TABLE 11

FAMILY MEMBERS EMPLOYED

FAMILY MEMBER	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Head	15	9	24	15	8	23
Spouse	9	4	13	5	1	6
Child	1	--	1	--	--	--
Others	--	--	--	1	1	2
All members	--	--	--	-	--	1
None	--	--	--	2	--	2
Total	25	13	38	24	10	34

TABLE 12

WEEKLY INCOME

INCOME	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Less than $20	5	1	6	1	--	1
$20, less than $40	4	4	8	4	--	4
$40, less than $60	5	3	8	7	4	11
$60, less than $80	2	1	3	4	5	9
Other	4	1	5	3	1	4
No Answer	1	-	1	2	-	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 13

DID YOU HAVE TROUBLE FINDING WORK ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	1	6	7	2	1	3
No	20	4	24	17	9	26
No Answer	--	--	--	2	-	2
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 14

(DO, DID) YOU WORK TOGETHER WITH MEMBERS OF THE OTHER RACE?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	14	2	16	14	2	16
No	7	6	13	4	6	10
Other	--	--	--	--	1	1
No Answer	--	2	2	3	1	4
Total	21	10	.31	21	10	31

TABLE 15

PAID SAME AMOUNT AS OTHER RACE FOR SAME WORK?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Same	2	--	2	1	--	1
More	1	1	2	--	--	--
Less	6	--	6	6	--	6
No Answer	9[k]	9	18	4	8	12
Don't know	3	--	3	10	2	12
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 16

OWN OR RENT

STATUS	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Own	10	2	12	2	--	2
Rent	7	8	15	19	10	29
Worked for Shelter	4	-	4	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 17

AMOUNT OF RENT PAID

AMOUNT BY WEEK	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Less than $10	3	-	3	1	-	1
$10 and Over	9	1	10	2	4	6
BY MONTH						
Less than $30	3	4	7	-	-	-
$30 - $39	1	-	1	4	1	5
$40 - $49	-	3	3	9	2	11
$50 and Over	1	-	1	3	2	5
Other	1a	2b	3			
No Answer k				2	1	3
Total	18	10	28	21	10	31

a Worked for shelter; paid no rent.

b Owned home outright; no payments.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN RESIDENCE

ROOMS	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
One	-	-	-	-	-	1
Two	-	-	-	1	5	6
Three	6	2	8	11	3	14
Four or More	15	8	23	8	2	10
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 19

OTHER RACE LIVE CLOSE BY?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	13	3	16	11	6	17
No	8	7	15	9	4	13
No Answer	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 20

LIVING IN SAME BLOCK WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER RACE ?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	-	6
No	15	9	24
No Answer	-	1	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 21

(DID, DO) YOU VISIT EACH OTHER ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	7	1	8	-	-	-
No	14	6	20	20	7	27
No Answer	-	3	3	1	3	4
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 22

RELATIONS WITH OTHER RACE (IN COUNTRY)

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	20	4	24
No	1	6	7
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 23

HARD TO FIND A PLACE TO LIVE IN ATLANTA ?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	2	1	3
No	19	9	28
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 24

K RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATION

EDUCATION (in years)	Negro	White	Total
Less than 4	1	1	2
5 - 8	6	4	10
9 - 12	14	5	19
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 25

HAVE YOU HAD ANY TRAINING FOR A JOB ?

TRAINING	Negro	White	Total
Yes	2	4	6
No	19	6	25
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 26

KIND OF JOB TRAINING RECEIVED

KIND OF TRAINING	Negro	White	Total
Correspondence Course	-	1	1
On the job training	-	3	3
Public Schools	3	-	3
Total	3		7 *

*A discrepancy; the total should be 6.
None of the respondents were attending school at the time of the study.

TABLE 27

KIND OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY CHILDREN IN COUNTRY

SCHOOL	Negro	White	Total
One Room school	2		2
Grade School	6	5	11
High School	10	1	11
No answer	3	5	8
Total	21	11	32 *

* One respondent had 2 children

TABLE 28

DID YOUR MOVING TO THE CITY HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH SCHOOLING?

REPLY	Negro	White	Total
Yes	3	-	3
No	18	9	27
No Answer	-	-	1
Total	21	10	31

TABLE 29

(DID, DO) YOU GO TO CHURCH ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	21	9	30	14	1	15
No	-	1	-1	7	9	16
No Answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	21	10	31

TABLE 30

FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE IN ATLANTA

FREQUENCY	Negro	White	Total
Once a week	5	-	5
Once a month	4	1	5
Once a year	-	1	1
Other	4	-	4
Total	13	2	15

TABLE 31

(DID, DO) MEMBERS OF THE OTHER GROUP ATTEND YOUR CHURCH?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	3	- K	3	3	-	3
No	17	10	27	11	1	12
No answer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	14	1	15

TABLE 32

KNOW ANY MEMBERS OF THE OTHER RACE WHO (ATTENDED, ATTEND) YOUR CHURCH?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	1	-	1	-	-	-
No	2	-	2	3	-	3
No answer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	4	-	4	3	-	3

TABLE 33

(WERE,ARE) YOU A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATIONS?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	2	8			
No	15	7	22			
No answer	-	1	1			
Total	21	10	31			

TABLE 34

CHANCE TO JOIN AN ORGANIZATION BUT DID NOT ?

REPLY	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Yes	6	1	7	5	1	6
No +	10	2	12	12	1	13
No Answer	5	7	12	-	-	-
Total	21	10	31	17	2	19

TABLE 35

WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION (DID, DO)YOU BELONG TO ?

	BEFORE ATLANTA			IN ATLANTA		
ORGANIZATION	Negro	White	Total	Negro	White	Total
Church	1	-	1	1	-	1
School	1	-	1	2	-	2
CCommunity	-	1	1	-	-	-
Other	2	1	3	1	-	1
No Answer	12	10	22	17	10	27
None	3	-	3	-	-	-
Total	19	12	31	21	10	31

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Lyndon B. Johnson

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AGRICULTURAL LABOR

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THE CASE AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

This article concludes the argument against the death sentence begun in the last issue of The Record. The author is a prominent Southern attorney and a vice-president of the Southern Regional Council.

By MARION WRIGHT

Fortunately, because certain states have been willing to experiment, we now have the light of experience. Of the seven northwest central states (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas), Minnesota and North Dakota do not have the death penalty. In 1961, the entire area's rate for homicide was 1.5 per 100,000 population. Minnesota's rate was 1 and North Dakota's rate was 0.9. The entire area's rate for rape was 6.4, Minnesota's rate was 2.7 and North Dakota's was 5.2. The two states that abolished capital punishment were well below the average for the region.

The same story is true in Europe. The Scandinavian countries have lower rates of capital crimes than do Great Britain, Spain, France and Ireland, the only nations of Western Europe which retain the death penalty.

If punishment has any effect, it is due to its certainty, rather than its severity. The plain truth of the matter is that as safe a gamble as one may make, if he should commit a capital crime, he will not be executed. Juries, with a naturally tender regard for human life, refuse to convict. If convicted, the appellate courts resolve all doubts in the convicted man's favor, and finally, parole boards and governors are humanly and prop-

Where laws permitting infliction of the death penalty are on the books, such laws are ready and convenient tools for tyrannical or merely frightened men who suddenly come to power. So Hitler, acting under existing law, exterminated millions of Jews—again the despised minority. So Stalin liquidated the kulaks, or wealthy land owners of Russia, under existing law. So, under existing law, Castro's firing squads mowed down those who opposed his regime.

Let us here in America indulge in no vainglory. In the year 1692, ten young girls of Salem accused Tibula, a West Indian slave, and two old women of bewitching them. Those accusations set off a wave of hysteria. Within four months hundreds were arrested and tried for witchcraft; 19 were hanged and one pressed to death for refusing to plead. The reaction came quickly, and, in May 1693—one year from the first accusation—Governor Phelps ordered release of all persons held on the charge of witchcraft. But he could not bring back to life 20 innocent women. They were victims of mass hysteria and a statute which prescribed capital punishment for witchcraft, a crime which exsted only in the minds of the illiterate and superstitious.

Hysteria Condemned Sacco, Vanzetti

Most observers now agree that the State of Massachusetts took the

juries, with a naturally tender regard for human life, refuse to convict. If convicted, the appellate courts resolve all doubts in the convicted man's favor, and, finally, parole boards and governors are humanly and properly disposed to commute sentences. Only 42 executions took place in the United States in 1963. My belief is that not more than two percent of those brought to trial on capital charges in North Carolina ever walk that last mile to the gas chamber. And my belief is that the convictions for crimes not punishable by death is much higher than for those carrying the death penalty.

Warden Clinton Duffy of San Quentin, in his book "88 Men and Two Women," states that he has interviewed thousands of convicted murderers and not a single one said he even remotely considered punishment at the time of the crime. Generally speaking, murder is a crime of passion where the perpetrator is not thinking of the punishment consequences.

So the argument that capital punishment acts as a deterrent will not hold water. All experience is against it. And the whole case for capital punishment rests on that argument.

What are the arguments against it?

The first appeals to our sense of fair play. It is that capital punishment is inflicted mainly on the poor—those unable to hire skilled counsel to represent them. Warden E. Lawes, in his book "Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing," stated: "In the 12 years of my wardenship I have escorted 150 men and one woman to the death chamber and the electric chair. In ages they ranged from 17 to 63. They came from all kinds of homes and environments. In only one respect were they all alike. All of them were poor and most of them were friendless . . . Thus, it is seldom that it happens that a person who is able to have an eminent defense attorney is convicted of murder in the first degree. A large number of those who are executed were too poor to hire a lawyer, counsel being appointed by the state."

Negroes a Majority of Those Executed

The death penalty also discriminates against non-whites. This is not to say that judges and juries harbor outright prejudice against Negroes and other non-whites—although it is not far-fetched to suppose that some prejudice does exist. It is rather to suggest that whatever group is at the bottom of the economic ladder will have a disproportionately higher representation in the death house. Non-whites, being at the bottom of the ladder, pay the penalty. Thus, more than half of those executed in the United States since 1930 have been Negroes. In New York during the last five years 80 percent of those sentenced to death were Negroes or Puerto Ricans, and all but two of the 13 men actually executed were either Negro or Puerto Rican. The same pattern exists in other states.

There is a further argument for its abolition. Nations undergo periods of upheaval, of storm and stress. This may take the form of revolution and overthrow of government, as in Russia, in Cuba and in many South American countries; or it may take the form of mass hysteria, as in Salem, Massachusetts in the late 1690's when witchcraft was the great fear, or fear of the labor movement about the beginning of this century, or fear of Communist subversion, which Senator McCarthy whipped up a few years ago.

Hysteria Condemned Sacco, Vanzetti

Most observers now agree that the State of Massachusetts took the lives of two innocent men when, on August 23, 1927, it executed Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti for murder. They had three strikes against them when they entered the dock: they were Italian immigrants; they spoke broken English; they were active in labor and Socialist circles at a time when anti-labor and anti-Socialist sentiment was rife in Massachusetts. They were executed in spite of the confession of one Celestino Madeiros that he had participated in the crime and that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti was present. True, they were victims of mass hysteria, but that hysteria used the tool of capital punishment which lay ready to hand.

The point of all this is that capital punishment would have no justification even if it were inflicted only by calm, sober, intelligent and unbiased minds operating in an atmosphere of complete tranquility. The part of wisdom is to foresee that inevitably there will be periods of turmoil, stress, upheaval, when power may be exercised by the unscrupulous or by those whose reason is dethroned by popular passion. Then the margin for error, or the opportunity for abuse, is greatly enlarged. Witness the busy guillotine of the French Revolution or Castro's firing squads. In a time of domestic tranquility, we should de-fuse the dangerous weapon of capital punishment in order that it may not, in later, fevered occasions, be wrongfully employed against the innocent.

But, without regard to the temper of the times in which it is inflicted, this ancient institution has robbed humanity of its noblest spirits. Socrates, with his cup of hemlock; Jesus on the cross; Joan of Arc, Bruno, John Huss, St. Stephen. The list spans the centuries and continents. Humanity has been forever impoverished by the lawful execution of men and women of genius and nobility guilty of no crime.

But, at the time, their executioners, judges, jurors, hangmen, butchers all—in short, society — thought they were guilty, thought that the world would be better off without them. And so fallible men sustained by a belief in their infallibility think today.

Capital punishment is based upon this belief in infallibility. In the case of any lesser punishment than death, errors may be corrected. There is always the parole board or the governor who may act upon a showing that justice has miscarried, that is, when the prisoner is still alive. When death in the chair or gas chamber has closed the books, all errors are beyond correction. Scattered over this land are graves of many men, innocent of crime, whom society has crushed under its heel.

The blow falls not merely upon the condemned man. For him the agony is quickly ended. But there are relatives, friends, wife, children, mother, father, perhaps, who will to the end of their days wear the mantle of shame. For the murder of one man, society murders another and condemns his survivors to endless sorrow and humiliation.

Surely a civilized state in the year 1964 has wisdom enough to meet the challenge of crime without using tools and methods of the barbarian. Surely one created in the image of God—a little lower than the angels—should not be crushed, worm-like, beneath the heel of the state.

Retail Wholesale Department Store Union

File 4-65

W. H. FERRY

THE WHITE NATION AND THE BLACK

Let no one suppose that, in any of what follows, I assume that I know what Negroes, as Negroes, are thinking or feeling. I don't. I haven't any idea. I am a white American securely raised in the middle of the middle class and only a little less securely moored to its values and outlook. Perhaps even the assumption is unwarranted that there *is* a substantive difference. What anyone does know, of course, is that the experiences of Negro and white are not the same—so different, one would think, as to lead to wholly different outlooks. There can in any case be no doubt about the xenophobia displayed by white middle-class America toward those of another pigmentation.

What I do assume is common humanity. I assume that all of us, white and black, love our children and hope they won't grow up to be President. I assume that we don't wish to be pushed around, that we like praise and flinch under criticism, that we expect a raise far more often than we get it, that we like some of our neighbors and dislike others. I assume that all of us share the same frustrations in the face of modern life, desire a fair shake when dealing with the law, and are willing to take thick with thin as part of the common lot.

Whatever special feelings and attitudes Negroes may have beyond those dealt to all men I know nothing of. As many of you are aware, the Triple Revolution is the title of a memorandum presented to President Johnson and Congress last March by an Ad Hoc Committee of publishers, labor leaders and eggheads.* The three concurrent developments referred to were the Weaponry Revolution, the Cybernation Revolution, and the Human Rights Revolution. Most of the memorandum was devoted to an analysis of the cybernation revolution. It declared that cybernation was doing away with jobs from bottom to top of the employment pyramid. It rejected the argument of economists and other salesmen of old clothes and yesterday's fashions who say that we are just going through a sticky spot and that we shall sooner or later get back to full employment by use of sophisticated government policies and supercharged advertising campaigns. On the contrary, the Triple Revolution argues that full employment is no longer a feasible or necessary national goal.

The link between jobs of the traditional kind and income from conventional sources has been broken, according to the Triple Revolution. A new method for distributing income, a way of assuring consumer rights appropriate to an era of abundance, is required. The Ad Hoc Committee therefore advocated a guaranteed income to all, subject to none of the usual degrading means tests, but as an inalienable right of all Americans. This policy was seen as of special force with respect to Negroes.

The vast differentials between Negro and white unemployment are familiar to everyone. What is not so evident is the fact that an ironic marriage of high technology and low educational opportunity has perhaps as much to do with these differentials as discrimination. Here is what the Triple Revolution had to say on this point:

> The Negro claims, as a matter of simple justice, his full share in America's economic and social life. He sees adequate employment opportunities as a chief means of attaining this goal: The March on Washington demanded freedom *and* jobs. The Negro's claim to a job is not being met. Negroes are the hardest-hit of the many groups being exiled from the economy by cybernation. Negro unemployment rates cannot be expected to drop substantially. Promises of jobs are a cruel and dangerous hoax on hundreds of thousands of Negroes and whites alike who are especially vulnerable to cybernation because of age or inadequate education.
>
> The demand of the civil rights movement cannot be fulfilled within the present context of society. The Negro is trying to enter a social community and a tradition of work-and-income which are in the process of vanishing

*Published in LIBERATION, Arpil 1964. Reprints with commentary by Dave Dellinger and Paul Goodman are available at ten cents each.

even for the hitherto privileged white worker. Jobs are disappearing under the impact of highly efficient, progressively less costly machines.

On this point I go further than my associates on the Ad Hoc Committee. I believe there is little chance that today's unemployed Negro will ever again be taken up into the private economy. Where once he was a conscript in its lowest ranks, the jobless Negro today is a permanent dischargee from the traditional economic army, expelled by technology. He is not alone in his plight, of course; the same thing can be said about many white workers. Sidney Wilhelm writes:

> The crisis is caused not so much by the transition from slavery to equality as by a change from the economics of exploitation to the economics of uselessness. He is not so much oppressed as unwanted; not so much unwanted as unnecessary; not so much abused as ignored. . . . As automation proceeds, it is easier and easier to disregard him. (*Trans-Action*, Sept.-Oct., 1965.)

This does not signify that the unemployed Negro is necessarily doomed forever to the welfare office, to inert uselessness. The future is full of things to do and be, and cybernation unlocks the possibilities as they have never been unlocked before. There is the almost unexplored treasure house of self-development. There are multitudes of valuable services crying to be done, and the Negro has the capacity to perform them. All that stands in the way is a vast bulk of received opinion, that heritage of worn-out economic and social dicta which J. K. Galbraith called the conventional wisdom. The proposal for a guaranteed income represents one assault on this unwieldly mass. It is not a cure-all. It is an indispensable measure if we are going to the roots of the wild imbalances and paradoxes of this affluent society. It is not merely that we can afford it. It is also that both political prudence and justice require it. Which is better, taking millions of men out of the welfare line or landing two of them on the moon?

Exacerbating as the economic situation is to the human rights dilemma, it is far from all there is to it. Thomas Merton recently remarked:

> We are not really giving the Negro a right to live where he likes, eat where he likes, go to school where he likes, or work where he likes, but ony to sue the white man who refuses to let him do these things. (*Seeds of Destruction*, 1965.)

This brings us to Disraeli's idea of the Two Nations. He described them as the nations of the rich and the poor. Today's two nations, in the United States and everywhere in the world, are the white and black nations.

The Civil Rights Act is now law and its passage is properly regarded as a great victory. I do not wish to underrate its importance, yet it must be seen as largely symbolic. Only a little self-congratulation is in order. The statute does not welcome the Negro to the American Community. It gives him the key to the courthouse. It is the promise to the Negro of admission, in some receding tomorrow, into a community in which he already owns full citizenship. We have allowed Negroes into our legal system but not into our hearts. Strait is the white gate. Today, eleven years after the Brown decision, sixty-five thousand—2 percent—of the three million Negro youngsters in the South are in desegregated classrooms. The expenditure of great legal fees and even greater patience may, in a decade or a generation or so, win the Negro a few modest beachheads, a few more tokens that the white nation knows there's a war going on. The questions are many. Will they wait? Should they wait? What choice have they? The tyranny of the white majority is here on full display.

This is because the United States is a white society, its assumptions those of an important power able to dispense or withhold benefits. I do not maintain that this outlook is universal (only nearly so) nor that it has gone uncriticized. I maintain that despite the commotions of the last years, the white community still has a superficial and essentially wrong understanding of what is at stake, and what is now required.

The important discovery of the last decade is that the United States is two nations, black and white, organized in a colonial relationship. The effort of the white community, always excepting the few, has been to maintain the two-nation relationship. The effort of the black community, always excepting the black nationalists, has been to merge into one nation. The problem is not primarily the integration of the Negro but the survival of the democratic process. One depends on the other, one is the test of the other.

The model is that of colonists and colonials, locked in a sort of cold war. Perhaps it is better to call it neo-colonialism, for a new style of white administration of colored subjects is developing today. Thus we hear daily of negotiations between one group and another, between demonstrators and those demonstrated against. We applaud treaties between the two nations, however brittle, if they promise to ease ugly situations, even if only for a little while. The cold war between the white and black nations produces high strategies and tactics on both sides. All parties hope that the constant frictions and small incidents will not escalate.

Nothing shows us the Two Nations more tellingly than the informal and formal diplomatic relations established between them. I pass over the knotty question of just who represents who in this incessant treaty-making, and the fragility of the treaties themselves. The important thing is the arrangement of the two nations into adversaries. The important thing is that treaties do not lead to mergers but to the continuation of separate sovereignties.

Thus it is seldom noticed how intrinsically un-American are these procedures and attitudes. Rights are constitutional, or natural: they are not negotiable. No constitutional provision, no statute gives the white nation the right to dispense or withhold. The Declaration of Independence asserts liberty and justice for all. To its everlasting and international shame, California last November decided to alter the declaration. Now it reads,

license for the majority and injustice for the minority. Two thirds of our fellow citizens marched to the ballot box chanting "property rights." A nation or a state that computes its rights on the cash register is in deep trouble. No one is entitled to claim rights that work a hardship on the general good of the society or that result in the humiliation of other members of that society.

There is not a finite supply of rights, so that their acquisition by one person or group results in the diminution of another's portion. What *is* diminished by white deprivation of the black nation is democracy.

The race issue is not a passing difficulty which time and patience, aided by demonstrations and movements, will iron out. Its roots are historical: slavery—and contemporary: unemployment, prejudice, exploitation. Slavery was extirpated by civil war. What will elimination of its contemporary metamorphosis require?

There is no gainsaying the social strains and cleavages; they underlie the ideology of the domestic cold war. We now hear forecasts, many from the liberal sector of the white nation, of a "wearing war of nerves" between black and white over years. The hope is expressed that there will be no major outbreaks of violence. If there are, it is regretfully said, we—the white nation—will have to suppress them—the black nation. The message is that the black nation should be patient and wait for the waterdrops of time to wear away the fears and antipathies of the ruling nation. Against this message are arraigned prophecies like that of Louis Lomax, "We are headed for bloodshed and chaos."

The Erosion of Democracy

This is the measure of the threat to democracy. The United States is close to a sundering of this country, not on the Mason-Dixon line but on its successor, the color line. A nation thus divided can, no doubt, survive. South Africa survives. Here as there the whites have the guns and own the levers of social and political control. But neither nation can survive with its democratic writ intact, or anything but a shabby hypocrisy. It is interesting to consider what the amiable good-spirited middle class American would regard as a fair shake for South Africa's non-whites.

It is generally agreed that if real trouble breaks, it will be between the poorly paid and ill-treated whites and the Negroes. This does not excuse the so-called white power structure from responsibility or action, but the reverse. It places on it the duty of good example and leadership, and, most important, of radical alteration in attitude. The leaders of the white nation are for the most part proceeding on the pseudo-American assumptions described above. This is made clear in the communications media of the white nation. They faithfully reflect these same assumptions day after day in their pleas for patience and moderation and their warnings against "excess." This is reminiscent of the admonitions of the colonial press to the rebellious Americans of 1770. In their meditations upon the human-rights situation editorial writers, I observe, tend to use three words interchangeably—the words justice, patience, and order. They pant for justice, counsel Negroes to be patient, and scold disorderly whites, especially in the South. This is not so much a sign of sloppy thought as it is of membership in the middle class—that majority whose overbearing will was much feared by the Founders.

The indifference of the white nation to the gross erosion of democracy is most marked in its unwillingness to consider ways of mending it. How much is it worth in hard cash to the United States to avoid a domestic calamity, or to stave it off while time and a revived sense of national responsibility work their ways with integration? One billion? Thirty billion?

This appears to me to be the immediate question, for the only really useful palliative that I can see is to do something about jobs. The main problem is unemployment, black and white, the main problem spots the big industrial centers. We are willing to spend twenty billion on a race to the moon and nearly fifty billion a year to prevent international conflict, as we say; perhaps we could persuade ourselves that preventing a fierce domestic rupture is worth some fraction of that amount.

The jobs I have in mind would be of the New Deal variety, if the federal-state imagination could produce nothing better. The object would be to get the potential warriors off the streets, occupied, and with a pay check at the end of each week. The job strategy would be aimed at the unemployed of both black and white nations.

I do not suggest that this policy would right injustice or repair the humiliations at which the Civil Rights Act is aimed. I do not think this policy is a long term answer to the complicated employment issues presented by technology and discussed at length in the Triple Revolution. Much of the work provided under the scheme proposed here could doubtless be done more efficiently by machines. But I do not believe the nation is ready psychologically or politically to adopt the income-for-all arguments set forth in the Ad Hoc Committee's memomandum. I do think that there is a bare chance that the country might be willing to embark on a Domestic Peace Offensive if it was made up of elements made familiar in the New Deal. We are already so engaged, of course, in the Poverty Program.

This is not to suggest that jobs, especially of the transitory and makeshift variety here described, will make all the difference. They will merely buy a little time for the unification of our nation, while the country gets on with collateral tasks in housing and education, where the Negro (and poor white) deficit is great and growing. We need time even more to re-fashion our economic ideas and to get used to the responsibilities and privileges of abundance.

Before leaving this topic I want to salute President Johnson's educational program, in particular those sections devoted to the raising up of substandard elementary and secondary schools, and those designed for pre-

school training. The President's plan is a most important break in the dike.

Democratic ideals and practice show signs of weakness when confronted by the demand that the United States at long last become one nation. It would be a perilous mistake to think that the issue is domestic only. It is a cliché that billions of eyes in Asia and Africa are on us, judging strategy and attitudes. But the eyes are there all the same. It would be a mistake fatal to democracy to conclude that the white nation has a choice to opt out, that it can choose for any length of time to continue to withhold what does not rest with it to withhold. The outcome is up to the white nation. A favorable outcome will not be secured by negotiation or bargaining which results in arms-length treaties. It can be prepared for only by understanding that the cost of democracy and the continuation of institutions grounded in freedom and justice is swift and complete merger of the Two Nations.

I have been talking about the necessity for a speedy and fundamental alteration of society. Some will call this Utopian and let it go at that. I shall touch briefly on Utopia in a moment. Some others regard it as mischievous and deceptive prattle. Martin Mayer speaks for this hard-headed group when he says:

> The notion that any society will remake itself drastically for the presumed benefit of a ten per cent minority is far worse than childish; it is stupid. It looks like a call to action, but those (relatively few) who respond find there is no significant action possible under present conditions, and the call quickly becomes a counsel of despair, expressed by angry praise of violence over the demi-tasse. (*Commentary*, Jan., 1956.)

I find this extremely distasteful. No one likes to be labeled childish and stupid. Yet Mr. Mayer has a point. He says that the white nation has no intention of giving up its prejudices and bad habits except in its own good time, and the evidence is on his side. What is not on his side is the corrosion of public morality thereby acknowledged, and with it the decay of democracy. What is reprehensible is his seeming encouragement of the tendencies he discerns over the demi-tasse.

Utopia and Cacotopia

I leave Mr. Mayer reluctantly and turn to his least-favored land, Utopia. With a single exception, Utopia is the exclusive province of the white American today. The only Negro Utopists are the Muslims and nationalists. Their dream of a better community, as everyone knows, is all black. Their Utopia formalizes the Two Nations. They do not wish a merger; to them there is nothing pleasurable or utopian about such an idea. Their Utopia would be washed clean of white culture, white institutions, white laws. What they see in the white nation and experience in their dealings with whites does not appeal to them. Far from regarding white middle-class culture as worth joining, they see it as a sink-hole of corruption and hypocrisy. So, alone among Negroes, the Muslims and nationalists have set forth a utopian program for a decent community. Its only outstanding characteristic is its uncompromising darkness. The rest of their Utopia reads to me like a description of a purified Muncie, Indiana.

Utopia is denied to other Negroes. As far as I am aware, there is no contemporary Utopia written by a Negro. On the other hand there is a great supply of Negro cacotopias—plays, novels, essays. Cacotopia means a bad place, as Utopia in one sense—Utopia—means no place, and in another—Eutopia—means a good place. It should distrub us far more than it does that Negro writing today is a litany of frustration and despair. My associate Harvey Wheeler describes it as the literature of uselessness. Utopias show that the power to dream is still alive. Denying this power is to deprive a human being of one of his essential elements.

There are, Lewis Mumford says, two kinds of Utopia. One is the Utopia of never-never land, where the bread-fruit hangs in the non-stop sunlight. This is the model of the Muslim Utopia. The modest and un-Utopian quality of the non-nationalist Negro's quest was depicted last month in a television documentary. It was the story of the long hunt of a prosperous Negro businessman for a house. The gist is familiar to everyone here. He and his wife for weeks scoured the New Jersey suburbs. The story had a bittersweet ending. They finally got a house through the intercession of a New Jersey committee on fair housing. But it was clear that this old and simple transaction, the acquisition of a home, was in fact a diplomatic negotiation of immense moment between the two nations. When, midway in his search, the Negro businessman was asked what his purpose was, he said that he was "just looking for a house that I can afford in a neighborhood where my wife and child would be treated like human beings and where my neighbors wouldn't run away when I moved in."

This Negro by persistence managed to wring a kind of victory out of the white nation. But the incident ends up as a moral doodle at the margin. This Negro had the resources and patience to explore all the diplomatic avenues between the two nations. Can anyone, white or black, who cares about justice, take comfort out of his story? I am glad he won his fight. I feel sorry for the ignorant and frightened real estate agents and white homeowners who one after another systematically lied to him. I feel sorry for a country whose majority accepts this as the way that "liberty and justice for all" is to be achieved.

I don't know what is to be done. I have no solutions, no practical suggestions. The white nation is being asked the large question: are you willing to live out your religious and political obligations to your fellow-man? And the answer of the white nation, when it is not trivial or tokenistic, is to ignore the question, or to say that it might cause inconvenience or loss of money.

We have had all the economic surveys and sociological observations we need for the time being. To paraphrase the philosopher, intelligence without compassion is barren. We do not need more cynical and chewed-off statements like Martin Mayer's about what is politi-

(Continued on page 29)

THE TWO NATIONS

(Continued from page 15)

cally possible. How does anyone, including Martin Mayer, know what is and is not politically possible? Was Nazi Germany politically possible? Or a Catholic President of the United States? If we find ourselves in a morally abhorrent situation and with our chief pretensions to democracy becoming unstuck, shall we just say "too bad, but that's the way the cookie crumbles"? Here is an assertion from a black nationalist: "This white man's racist-monopoly-capitalist-imperialist system cannot reform itself and cannot ever grant the black man freedom, justice, and equality." For all its polemical fervor, the statement puts the issue squarely. Is he right or wrong?

The obligation is to bring to this matter the highest judgment of which we are capable. The remaking of society is a solemn affair. The spiritual regeneration of a country is a tall order. It would be intensely sad to believe that the highest judgment on this issue that Americans can bring to bear is based on property and prejudice. A high judgment is informed by considerations of right and wrong, justice and injustice; it does not derive from considerations of profit or property or convenience or power. No one can look candidly at the situation of the American Negro and say that ours is a just society.

But I feel that bringing high judgment to bear on the issue of the two nations is probably beyond us. We have not been taught the practice of high judgment. Our education has been about the value of self-interest. Our culture is rooted in the dollar bill. It was not at all difficult for Californians to turn their backs on their religious leaders and other teachers last November and vote for Proposition 14. The high judgment that was required of them then could not be elicited because of the deficiencies of their earlier education, in homes and the parish house as well as in the schools. They could not overcome the lifelong training that declared property to be more important than anything else, including people.

There is a parallel between the public encounter with long-term results of radioactive fall-out and our present encounter with social effects of fall-out from prejudice and injustice. In the first case scientists were able to demonstrate the likelihood of a linear degradation of the human genetic pool. These intrepid men, my colleague Linus Pauling prominent among them, were able to show that while harm had already been done, a decision to get rid of further pollution of the atmosphere could prevent escalation of the damage. The test-ban treaty came into being. Some such common apprehension and action is required if long-term corrosive results of ranging black nation against white is to be avoided. Science cannot help us here. This is a moral issue. How to encourage moral re-creation I do not know. So far the Negroes themselves, aided by a handful of whites, have been the precipitating agent in the demonstrations that have brought whatever small measure of justice has so far been achieved. In the doing they have given us a much-needed lesson about the uses of nonviolence.

In short, the opportunity and obligation to make an exemplary national community is at hand. We have the means. Considering that the One World into which we are rapidly growing will be predominantly non-white, it can be argued that it would be the most foresighted global politics to effect the merger of the two nations with utmost speed. But I see little evidence that the white nation is moving in that direction.

This is not a happy ending. Indeed there is no proper ending at all. If there is a message, it must be that of Louis the Pious: it is not necessary to succeed in order to strive.

9.22.65

PROPOSED COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM FOR ORANGEBURG COUNTY*

For your criticism, comment, & suggestion. Looking foreward to hearing from you.

Orangeburg County is located in the central part of the State of South Carolina. It is the second largest county in the state, with a population of 68,559, of which 41,192 are Negro. The total number of families residing in the county is 14,377, and 24% of these families has an income of less than $1000, 17% have an income between $1,000 and $2,000, and 17% have an income of $2000 to $3,000. This means that 58% of the families in Orangeburg County are below the $3,000 Poverty Level.

The economy is basically agricultural; 90% of the population is rural and 40.5% of the total population live on the 3,415 farms in the county. Commercial farms number 2,140 and of these 895 are rated in the lowest (6th) economic class, 521 in the next lowest (5th) class, and 319 in the fourth class.** The median income for rural farm families and indivifuals in the county is $911.00.

In Orangeburg County 25% of the dwellings are in deteriorating condition and 14% are in dilapidated condition*** However, statistics show that in rural areas the houses are in poorer condition and that the worst conditions exist in rented rural farm nonwhite dwellings. Over 40% of these houses are rated as deteriorating, over 40% as dilapidated, and less than 20% as sound. The percentages for nonwhite owned rural farm houses are only slightly better. Crowded housing is also more prevalant in rural farm areas where over 30% of the occupied dwellings have more than one person per room. As many as thirty-five percent of the nonwhite owned dwellings in rural areas are classified as crowded, and over 60% of nonwhite rented houses in these areas are overcrowded. The same trend can be noted in facilities in these dwellings. In nonwhite rural farm houses fewer than 10% have hot and cold running water or flush toilets or bathtubs of showers.

There is a large percentage of unemployment in Orangeburg County, but precise statistics are not available.

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*All statistics were taken from the 1960 Census of Population.

**Class 6 farms--the value of the farm products sold is $50 to $2,499, the operator is under the age of 65 years and did not work off the farm 100 or more days, and the income of the family does not exceed the value of the farm products sold. Class 5 farms--value of farm products sold is $2,500 to $4,999. Class 4 farms--value of farm products sold is $5,000 to $9,999.

***Sound housing--no defects or only slight defects; Deteriorating housing--one or more intermediate defects that must be corrected if unit is to be safe and adequate; Dilapidated housing--not safe or adequate shelter and endangers health, safety, or well-being of the occupants.

In the montheof July $48,831.52 was expended in this county on Old Age Assistance. Of this amount 70% to 80% is provided by the federal government. Of the 4,662 people over age 65,21.1% are receiving this aid. In the same month $12,902.36 was paid to children under age 18 years through Aid for Dependent Children(AFDC) Of the 31,126 children in this age bracket 2.1% are receiving such assistance. This means that 202 children are receiving only ¼ the aid alloted the 223 elderly people..The maximum payment to the elderly is $70.00 per month and that to dependent children is $99.00 per month per family;no more than $30.00 for the first child nor $21.00 to each additional child. Families with five and more children are prevelant among recipients of this aid and in such a family the amount to each child is even less. Moreover,there are many people who need to receive some type of aid but,due to the strict requirements of the Welfare Department,are not eligable for this releif.

In Orangeburg County there were in 1961,1,838 live births, 594 of which were white,1,244 of which were Negro. The rate of illegitimate births for the same year was 20.54%; 1.54% for whites,27.25% for Negroes. The rate of infants deaths for the county was 3.96%;2.06%for whites and 4.63% for Negroes. The rate of premature births for the county 7.85%;4.88% for whites and 8.9% for Negroes. The rate of deaths for premature babies among whites is 0.0% and among Negroes is 1.09%.

The annual expenditure for a pupil in attendance in school in South Carolina (there is no compulsory attendance) is the fourth lowest in the country. Teachers salaries are low and it follows that the teaching profession here does not attract the most qualified people. Of all the people 25 years of age and over,50% have received less than eight years of education,yet there is only one adult education program for Negroes in this vast county.

PROPOSED PLAN

Poverty is a complex phenomenon and affects many aspects of its victims' lives. Its cure is also complex and alleviation of its symptoms must include a comprehensive attack. In Orangeburg and Calhoun Counties where poverty is prevalent a program is now being devised in conjunction with the nationwide War on Poverty. The plan is to build community centers in several strategic locations throughout the two counties so that all the people who need the services provided by these centers will have easy access to them. The buildings will be carefully planned to house adequately but economically all the services so desperately needed in these areas. All the centers will have certain features in common but the particular needs of each area will be considered in the planning of its center. The following is a description of the basic program but it is neither complete nor inflexible.

In most poor families both parents need to work to provide the basic necessities for their children. Small children either keep the mother from working or are left with an elderly neighbor or relative. Sometimes an older child must stay with his younger brothers and sisters thus forfeiting his education. Therefore each center will have a day care program which will function as a Headstart school as well as a caretaking unit for preschool children. In this way both parents will be free to work and children from deprived homes can receive some preparatory training for school so that no time need be lost in first grade due to adjustment problems.

The centers will also provide a recreation place for older children after school before their parents return from their places of work. Thus these children will be able to benefit from supervised, directed play with adequate materials which their individual homes cannot provide. At this time there

will also be tutoring available for children with special needs either in keeping up with their regular classes or in preparing for greater advancement. Included in this aspect of the program will be plays and workshops that will be related to classroom material. The aim of this will be to stimulate the motivation of the children and increase their interest in their school work. It is hoped that more children will be encouraged to continue their education through high school and college.

In the evenings the center will be available as a recreation center and as the home of an extensive adult education program. This program will include literacy training to teach people to read and to write so that they may better function in a society of which the printed word is an integral part. Also included in this program will be lecture and workshop series that will add cultural enrichment to the lives of these people as well as bringing them information to serve practical needs. Some areas to be covered in this series are federal programs, basic government, fundamental economics, housing and home management, consumer markets, sanitation, hygiene, child care, family planning,budget planning, basic legal procedure, etc.

Each center will have a reading room which will be equipped with a library to supplement the various programs as well as providing pleasure reading, study aids, encyclopedias, etc. This room and others in the center will also provide the badly needed study areas for children from poorly equipped, poorly lighted, overcrowded homes.

We hope to attract specialists who will provide such services as counseling and guidance in the areas of health, speech, hearing, psychology, and social work. Clinics should become incorporated within the program to provide these

services to people of limited income, to whom such services are now unavailable.

Employment information, job training and placement services will also be provided to help combat unemployment and to aid people in raising their now meager incomes. Specialists may be brought in, but it is hoped that local personnel will be able to staff this part of the program. When a new company comes into an area or when a company within the area expands its personnel, special training courses can be set up at the Center to enhance the opportunity for employment of the people in this area.

The aim of the Community Action Program as conceived under the Economic Opportunity Act is to reduce cultural and economic poverty. This end is to be met by increasing the capacity of people affected by poverty to deal effectively and independently with their problems. In keeping with this aim, we plan to involve as many of the local people as possible in the planning and operation of the program. It is also an intention of this program to employ large numbers of people from each area involved to serve in nonprofessional capacities.

Students and faculty from local schools and universities will be part of the staff. For instance, juniors and seniors in Education at South Carolina State College will be hired as teachers and tutors under that school's Work-Study Program (Economic Opportunity Act - Title II C.) Teachers who take advantage of "Operation Reclaim" which is designed to help train Negro teachers who lost their jobs because of school desegregation, would also be hired in these centers. It is hoped that all these people will receive enough training so the present cycle of education by those not well qualified can be ended. To accomplish this, however, it will be necessary to bring in some

specialists and well trained personnel, but the aim is to train people indigenous to the areas served to continue the program independently. There are plans being made to involve students and faculty from Columbia and other universities to participate in this program as observers, advisors, lecturers, and teachers of training programs. Students, faculty, and administration from many of these shcools have been involved in voter registration and tutoring programs in the South and intend to set up special classes on their campuses to train students to work in such a program as we are planning. They also hope to set up an exchange program which would include sending faculty to South Carolina.

People living in the areas which have been determined as strategic locations for these community centers are organizing non profit corporations. These corporations will apply for loans from the Farm Home Administration for the purpose of building the community centers.

The Community Action Commission will include people living within the areas where the community centers are located. This will insure an equitable distribution of Community Action Program money throughout the county.

File

LAW OFFICES
ADAIR, GOLDTHWAITE, STANFORD & DANIEL
1431 CANDLER BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THOMAS S. ADAIR
J. R. GOLDTHWAITE, JR.
MORGAN C. STANFORD
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ALBERT M. HORN
J. LEON ADAIR

TELEPHONE
523-2525

October 5, 1965

Rec'd 10/6/65

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Counsel
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Please find enclosed an article by Charlie Houston pertaining to the demise of the Atlanta Times.

Sincerely,

Morgan C. Stanford

Morgan C. Stanford

MCS:maj

encl.

Note: Article not attached to correspondence when given to JS.

10-6-65

OFFICE OF THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENTS OF SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Bennett, Walter H.	U. of Ala.	1954
Butts, A. B.	U. of Miss.	1938
Cole, Taylor	Duke	1951
Cleaveland, Frederic N.	U. of N. C.	1965
Dauer, Manning J.	U. of Fla.	1955
Dugan, Arthur B.	U. of the South	1961
Durisch, Lawrence F.	T. V. A.	1949
Fleming, Denna F.	Vanderbilt	1941
Frazer, Kenner C.	U. of N. C.	1939
Gooch, Robert K.	U. of Va.	1959
Gosnell, Cullen B.	Emory	1929, 1933
Greene, Lee S.	U. of Tenn.	1958
Hallowell, John	Duke	1964
Harris, Robert J.	La. State U.	1947
Hart, James	U. of Va.	1946
Heard, Alexander	U. of N. C.	1962
Hudson, Irby	Vanderbilt	1930
Irish, Marian D.	F. S. U.	1957
Knepper, David W.	Miss. State College for Women	1936
Manning, John W.	U. of Ky.	1935
Martin, Roscoe C.	U. of Ala.	1942, 1943
Nixon, H. C.	Vanderbilt	1944, 1945
Pound, Merritt B.	U. of Ga.	1948
Prescott, Frank W.	U. of Chatt.	1937
Rankin, Robert S.	Duke	1931
Robson, Charles B.	U. of N. C.	1953
Shannon, Jasper Berry	U. of Ky.	1950
Sherrill, George R.	Clemson	1932
Spicer, George W.	U. of Va.	1952
Swisher, Carl	John Hopkins	1956
Vandenbosch, Amry	U. of Ky.	1963
Williamson, Rene'de V.	L. S. U.	1960
Wilson, Robert R.	Duke	1940
Wright, E. Baskin	U. of Ala.	1934

Submitted Sam Cook's Name
10-6-65
N.M.

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS
Office of the Managing Editor
Peabody Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

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FLA.

[redacted]

File Winter 65

ART AND DIPLOMACY COMBINE

The New Washington Museum of African Art

Weaving pulley, Baule Tribe, Ivory Coast. Museum of African Art.

A NEW concept in museums is being carried out in Washington, D. C. with the recent establishment on historic Capitol Hill of the Museum of African Art. The Museum's objectives go beyond aesthetics and art education to be concerned with the implications of art in the realm of inter-cultural understanding.

Located in the Nation's Capital, which has one of the highest concentrations of African diplomats, students and cultural exchange visitors of any city in the world and an indigenous population of which more than 50% is of African extraction, it is the goal of the Museum to foster for a wider public—not just for a limited audience of art devotees—some awareness of the ancient tribal arts of Africa, of their aesthetic significance, and of the influence that they have had upon modern artists of the Western world.

In Washington, the National Gallery and the Smithsonian Institution display primarily the art and artifacts of America's European forebearers; the Freer Gallery, the art of Asia; the Pan American Union and the new Dumbarton Oaks Museum, the ancient art of Latin America (and of the Byzantine Empire). The Museum of African Art is the only institute in the Nation's Capital or in the nation for that matter, which is exclusively devoted to portraying the rich cultural heritage of the Negro peoples, providing for the white community at large in America its first real introduction to the fact that the peoples of Africa and their new-world descendents have had an ancient cultural past. At the same time, the Museum serves to acquaint both Africans and American Negroes with the significance of African sculpture and the contribution that the plastic arts of Africa have made—along with music and dance—to Western creative development.

The Museum serves also as a special educational resource not only for the schools and colleges of the District of Columbia, but for the numerous federal agencies which assign people for service in foreign lands: the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, the Defense Department, etc. It provides as well a cultural center in which the new African nations—36 of them now with diplomatic missions in the U.S.—can be represented and from which Africans themselves can become aware of the importance

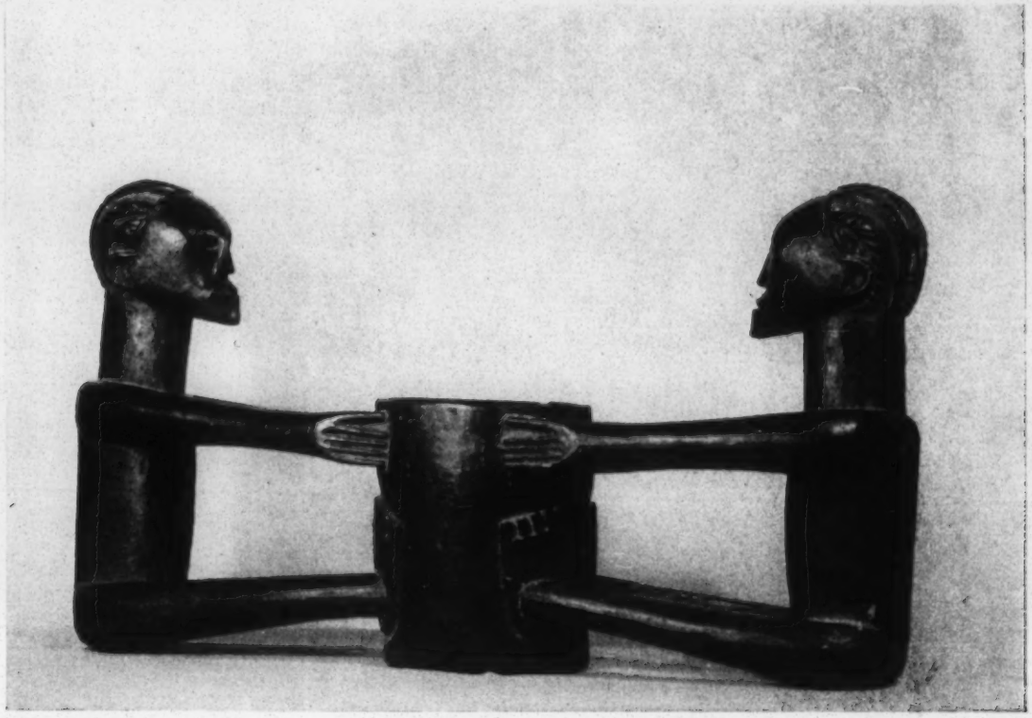
Miss ANGELA CHRISTIAN, Cultural Attaché of the Embassy of Ghana, shows an African textile to WARREN ROBBINS, Director of the Museum of African Art and RUDY AGGREY of the Department of State.

accorded to their traditional arts in Western cultural circles.

The Museum, which opened provisionally in May, 1964 and on a full-time basis in October, occupies the historic Victorian townhouse of Frederick Douglass, world renowned 19th century Negro abolitionist-orator and publisher, who became a friend and advisor to President Lincoln, and who served in high office in the succeeding administrations of Presidents Grant through Cleveland.

In seven intimate, ivory-toned galleries on two floors, some 200 pieces of traditional African sculpture are displayed. Three shows have been held thus far: an inaugural exhibition comprising sculpture of wood, ivory and bronze, from 35 tribes and 18 countries of West and Central Africa; a special exhibit, "The Art of the Yoruba," (Nigeria), currently touring the U.S. under the auspices of the Smithsonian Travelling Exhibition Service, (held in Washington from December 5th through the 28th); and the current exhibition, "The African Heritage," incorporating selected works of modern European and American art showing African derivation—Weber, Maurer, Leger, Pechstein, etc.

About one fourth of the pieces on display are from the Museum's small permanent collection, the rest are on loan from the Museum of Primitive Art, the Smithsonian, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney and the Wadsworth Atheneum. Also represented are the collections of Eliot Elisofon, Harold Rome, Irwin Hersey, Emil Arnold, the Carlebach and Rassiga Galleries, Edith Gregor Halpert, Robert Hilton Simmons and Warren M. Robbins, founder and acting Director of the Museum.



Figures holding palm wine cup, Basonge Tribe, Republic of the Congo. Museum of African Art.

An interior view of one of the galleries in the new Museum of African Art.

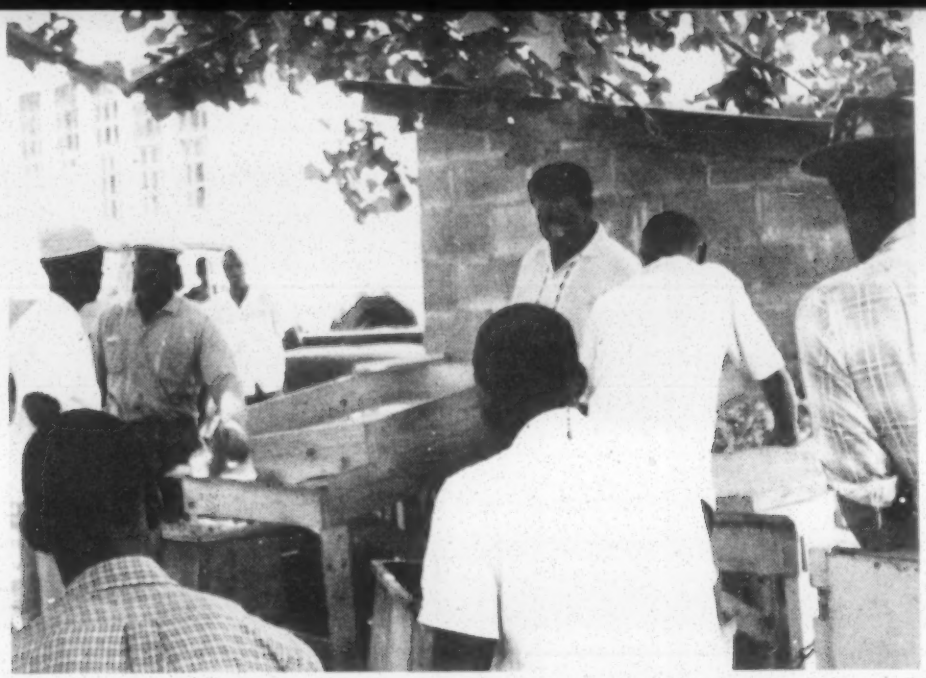
A study facility including a library of literature on African and modern art, reproductions and slides of art works, recordings of African music, etc. is also being developed.

Exhibitions of contemporary African art and the arts of North and East Africa are being planned and an active program of lectures, films, discussions and performances is contemplated.

The Curatorial Board of the Museum includes Professor James Porter, Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Howard University; Mr. Alan Sawyer, Director of the Washington Textile Museum and former Curator of Primitive Art at the Art Institute of Chicago; Dr. Gordon Gibson, Associate Curator of Ethnology, the Smithsonian; and Leon Siroto, ethnologist. Installation of exhibitions is under the supervision of Joan Elisofon.

Among those participating in the establishment of the new Museum as members of the Board of Trustees and Advisory Board are: Roy Sieber, Professor of Fine Arts and specialist in African art, Indiana University; Rene d'Harnoncourt, Director of the Museum of Modern Art; Edith Gregor Halpert, Director of the Downtown Gallery; the artists Jacques Lipchitz, Jacob Lawrence and Ben Shahn; social scientists S. I. Hayakawa and Hugh Smythe; Wayne Fredericks, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; Jefferson Murphy, Vice President of the African-American Institute; John Davis, Director of the American Society for African Culture; James Robinson, Director of Crossroads Africa; Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas; Congresswoman Frances Bolton and Commissioner of the District of Columbia, John Duncan. Four African ambassadors, yet to be selected, will represent the African nations on the Board of Trustees.

A Common Goal— Equal Opportunity



SOMETHING OF OUR OWN

part I

File

BY ELIZABETH HERZOG

Is There a "Breakdown" of the Negro Family?

■ ***Recent events have reactivated controversy concerning two questions: (1) Is the low-income American Negro family showing "rapid deterioration" or continuance of long-standing patterns? (2) Are its patterns mainly rooted in the legacy of slavery? This analysis sees a long-standing picture rather than drastic change and relates family pattern primarily to postslavery conditions.*** ■

MUCH HAS BEEN said of late—and often with great heat—about the Negro family. Despite prevailing consensus on a number of points, controversy has been generated with regard to other points because one man's fact is another man's fiction. Some points of consensus deserve mention before points of controversy. First, it is generally agreed that a harmonious two-parent home is better for children than a one-parent home—and better for parents, too, in this society. It is agreed also that fatherless homes are far more frequent among Negroes than among whites and that in both groups their frequency rises as income falls.

Another point of firm consensus is that strong action is needed to remedy adverse conditions that have existed far too long, especially for low-income Negroes; and that these conditions bear especially on the low-income Negro man, whose disadvantaged situation takes heavy toll of himself, his children, their mother, and the family unit as a whole. All these statements have long been accepted by serious students of Negro family life.[1]

The controversy centers mainly on the following points: (1) whether "the" Negro family is "crumbling" at a disastrous rate, (2) whether the amount of breakdown that exists is primarily due to poverty, or to cultural inheritance, or to a cycle of self-perpetuating pathology, (3) whether the

ELIZABETH HERZOG, Ph.B., *is Chief, Child Life Studies Branch, Division of Research, Children's Bureau, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.*

[1] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1945); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); Hylan Lewis, "The Changing Negro Family," in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children, Vol. 1: The Family and Social Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Thomas F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964).

remedy is to be sought primarily through improving the economic, social, and legal status of Negroes or primarily through conducting a remedial campaign aimed directly at the Negro family.

THE MOYNIHAN REPORT

Impetus has been given to these and related questions by the much-discussed "Moynihan report."[2] Released to the general public in the late fall of 1965, this publication presents census figures and findings from some special studies to document the grim effects of poverty and discrimination and their impact on Negro families. It brings together all-too-familiar evidence that the frequency of broken marriage, female-headed families, births out of wedlock, and dependence on public assistance are much higher among Negroes than among whites. In doing so, it recognizes that these problems are most acute among the very poor and least acute at the middle- and upper-income levels. It points out also that they are more acute in cities than in rural areas and thus are intensified by continuing urbanization.

The report further documents the higher unemployment rates and lower wage rates among Negroes than among whites. It states, as others have done, the 2 to 1 white-Negro unemployment ratio that has persisted for years, the lower wages available to Negroes, and the fact that the median nonwhite family income is little more than half the median for white families. To this discrepancy is added the fact that the families of the poor tend to be larger than middle-class families. "Families of six or more children have median incomes 24 percent below families with three."[3] Other sources tell how heavily this fertility differential bears on Negro families: in 1963, according to the Social Security Administration Index, 60 percent of nonwhite children under 18 lived in poverty as compared with 16 percent of white children.[4]

The effect on marital and family stability of the man's economic instability is also discussed. The sad cycle has become familiar in the professional literature: the man who cannot command a stable job at adequate wages cannot be an adequate family provider; the man who cannot provide for his family is likely to lose status and respect in his own eyes and in the eyes of others—including his family. His inability to provide drains him of the will to struggle with continuing and insuperable family responsibilities. It is an incentive to desertion, especially if his family can receive public assistance only when he is gone.

A good deal of the Moynihan report is devoted to interpretation of the documented figures and, quite naturally, it is on the interpretation that opinions diverge.[5] It is not the purpose of this paper to summarize fully, to concur with, or to take issue with the report as such, but rather to consider some propositions that were in circulation before it was published and to which it has given increased currency. With regard to the report itself, its factual summary has shocked some Americans into new recognition of old and

[2] *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, Office of Planning and Research, 1965).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[4] Mollie Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 28, No. 7 (July 1965), pp. 3–32.

[5] Midway between statistical report and interpretation is discussion of a "startling increase in welfare dependency," described as occurring at a time when employment was increasing. *See* U.S. Department of Labor, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, op. cit.*, p. 12. It would require extensive and sophisticated analysis to determine the extent to which this upswing in AFDC recipients related to changes in families, or to liberalization of AFDC policies following new legislation, or to changes in population distribution. Similarly, differentials in rates of juvenile delinquency would need to be controlled for income and analyzed in light of differential rates of apprehension and treatment of presumed offenders, white or nonwhite.

unpalatable facts about the toll exacted by poverty coupled with discrimination; and its interpretive sections have challenged us to an assessment of evidence—two substantial services. Some of the propositions attributed to it may be misinterpretations of the author's intended meaning. In any case, they have taken on a life of their own and are met frequently in other current writings. Accordingly, they will be considered here on their own merits, without reference to any particular document.

FATHERLESS FAMILIES

One recurrent proposition concerns the "rapid deterioration" of the Negro family, often referred to as "crumbling" and presumably near dissolution. The incidence of fatherless families is used as the primary index of family breakdown. Although questions can be—and have been—raised about this index, such questions do not dominate the mainstream of the argument and will be disregarded here. But if one accepts the proportion of fatherless homes as a primary index of family breakdown, does it then follow, on the basis of the evidence, that the Negro family is rapidly deteriorating?

It is important to differentiate between sudden acceleration of family crisis and relatively sudden perception of a long-chronic situation, since the diagnosis of a social condition influences the prescription for relieving it and the context in which the prescription is filled.

Actually, census figures do not justify any such alarmist interpretation. It seems worth while to review these figures, not because there is no urgent need for remedial action—the need is urgent, especially in the area of jobs for low-income Negro men. Rather it is important to keep the problem in perspective and to avoid feeding prejudices that can all too readily seize upon statistical misconceptions as reason to delay rather than to speed such action.

As already noted, census figures do show much higher rates of fatherless families for Negroes than for whites. The 1964 figures show almost 9 percent of white families headed by a woman as compared with 23 percent of nonwhite families; a difference of this order has persisted for years.[6] The figures do not, however, document a rapid increase in those rates during recent years. On the contrary—and this is a point curiously slighted by commentators on both sides of the argument—they show a gradual increase from 1949 (19 percent) to 1959 (24 percent). Moreover, from 1960 to 1964 the proportion of female-headed families among Negroes showed no net rise at all, standing at 23 percent in 1964. The total rise from 1949 to 1964 was about 5 percentage points, that is, about one-third of a percentage point a year. In 1940, the proportion was 18 percent.[7] Thus, an accurate description would be that during the past twenty-five years there has been a gradual rise, preceded and followed by a plateau, but not an acute increase in the over-all proportion of broken homes among Negroes. (Table 1, page 4.)

ILLEGITIMACY

Another generalization also related to family breakdown is met so often that by now it threatens to attain the status of "fact," namely, that there has been an

[6] These figures are available for white and nonwhite rather than for white and Negro families. However, most of the nonwhite (about 92 percent) are Negroes.

[7] Percentages have been rounded. The exact rise was from 18.8 percent to 23.6 percent, or 4.4 percentage points. The 1940 figure was 17.8 percent, as recomputed according to the definition of "family" introduced in 1947. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports.* Series P-20, Nos. 125, 116, 106, 100, 88, 83, 75, 67, 53, 44, 33, and 26 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce); Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1965); Bureau of the Census, *16th Census of the U.S. 1940. Population—Families—Types of Families* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1940).

"alarming rise" in illegitimacy. It is true that the number of births out of wedlock has soared. In 1964 the number was 276,000 as compared with 176,600 in 1954.[8] This is a tremendous number, and the more distressing since there has been no services explosion to keep pace with the population explosion. However, in terms of people's behavior, the only relevant index of increase in illegitimacy is *rate*, that is, the number of births out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women of child-bearing age.

The rise in rate (as differentiated from numbers) was relatively steady over several decades. This rise represents a long-term trend and not a sudden upsurge. Moreover, in the last seven years reported (1957–1964) the rate has oscillated within about two points, at about the same level, rising or falling one point or less annually, but in effect representing a seven-year plateau. Since all national illegitimacy figures are based on estimates, with a number of states not reporting, very slight changes should not be regarded as significant. Thus, the current picture is a large rise in *numbers* and a leveling off in the *rate* of nonwedlock births.[9] Rates for teen-agers have increased less than for other groups, and for those under fifteen the rate has not increased since 1947.[10] (The ratio—the proportion of live births that are out of wedlock—has risen for both whites and nonwhites. However, *ratio* is far less meaningful than *rate* as an index of change.)

TABLE 1. FAMILIES HEADED BY A WOMAN AS PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES BY COLOR SELECTED PERIODS, 1949–1964

Year	Families Headed by a Woman As Percent of Total	
	White	Nonwhite
1964	8.8	23.4
1963	8.6	23.3
1962	8.6	23.2
1961	8.9	21.6
1960	8.7	22.4
1959	8.4	23.6
1958	8.6	22.4
1957	8.9	21.9
1956	8.8	20.5
1955	9.0	20.7
1954	8.3	19.2
1953	8.4	18.1
1952	9.2	17.9
1950	8.4	19.1
1949	8.8	18.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 125, 116, 106, 100, 88, 83, 75, 67, 53, 44, 33, and 26. Figures for 1963 and 1964 are drawn from Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Labor) Table IV, a, 1.

The recent relative stability of rate does not diminish the problems caused by nonwedlock births but it should affect the conclusions drawn from the statistics, the measures taken to act on those conclusions, and the attitudes of those who ponder the meaning of the figures.

Over half the children born out of wedlock are nonwhite, although only 12 percent of the population are nonwhite. The reasons for this difference have been much discussed and need only be mentioned here. They include (1) less use of contraception, (2) less use of abortion, (3) differences in reporting, (4) reluctance to lose a public assistance grant by admitting to a man in the house, (5) the expense of divorce and legal separation. It seems prob-

[8] *Monthly Vital Statistics Reports, Advance Report, Final Natality Statistics, 1964* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Health Statistics, Public Health Service, October 22, 1965); *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1963. Volume I—Natality* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Health Statistics, Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1964).

[9] Elizabeth Herzog, "The Chronic Revolution: Births Out of Wedlock." Paper presented at meeting of American Orthopsychiatric Association, March 1965. To be published in a forthcoming issue of *Journal of Clinical Pediatrics.*

[10] Rates are not available by color except for a few years.

able that, even if discount could be made for these and other factors, a difference would remain. It would be a much smaller difference, however, and conceivably could still relate more to income than to color.[11]

If further evidence were needed on this virtually unchallenged relation between income and illegitimacy rates, figures on rates in high- and low-income tracts should be sufficient. Pakter and associates, for example, found that the proportion of births out-of-wedlock in relation to total nonwhite births varied from a high of 38 percent in the Central Harlem district to a comparative low of 9 percent in the Pelham Bay District.[12]

Attitudes toward illegitimacy and toward marriage are clearly linked with the economic position of the Negro male. A male head of house who is not a breadwinner and provider is a hazard to the happiness of the marriage, and his loss of economic status is so great a hazard to his intrafamily status that he may decamp, either to protect his own ego or to make his family eligible for support from AFDC. Recent changes in the AFDC program are aimed against the latter reason for family desertion.

SLAVERY IS NOT THE EXPLANATION

Among the most frequent and most challenged generalizations relating to low-income Negro families is the assumption that their present characteristics are influenced more by the legacy of slavery than by postslavery discriminations and deprivations. The challenge rests chiefly on (1) the similarity between very poor Negro families and very poor white families, and (2) the fact that slavery ended a hundred years ago while the postslavery situation is contemporary and appalling. Adequately controlled comparisons within different income levels show that the differences associated with income outweigh those associated with color. Family structure, for example, differs more between different income levels than between Negro and white families. The same is true of differences between Negro and white children in educational achievement, and—when income is controlled—the relative position of men with respect to women, economically and educationally, is the same for whites as for nonwhites.[13]

Descriptions of white families at the very low income levels read very much like current descriptions of poor Negro families, with high incidence of broken homes, "mother dominance," births out of wedlock, educational deficit, crowded living, three-generation households, and failure to observe the norms of middle-class behavior.[14] Such families are described by Hollingshead and Redlich:

> Doctors, nurses, and public officials who know these families best estimate from one-fifth to one-fourth of all births are illegitimate.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Death, desertion, separation, or divorce has broken more than half the families (56%). The burden of child care, as well as support, falls on the mother more often than on the father when the family

[11] Elizabeth Herzog, "Unmarried Mothers: Some Questions To Be Answered and Some Answers To Be Questioned," *Child Welfare*, Vol. 41, No. 8 (October 1962), pp. 339–350.

[12] Jean Pakter, Henry J. Rosner, Harold Jacobziner, and Frieda Greenstein, "Out-of-Wedlock Births in New York City. I—Sociologic Aspects," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 51, No. 5 (May 1961), pp. 683–696.

[13] Myron J. Lefcowitz, "Poverty and Negro-White Family Structures." Unpublished background paper for White House Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., November 1965.

[14] Walter B. Miller, "Implications of Urban Lower-Class Culture for Social Work," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (September 1959), pp. 219–236; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); James West, *Plainville, USA* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

is broken. The mother-child relation is the strongest and most enduring family tie.

. . . . . .

Here we find a conglomerate of broken homes where two or three generations live together, where boarders and roomers, in-laws and common-law liaisons share living quarters. Laws may be broken and the moral standards of the higher classes flouted before the children's eyes day after day.[15]

These are descriptions of white families in the North, with no heritage of slavery to explain their way of life. It seems unlikely that the slavery-specific thesis is needed to explain the occurrence among Negroes of patterns so similar to those produced in other groups merely by poverty, and so often described in other contexts as "the culture of poverty." [16]

It is difficult to be sure how much—if any—difference would remain in proportions of female-headed families if really sensitive comparisons were made between Negroes and whites on the same income level. Available income breakdowns employ rather broad groupings, and Negroes tend to be overrepresented at the lower layers of each grouping. It seems reasonable to assume that some differences between white and nonwhite would remain even with a more sensitive income classification. Yet it does not necessarily follow that they might be ascribed primarily to the legacy of slavery rather than to the hundred years since slavery. It seems more likely that differences between low-income white and Negro families, beyond that explained by income alone, may be attributed primarily to postslavery factors of deprivation and discrimination affecting every facet of life: occupation, education, income, housing, nutrition, health and mortality, social status, self-respect—the documented list is long and the documenting references myriad.[17]

The habit of analyzing data by color rather than by income encourages the tendency to attribute to race-related factors differences that may in fact be due to income level. Studies of prenatal care, for example, indicate that in effect one is comparing the prosperous with the poor in all three of the following comparisons: white mothers with nonwhite mothers; married mothers with unmarried mothers; all mothers who do, with all mothers who do not, obtain prenatal care.[18]

All the points mentioned here, and some not mentioned, are important. However, the emphasis on rapid deterioration is so central to current discussion of the low-income Negro family and to means proposed for alleviating its current problems that it deserves major emphasis—along with the slavery-specific thesis to which it is so often linked.

There has been little disposition to challenge the ample evidence that family structure and functioning in our society are strongly linked with social and economic status. The questions raised, as Robert Coles put it, have to do with which is the cart and which is the horse.[19] The alleged rapid acceleration of family breakdown has

[15] August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth.* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), pp. 116, 117; Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), p. 125.

[16] Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family.* (New York: Random House, 1961).

[17] Dorothy K. Newman, "Economic Status of the Negro." Unpublished background paper for White House Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., November 1965; Alvin L. Schorr, *Slums and Social Insecurity,* Research Report No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, 1963).

[18] Elizabeth Herzog and Rose Bernstein, *Health Services for Unmarried Mothers,* Children's Bureau Publication No. 425 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, 1964).

[19] Robert Coles, *"There's Sinew in the Negro Family."* Background paper for White House Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., November 1965. Reprinted from the *Washington Post,* October 10, 1965, p. E 1.

been cited as evidence that among low-income Negroes the family is the horse. Therefore it is important to recognize that, according to the chief index used by proponents of this view, no rapid acceleration of family breakdown is evident.

If there has been no substantial change in family structure during the past two decades, then there are no grounds for claiming that a new "tangle of pathology" has set up a degenerative process from within, over and above response to the long continued impact of social and economic forces from without; and that this process is specific to a Negro "culture" inherited from days of slavery.

TWO VIEWS—AND TWO REMEDIES

Both sides of the controversy agree that there is urgent need for strong action to increase the proportion of sound, harmonious two-parent homes among low-income Negroes. They disagree on whether that action should be focused primarily on intra-family or extra-family problems. The acute-crisis view suggests that primary attention be given to the family as such. The other view suggests that the best way to strengthen low-income families, as families, is to give primary attention to building up the economic and social status of Negro men.

According to this view, a number of noneconomic supports can and should be given to low-income Negro families, pending the time when fewer of them are fatherless. Such helps should include, among other things, (1) aids for the overburdened mother in her multiple role as homemaker, child-rearer, and breadwinner; and (2) effective male models introduced into the lives of children—girls as well as boys. A number of new ways for providing both kinds of support have been proposed. In the long run, however, according to this view, what these families need most is jobs for Negro men—jobs with status, with stability, with future, and with fair wages. No one claims that this can be achieved easily, quickly, or cheaply; but many believe it can and must be done.

What is new for the white majority is not that it is suddenly faced with an explosive breakdown of "the" Negro family. What is new is the recognition of a long-standing situation, plus the determination to do something about it. If we are able to achieve that recognition and determination, however belatedly, then surely we must be able to act on this basis rather than to galvanize ourselves into action by believing that suddenly the Negro family is a bomb or a mine which will explode in our faces if it is not quickly defused. Surely we are able to act, not because of panic but because action is long overdue, and inaction flies in the face of decency.

What is new for the Negro minority is not a sudden acceleration of family breakdown. What is new is an injection of hope that attacks apathy and fatalism and sparks insistence on full justice. It is not increased family breakdown that activates outbreaks such as occurred in Harlem, Watts, and elsewhere. It is the recognition that the families of the "dark ghetto" no longer need to continue to accept the ghetto and what it does to them.

It must, of course, be recognized that "the" Negro family is itself a fiction. Different family forms prevail at different class and income levels throughout our society. In addition, at any given level a wide variety of families are found, each with its individual characteristics—some of which are and some of which are not class linked. When the great diversity among low-income families is ignored, there is danger that the deplored characteristics of some will be imputed to all.[20] At the same

[20] Hylan Lewis, *Culture, "Class and the Behavior of Low Income Families."* Unpublished background paper for White House Conference on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., November 1965; Elizabeth Herzog, "Some Assumptions About the Poor," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (December 1963), pp. 389–402.

time, most writers—including the present one—find it almost impossible to avoid falling into the oversimplified form of reference to "the" Negro family that constantly risks oversimplified thinking.

It is necessary also to caution one's self and others that, while problems must be discussed and attacked, strengths must not be forgotten. Problem-focused discussions, however necessary and constructive, also invite distortion. Not all fathers are absent fathers among the poor—in fact, about two-thirds of them are present among low-income Negro families. And, as Erik Erikson reminds us, there are impressive strengths in many Negro mothers.[21] Robert Coles, after living among low-income Negroes for months, wrote:

> I was constantly surprised at the endurance shown by children we would all call poor or, in the current fashion, "culturally disadvantaged." . . . What enabled such children from such families to survive, emotionally and educationally, ordeals I feel sure many white middle-class boys and girls would find impossible? What has been the source of strength shown by the sit-in students, many of whom do not come from comfortable homes but, quite the contrary, from rural cabins or slum tenements?[22]

One may go on to speculate: What are the sources of strength and self-discipline that make possible a Montgomery bus boycott or a March on Washington, conducted without violence? We do well to ponder such questions, for we shall have to mobilize the strengths of families in poverty as well as the wisdom of others who ponder their problems, if we are at last "to fulfill these rights."

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[21] Erik H. Erikson, "The Concept of Identity in Race Relations: Notes and Queries." To be published in December 1965 issue of *Daedalus*.

[22] Robert Coles, *op. cit.*, p. E 1 (Washington Post).

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Social Work

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File

the museum of african art

an experiment in communication between cultures

The week which encompasses the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln (February 12th) and of the great 19th century Negro abolitionist orator-publisher, Frederick Douglass (February 17th), has been designated as Negro History Week.

An unusual approach to the task of making the American public more aware of the creative past of the Negro peoples of the world is being carried on by a new museum in Washington, D. C., The Museum of African Art. Located on Capitol Hill in the shadow of the Supreme Court, the Museum occupies the first residence in Washington of Frederick Douglass, a man whom Lincoln once called "the most meritorious person I have ever met" and who later served in high posts in the administrations of five U. S. presidents.

In the Museum's education program, art serves in a unique way the cause of social understanding.

The story of how the Museum evolved is an interesting one. It is the brain child of a former State Department and USIA cultural attaché, Warren Robbins, who while serving at various European posts for over a decade, began to collect modern art and African sculpture. Impressed by the considerable influence which African sculpture had exerted on many of the pioneers of twentieth-century art such as Picasso, Modigliani, Leger, Matisse, and the German Expressionists, Robbins discerned in the relationship between the two a strong basis for "cultural equivalency" between peoples of hitherto alien cultures.

Resigning from the Foreign Service in 1962, he established a non-profit educational institute with the unwieldy name of "The Center for Cross-cultural Communication." The Center's purpose was to more fully exploit the arts and social sciences in the struggle for inter-cultural—and in particular interracial (a term he doesn't like)—understanding. It is precisely because people wince at the Center's name that he insists upon using it, to underscore the fact that communication *between* cultures is radically different from communication *within* a particular group.

As its first principle undertaking, the Center established the Museum, which is unique among American museums in that it is concerned not solely with art, art education and the limited (though growing) audience of art *cognoscenti*, but more particularly with its social implications. The Museum's program has two distinct components. The first is to conduct an art education program centered around a broadly representative permanent collection. This program is carried on not only for visitors to the Museum but, through extension activities, for school groups in Washington and throughout the country. The second comprises the program of a more broadly conceived organization, the *Frederick Douglass Institute for Inter-cultural Understanding*, of which the Museum is a part.

While the Museum itself focuses upon the art, the Institute will demonstrate and exploit its social meaning. One of its aims will be to furnish irrefutable evidence of the profound contribution that the Negro, in Africa and in America, has made and is making to the creative life of man. That African sculpture constitutes one of mankind's great artistic achievements has long been known to art historians, but the general public has remained largely ignorant of its significance. Because all great art transcends its cultural context in aesthetic terms, scholars have long recognized that African art retains its expressive power even when subjected to Western critical standards. At the same time, by synthesizing the insights of the anthropologist, archaeologist, historian and psychologist, the Institute will seek to

Reprinted From ART EDUCATION, February 1966
Journal of the National Art Education Assoc.

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Rec'd 3/23/66

The Nomination of Farris Bryant: Some Facts and Analysis

On March 12, 1966, at a national governors conference, President Johnson, to the surprise of everyone in the State of Florida, announced the nomination of ex-Governor Farris Bryant as Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. The nomination goes before the Senate Armed Services Committee. In 1965, it took the Senate only 18 days to confirm another ex-governor, Bufford Ellington, Bryants's predecessor at OEP.

Who is Farris Bryant? And why was he nominated?

Selected Background Material on Farris Bryant

a) While a state legislator in the 1950's, he introduced a resolution that sought to apply the doctrine of interposition to the Supreme Court's decision on school de-segregation. While governor, he did nothing to help de-segregation; he remained an open, committed segregationist throughout his two terms, and ran as a declared enemy of school desegregation. In 1963 he testified before a congressional committee in opposition to the public accomodations section of the 1964 CR act. He conspried against Martin Luther King in St. Augustine, against CORE in North Florida, and is alleged to have pressured the University of Florida to "get rid of" any civil rights activists on its faculty. Overtly and covertly, he has one of the worst civil rights records of any recent Southern governor.

b) Bryant represents the rightwing extreme of the Florida Democratic Party. He refused to support Kennedy in 1960; his support of LBJ in 1964 was merely ritual, since his entire wing of the party was known throughout the state to be working privately for Goldwater. Bryant's opposition within the party came from the LeRoy Collins coalition, and the south Florida Democrats led by Mayor Robert King High of Miami. Bryant is a recognized extremist, hence the local feelings of surprise when LBJ announced the nomination. The Tampa Tribune, the most respected conservative daily in the state, is persistently and ruggedly anti-Bryant, as are the state's two leading liberal dailies, the Miami Herald and the St. Petersburg Times. When Smathers retires from the Senate, Bryant is alleged to want the seat; Collins is supposed to want it also. If the polls are right, Collins has the edge on people, Bryant has the edge on special interests: banking, railroads, the Florida DuPont empire, the mine operators, and the hogs-and-timber vote in the countryside.

c) Recently, Bryant's reputation for honesty has been impugned by several newspaper stories raising questions about his insurance business operations since he left office. The prevailing popular opinion in the state is that Bryant is dishonest, but too smart to be caught, and that the huge sums spent on his electoral campaigns were more than repaid to the special interests who supported him. The big point to be drawn from this is that, in Florida, Bryant is a political bankrupt: he has no organization, he is unpopular, the press is against him, his record is very dismal (especially in education, race, social services, conservation, universities, fiscal planning

favoritism to special interests, etc.), and as a consequence no sound argument could be made that a federal appointment of Bryant helps LBJ in Florida in 1968. Between Bryant and Collins as running mates in Florida for the '68 Presidential election nobody in this state would be so stupid as to recommend Farris Bryant.

d) There is another level in Bryant's background that explains LBJ's preference for him as director of OEP. Examine the following patterns:

1. Under Bryant, Florida became the first state in the union to require of its high school graduates successful completion of a course called "Americanism vs. Communism."

2. Bryant issued two executive orders that sought to drill his public employees (including college faculty) in "internal security": one required that everyone submit to fingerprinting (his highway patrol administered this program; strong-arm tactics were needed to break resistance by 200 faculty at the University of Florida), and the other required that all public employees watch a civil defense television series and pass a paper-form test on same.

3. While governor, the Board of Control (regents) sought to restrict academic freedom on college campuses in so outrageous a manner that it united the state's AAUP chapters and faculties in a way never before or since seen in the state. Regents in the state are directly responsible to the Governor's cabinet, in an almost uniquely naked top-down management system.

4. Bryant permitted free reign to the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee, known in the state as "the Johns Committee". This committee, under its head Charley Johns, a state senator, is Florida's now defunct HUAC; its career began in 1958, in a pursuit of Communists in the NAACP, of homosexuals and subversives at the University of Florida in the later '50's, and during Bryant's term, a wholesale and stupid assault on the newly-chartered University of South Florida in Tampa. USF was subsequently put on the AAUP blacklist, the panic there having run so deep that its administrators have yet to recapture its faculty losses. Bryant's press secretary, John Evans, eventually headed up the Johns Committee staff.

5. There is no educator in the state who would disagree with the proposition that nativist anti-intellectualism reached a climax during Bryant's terms of office. Deeply convinced that the campuses under his control were being infiltrated by subversives, Bryant launched an extraordinary attack: unconstitutional Regental orders, fingerprinting, compulsory CD training, legislative committee investigations, a year-around trimester speed-up system, administrative denial of appropriated funds for salary increases, conspiracies to terminate activist teachers, to send qualified Negro students out of state, to politically screen new students and teachers, etc. Given the wealth of the state, the condition of Florida higher education is a scandal; and after Bryant's two terms, it is nearly a catastrophe.

6. Bryant's notivation is largely ideological: he is a self-conscious right-wing protagonist with a history of personal and political connections

with some of the most extreme rightist elements in the state. In his last days in office, he sought to pack the Board of Regents by appointing all its members, almost all of whom are known rightists. A Bryant crony, Wayne McCall of Ocala, still a Regent, was one of the charter members of Project Alert, a notorious rightist front group for Cold War extremists.

e) Taking the following pattern into account, the objective record indicates that Bryant's nomination to head OEP has more to do with his Cold War avocation than with his administrative skills. Strong evidence for this is provided by two sources, one of them a study of rightist influence in the State of Florida and the other a look at Bryant's special contribution to Cold War militancy.

The inter-connections Bryant had with rightists in Florida is well documented in a study by Marshall B. Jones, PhD., "Military Participation in the Rightist Revival," pp. 45-48, and published in The Radical Right: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Intergroup Relations conference, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, March 27, 1965.

At about the time these intra-state connections were firming up, Bryant moved aggressively inside the national governors' conferences and wrangled out of them the chairmanship of the Committee on Cold War Education. Report of this committee was made to the June 10, 1964 conference in Cleveland, Ohio. (John Evans shows up again, this time as staff director for the governors' committee.) This report, called Paths to Understanding, sharply defines Bryant's special contribution to the Cold War: the use of state governmental bodies as organizational resources for the propagation of Cold War educational materials (especially rightist visions of the war); for the training of actual combat units in tactics designed to contain domestic threats against internal security; and for the militant arousal and preparation of the state's population against Communist propaganda, candidates for office, sabotage (the water system is mentioned especially), and exploitation of the state's social problems. The report also emphasizes that before war is declared officially, governors and local authorities have the police power and the right to protect themselves from subversives; stress is placed throughout on working with the FBI and other federal agencies.

A concrete product of this report was the Florida Center for Cold War Education. Conferences held under its auspices became, in effect, funnels for the legitimization and distribution throughout the state and the country of rightist visions of Communism and American foreign policy.

f) The Office of Emergency Planning could be used to create Cold War education centers in every state of the union. Indeed, there is very little reason to believe that Farris Bryant would do otherwise, and perhaps he is expected to do more. When Paths to Understanding was published originally, it was understood by many governors and their aides as a bit "cranky", representative of the southern governor's enthusiastic association of civil rights activism with Communist subversion. Bryant's recommendations were almost a direct translation of counter-insurgency systems being employed by the U.S. externally; indeed, he seemed to be suggesting in the report that CD teams be deployed in Vietnam--as political police, advisors, etc. In 1964, nobody could take that kind of thinking seriously, except right wing ideologues, men who are accus-

tomed to reading into lawful dissent and demonstrations the secret plots of an omnipresent enemy. Since 1964, however, and since Johnson's determination to fight a long and expensive action in Vietnam, the anti-war movement in this country has developed on a scale comparable in many ways to the civil rights movement. In fact, an increasing effort to link the two movements is common knowledge. All of this suggests that Bryant's special expertise is now being called to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of policing political dissent as it manifests itself in the anti-war movement. There is, after all, nothing else in the Bryant record to recommend him.

Structurally, the OEP is ideal for the kind of operation suggested above. In the first place, it is NOT an acknowledged police agency, and that is an advantage when you want your policing function to be unknown to the public at large. Secondly, OEP's regional offices will become less important as Bryant's contacts are renewed state-by-state, this time in the name of civil defense planning. CD authority is mysteriously diffuse in the federal government, and technically the OEP is not supposed to have the CD powers it can in fact exercise. But it will no doubt be in the name of a new concept of civil defense that Bryant will introduce into every state the Cold War "education" centers he is expert at creating. It is no accident, as the Bryants would say, that his nomination was made at a national governors' conference, especially at a conference where adroit manipulative moves were made to get a gubernatorial consensus for LBJ's Vietnam policy.

Analysis and Recommendations for Action

As any Gallup poll will tell you, let alone the poll printed in March, gubernatorial unanimity behind LBJ's Vietnam policy does not reflect American public opinion. Only half of those asked are willing to say they support the President's policy, an all-time low for LBJ to match the record low of 56 per cent who think he is doing a good job over-all; of special interest to poll-watchers, too, was the one that indicated nearly 50 per cent of those asked could see no difference between, or had no opinion about, the Democratic and Republican parties as vehicles to peace.

The President is faced not only with a potentially rebellious Senate waiting its chance to repudiate his Southeast Asia policy, but a massive and popular revulsion against the war, albeit inarticulate, intuitive, and apolitical. Obviously the federal government as such can do no more than it is already doing, under these circumstances, to propagandize its very controversial war effort. What is needed, the National Security Council has probably concluded (we surmise this to be the case), is a Farris Bryant--a Cold War salesman on the NSC itself, and one who knows how to take the burden of its merchandizing off the backs of the policy-makers and relocate it closer, as it were, to the people. Cold War education programs throughout the states will make the Vietnam kind of war more acceptable in the future, and if the programs are launched swiftly enough, they may even make this particular war as popular as electoral necessities require it to be.

War consensus is essentially and always a manipulated affair, particularly when casualties are high, costs are inequitably distributed in the community, and the popular mood has become fatalistic. (The poll that indicated as much as two-thirds of the population thought the government was lying to them about the war is an index to the quality of consensus currently available to the "hawks".) U.S. foreign policy decision-making is too obviously far from the people and too ambiguous in perceptible structure and motivation--in short, too aristocratic in nature--to make

it possible for any American foreign policy "delivered" in the near future to be authentically popular. Liberalism in general, and White House liberalism in particular, is very unlikely to alter this basic framework around U.S. foreign policy. What current policy-makers can do, however, is minimize the disadvantages that arise concretely from the fact that people resent a policy that makes them feel politically impotent, and a policy, furthermore, they suspect is irrational, arbitrary, imposed from above, secretive in the logics of its motivation and execution, and unconvincing to the educated and the opinion leaders.

"In short," we may pretend the National Security Council has concluded, "this foreign policy establishment--forgive the jest, gentlemen--needs to improve its public relations." Panic-stricken about "losing face" here or there, that is what we should expect the presidential Democratic party to conclude from the polls and its recent hassle with the Senate.

Given its fundamentally conspiratorial frame of mind, the "foreign policy establishment" ought also to conclude that it needs to undertake (on the sly) a more extensive "policing" of the public opinion-making process. The policy-makers must have been told by now that there are not enough FBI agents available for policing the anti-war movement. There are too many centers of initiative--and too little respect for the FBI as such among the constituencies approached by those centers--for that agency to be as effective as it was in the 1950's at isolating dissenters.

A new agency, and one that is essentially popular in its base, would not only relieve the FBI of policing the new "fifth column", but it would be freer to do whatever was necessary to intimidate, harrass, frustrate, isolate, and in other ways "counter-insurge" the anti-war movement. This implies the creation under the auspices of state and local authorities--or perhaps through volunteer civil defense units--groups of "patriots" who would be, in effect, legitimized vigilantes. (The phrase "storm troopers" comes to mind, and will not go away.) As Paths to Understanding points out, "...if guerrilla techniques should be employed in North America, state governors might be called upon to play a far more prominent role than most Americans now expect." The report goes on to urge the creation of federal-state policing functions, as an aid to the FBI, before war has been declared by Congress. And immediately following that observation, there are the following two paragraphs (pp. 18-19):

"Propaganda is one of the foremost techniques of Communist aggression. [Note identification of "propaganda" with "aggression."] Such propaganda may be directed against conditions in a particular state or region. In any event, enemy propaganda activities...are taking place on the territories of the several states and it is there where they can be opposed most effectively.

"State governments also are heavily engaged in education, including education at university levels. Presently, the main effort of the Communist Party of the United States is directed toward propagandizing college and university students. In some areas, there also seems to be an effort to get propaganda into the high school system. In addition, there is a great deal of lecture activity that is directed at the population at large. There are indications that Communists may be trying to run for state and local offices. At the present time, many of these Communist activities in the several states remain virtually unopposed."

Etc. The remainder of the report goes on to detail how governors' offices can be staffed and trained to combat Bolshevik maneuvers, such as running for office.

The nomination of Bryant is, in the view of this committee, an adoption of the strategy both explicit and implicit in Paths to Understanding. The strategy of domestic counter-insurgency at a political level, decentralized in personnel and administration, and financed and initially trained through federal resources, is precisely the background and expertise that Bryant brings to OEP. His appearance at this time is a further confirmation of LBJ's determination to fight a long and expensive and predictably unpopular war in Southeast Asia. Bryant's otherwise inexplicable political mobility also confirms a quality of desperation and perhaps actual insanity deep within the foreign policy establishment, a quality long suspected by the Peace Movement to be decisive there.

Bryant's appointment, to put the matter as strongly as possible, is an identifiable public step toward an American fascism; it represents a decision on the part of the federal government that the informal media and opinion-shaping processes in this country are too slow or too untrustworthy to offset its foreign policies efficiently; and, finally, the decision entails a direct federal-state intervention in the opinion-making process unparalleled in American history, and essentially fascistic in its structure.

Without going into detail, this committee recommends the following strategy:

(1) Urgent appeals should be sent to all friendly Senators calling for a full-scale investigation of the Bryant nomination. Bryant's segregationist past, coupled with his disgraceful relations with extremists, might make his nomination intolerable to a majority of the Senate. Sen. Stephen Young is on the Senate Armed Services committee, which has responsibility for the public hearings; Sen. Symington, no friend of the Peace Movement , is nevertheless suspicious of extremists on the right and could not be expected to sympathize with a man like Bryant if he knew him as the racist and reactionary that he is. But it is nevertheless true that there is no way of stopping Bryant at the committee level, though a good deal of exposure of him there is possible, especially if civil rights organizations demand an opportunity to testify against the nomination.

(2) This leads us to our second suggestion: not only is it in the interests of the Senate liberals to combat the Bryant nomination for their own reasons, it is in the interests of the anti-war movement to get more and more people to understand what is entailed domestically by our Vietnam policy. Bryant's nomination associates segregation, war panic, cold war education, unconstitutional and fascist plots to subvert the opinion-making process (even more so than it is already subverted by corporate control), spying on citizens in the exercise of their rights, "storm troopers, southern governors, local government in the context of federal war policies, etc., etc. These associations are crucial, as movement people know without our belaboring the point. Hence it seems to us that as many civil rights organizations, as many civil liberties organizations, as many peace groups, as many liberal coalitions as are approachable should be urged to interest themselves in this nomination. In short, the occasion is a natural for the radicalization of everybody from U.S. Senators to the cats in the ghetto who think the Vietnam scene is "white man's worry."

Copies of Marshall Jones' paper may be obtained by writing for the pamphlet, The Radical Right, c/o Sociology and Anthropology, University of Houston, Houston Texas; copies of Paths to Understanding may or may not be available at Florida Center for Cold War Education, State of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida, and more probably available from the staff headquarters of the National Governors Conference, 1313 E. 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Prepared by:

Students for a Democratic Society
Gainesville, Florida
March 14, 1966

Distributed by:

Southern Student Organizing Committee
Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

File 4-15-66

TIME ESSAY

BREACHING THE WHITE WALL OF SOUTHERN JUSTICE

IN almost every area of life—in schooling, public accommodations, and above all voting—the Southern Negro has lately made enormous strides toward gaining the equality guaranteed him by the Constitution and reaffirmed in the recent massive wave of civil rights legislation. Ironically, it is in the field of law and administration of justice that he is most frequently foiled. All too often white segregationists go on killing civil rights workers without fear of conviction, and white police terrorize Negroes and arrest the victims as suspects. To the Southern Negro, it still seems that the whole system of law winks at nearly every lawless scheme to cow him and keep him from his rights.

The Supreme Court two weeks ago dealt with two notorious 1964 cases—the murder of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., and the slaying of Negro Educator Lemuel Penn in Georgia—in both of which Southern courts had sidetracked attempts to bring the accused to justice. Basing itself on a 19th century anti-conspiracy law, the Supreme Court not only ordered these cases tried but hinted that new federal legislation is needed. The Government is ready to oblige. In his State of the Union message President Johnson called for increased authority for federal courts to try "those who murder, attack or intimidate either civil rights workers or others exercising their constitutional rights." In the new civil rights bill, which the President will send to Congress this month, he is asking 1) stiffer penalties for threats of violence interfering with a series of broad civil rights; 2) more stringent criteria for the selection of Southern juries.

Federal pressure and Southern conscience are certainly having their effect. The great white wall of segregated Southern justice is finally being breached, as illustrated by some scattered but significant recent events: the nearly unprecedented life sentence for a white youth who raped a Negro girl in Mississippi; eleven Negroes serving on a jury trying the Negro killers of a white policeman in Georgia. Yet the South has a long way to go before Negroes will have gained "equal justice under law."

Rule of the Sheriff

From bottom to top, Southern justice is white. This fact shadows the Negro's every activity from driving a car to engaging in sexual intercourse; from borrowing money to suing for personal injury; from seeking police protection to defending against criminal charges. To Southern Negroes, the courthouse is not a citadel of justice. Instead, says Harvard Psychiatrist Robert Coles, who recently completed a six-year study of Southern racial attitudes, the courthouse is "the symbol of where the policemen, the sheriffs, the judges, the juries, the voting registrar, the registrar of deeds and the whole structure of society is weighted against Negroes. They are afraid of this building." Segregated justice, adds a Southern Regional Council report, "provokes desperation among Negroes and shakes their faith in democracy."

Segregated justice begins with white police and prosecutors, all of them beholden to the white world that appoints or elects them. The elected Southern sheriff is no professional policeman; he is a powerful politician and quite likely the most important man in his county. In Mississippi, for example, he is not only the top law-enforcement officer but also the official tax collector, a job that gives him a fee-income that sometimes raises his annual take to more than $30,000. Since the sheriff is personally responsible for crime-fighting expenses, he hires as few deputies as possible and commonly ignores the crimes his constituents commit in adjoining counties. Thus, white nightriders who terrorize Negroes in the next county sneak home to peace and quiet.

When it comes to Negroes, almost all Deep South states have on their books a catchall statute against disturbing the peace; Louisiana not only lists a number of acts that might "foreseeably" disturb the white public but also makes a crime out of the "commission of any other act" that might "unreasonably" alarm that public. Southern legislatures specialize in frankly discriminatory laws that may survive for months or years before federal courts strike them down. In 1964 the Mississippi legislature prescribed up to three months in prison and a $250 fine for anyone giving birth to a second illegitimate child (considerately, the lawmakers stipulated that twins count only as one). More than 93% of the state's illegitimate births are to Negroes, and a state representative candidly described the measure's purpose: "This is the only way to stop the black tide which threatens to engulf us."

J.P.s & Lawyers

The Negro accused even of a misdemeanor usually goes before a justice of the peace who not only may be unsympathetic but who has every incentive for throwing the book at him—the j.p. is paid per conviction. Virtually no Southern j.p. is a lawyer; one study of 90 North Carolina j.p.s showed that only six had gone to college. They hold court, as the study group discovered, in "country stores, private homes, motel offices, upstairs over the fire stations, and in one case, on the screened-in porch of an ice house." Not only does the justice of the peace have the final decision on fine or jail sentence in nearly all the cases he decides, but he gets to set bond if the case is scheduled for a higher court. The whole bail system, in fact, is used as a handy club against Negroes. While many white-owned bonding companies mulct Negro defendants in ordinary criminal cases, few touch the Negro involved in a civil rights matter. Unless he can put up unmortgaged property or raise cash from hard-pressed civil rights groups, he stays in jail.

Though the Supreme Court's *Gideon* ruling and recent elaborations by lower federal courts grant any indigent defendant the right to counsel paid for by the state, this means little in cases where Negroes are accused of crimes against whites, to say nothing of civil rights workers. The court-appointed white lawyer takes such cases with reluctance, generally urges the defendant to plead guilty and, if forced to a trial, rarely gives it adequate time or effort. Even if such defendants have money, few white lawyers would offer their services for fear of losing their regular clients.

Why don't Negro defendants hire Negro lawyers? One reason is that there are so few in the South. Of some 21,000 lawyers in Mississippi, only five are Negroes. Even relatively enlightened North Carolina has only 125 Negro lawyers in a Negro population of 1,500,000. The Negro lawyer is barred from judgeships, professorships, political appointments, big corporate firms and affluent clients. Even injured Negroes usually prefer white lawyers because they get more money from white juries. As a result, most important rights cases are directed by non-Southern lawyers, who for all their frequent zeal and skill, are often unfamiliar with the procedural obstacles thrown up by segregated justice.

Unable to make bail or hire a good lawyer, the Negro awaits his state court trial in a segregated jail; even the drunk tanks are generally separate, and the turnkeys are uniformly white. When he finally does go to trial, the Negro enters the courthouse that to him has become the symbol of all his afflictions. There may be a Negro janitor about the premises, but everyone else is white, from judges and prosecutors down to clerks. Though many Southern judges dispense justice with admirable evenhandedness, the judge the Negro faces may well be ruled by his own prejudice or, since he holds elective office, by community pressures. One demeaning custom, banned by federal decision but continued in many Southern courtrooms, is to call Negro witnesses either by their first names or merely "boy."

The most notorious part of segregated justice is the all-

white jury system. Since 1875 it has been a federal crime, punishable by a fine of up to $5,000, for a jury commissioner to exclude Negroes systematically from venires in either federal or state courts. Yet, not once in this century has a prosecution been brought under that law. One reason: a jury commissioner almost certainly would be tried before a white jury and acquitted. It is, therefore, with impunity that commissioners draw their venires from lists of registered voters (excluding, until recently at least, most Negroes), from personal-property-tax rolls or from membership rosters of local Junior Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs and similar organizations. Almost all such lists naturally exclude large numbers of poor people, among whom Negroes most often find themselves. Sometimes prospective jurors are required to be of a certain "moral character" or "intelligence" or "uprightness." The highly subjective determination of such qualities is entirely up to the jury commissioners, and illiterate jurors are not unknown in the South.

Jury Problems

In theory, Negroes get a better deal from federal-court jurors, who are picked from a wider area and are less subject to local pressures. Actually, many Southern federal courts use a "key man" system of drawing up venire lists, the key man being a "good citizen" (a middle-class white) who suggests other "good citizens" for jury duty. The nation's 91 federal district courts have been free to pick juries in different ways, thus compounding the subjectivity of state courts. Many federal jury lists simply duplicate state lists.

By the thousands, Negroes exercising their rights nonetheless seek to remove their cases from state to federal courts. Federal judges no longer send these cases back to state courts so readily as they used to; the 1964 Civil Rights Act permits remand orders to be appealed. Negroes still face a major hurdle: Southern federal district judges. Many are scrupulously fair, notably Alabama's Frank Johnson, an Eisenhower appointee, and Florida's Bryan Simpson, a Truman appointee. But others are deeply segregationist, a problem largely attributable to the Kennedy Administration, which surprisingly named such men as Mississippi's William H. Cox, who once described the Negroes involved in a case before him as nothing but a bunch of "chimpanzees" who "ought to be in the movies rather than being registered to vote."

The typical all-white jury breeds injustice in three ways: 1) Negroes committing crimes against Negroes are likely to be let off too easily; 2) Negroes committing crimes against whites receive unduly harsh penalties; 3) whites committing crimes against Negroes either get off scot free or receive token sentences. Into the last category falls the breakneck acquittal last September in Hayneville, Ala., of Thomas Coleman, accused of killing an Episcopal seminarian and wounding a Catholic priest, both civil rights workers. It was at least slightly embarrassing to the state that Coleman, one of the local white courthouse-hangers-on who are so often available for jury duty in the South, was on the venire list for his own trial. Another all-white Alabama jury did convict Hubert Strange last December for murdering a Negro motorist near Anniston; compared with the almost certain death that a Negro defendant would have drawn had the motorist been white, Strange got ten years, a sentence that makes him eligible for parole in three years.

However clear the failures of Southern justice, it is far from clear what should be done about them without weakening the nation's legal structure. Certainly no one wants to destroy the jury system in order to correct its abuses. After the Hayneville acquittal, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach said: "This is the price you have to pay for the jury system, and I don't think it's too high a price. The situation has changed a great deal already."

To change it further, the President's forthcoming civil rights bill sets up detailed instructions for the selection of federal juries, composition of jury commissions, such technical matters as challenges by the defense. The jurors are to be drawn from voting rolls, but where there is evidence of racial discrimination, other methods are to be employed. Above all, the administration of the system is left to the Court of Appeals judges acting as the judicial council for each circuit, and not to individual, possibly segregationist judges. The bill also bars discrimination in state jury lists and puts federal courts in a watchdog position to ensure fairness, but it does not tell the states what procedures to follow.

Reforms & Solutions

Several other suggestions for improving the Southern jury system have been advanced. One idea: appointing federal jury registrars, like the new, federal voting registrars. Another: a population-sampling system designed to prevent subjective judgments in venire drawing; panels would be selected from among those in a community who are citizens, over 21, have no criminal convictions within a specified period, and can read, write and understand English.

Juries aside, the new civil rights bill also strengthens section 241 of Title 18 in the U.S. Code that prohibits conspiracy to deprive citizens of their federal rights. In the revised sections, conspiracy need no longer be proved—a single act will be sufficient. Nor will the act need to be carried out by an official—a private individual's act will be similarly punishable. Penalties are on a sliding scale from one year to life. Still not specifically covered are acts of violence unrelated to civil rights issues, and some Negro leaders feel that ways must be found to cover these too. Some advocate virtually automatic transfer of all cases involving Negroes from state to federal courts, but Melvin Wulf of the American Civil Liberties Union says: "This would not really solve anything. It wasn't what the federal courts were meant to do, sit on all local crimes. This would literally be making a federal case out of everything."

Two other areas in which civil rights leaders feel improvement can be made:

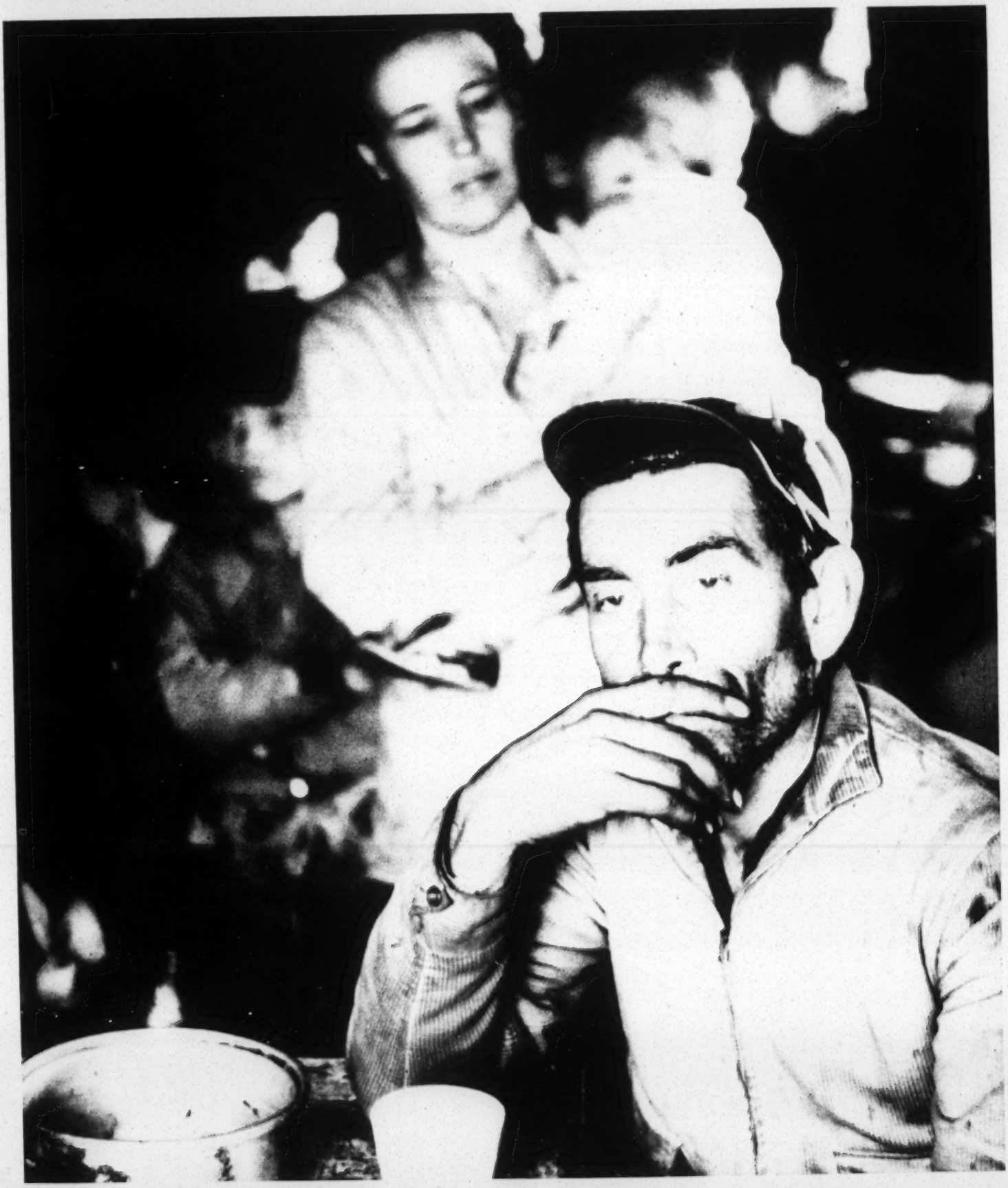
- EMPLOYMENT. The Constitution already entitles Negroes to fair employment in state and federal courthouses and police forces; Congress could easily and properly pass new laws to enforce that right. Such measures would not guarantee the election or appointment of Negro judges. But they would give Negro lawyers a chance to be considered, and a fair appointment system would surely place some Negroes among the large numbers of other functionaries—cops, clerks, bailiffs, stenographers—who now shore up segregated white justice.
- ENFORCEMENT. Nothing is more frustrating to Southern Negroes than to see FBI agents standing around taking copious notes while local white cops or hoodlums engage in large-scale civil rights violations. Actually, federal officers already are legally empowered to make on-the-spot arrests for any violation of federal laws; the only thing that stops them is Government policy. Criticism of this restraint has led to calls for a special police force to handle civil rights matters. The more reasonable alternative to such massive intervention would be stricter enforcement of existing laws.

Ideally, the South's own state courts should rediscover the U.S. Constitution and eliminate the need for overexpanding federal jurisdiction. Such hopes are not entirely groundless. With new courage, for example, the Mississippi Supreme Court last February voided the death sentence of a Negro convicted of raping a white woman, on the ground that his jury excluded Negroes. In Alabama, a federal court recently ordered Lowndes County to put Negroes on venire lists.

Ultimate solutions await the day when the Southern Negro has the voting power to elect Negro judges, sheriffs and prosecutors, or at least whites who get the message. Growing Negro registration has already begun to alter the political balance in the South, forcing certain politicians to be more responsive to Negro demands and resulting in the election of some Negro officials. The problem of segregated justice can no longer be avoided. It breeds contempt for law among the very Southern whites whom it seeks to favor; it goads the Southern Negro to take the law into his own hands, as in the case of the gun-toting Deacons for Defense and Justice. And in the Negro who flees the South, it reaps a harvest of hatred that explodes in the violence of Harlem and Watts. But above all, it is the inescapable moral imperative that demands "equal justice" for all citizens, in the South as elsewhere.

The American Federationist
APRIL 1966

AMERICA'S POOR: Reality and Change



STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
TO SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
ON H.R. 14765, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1966

May 24, 1966

Mr. Chairman, my name is Andrew J. Biemiller. I am Legislative Director for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Accompanying me is Thomas E. Harris, our Associate General Counsel. We appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the AFL-CIO on this important matter.

The proposals which this Subcommittee are considering deal with two major problem areas in the functioning of American democracy. The first has to do with the administration of justice; the second with discriminatory housing practices.

In both of these fields there are large and acute evils which must be eradicated; and the AFL-CIO welcomes the determination of the President and the Congress to face and face squarely the difficult issue of how best to remedy the deficiencies which all of us recognize.

We all, I am sure, believe in equal justice under law; and we all, I am sure, believe that no part of our population should suffer discrimination in so vital a matter as a place to live. The question is how to implement these principles.

The AFL-CIO indorses and supports H.R. 14765. We think it provides constructive and effective cures for the evils with which it deals, and we urge its enactment. We believe that the bill could be strengthened in a few particulars which we suggest below, but in general we are for it.

I will discuss successively the various titles of the bill, indicating in each instance what, if any, changes we think might be made.

Titles I and II

Titles I and II undertake to end discrimination in jury systems, in, respectively, the federal and state courts.

Up until now three different groups have been discriminated against in various areas as respects selection for jury service. These

groups are: first, Negroes and perhaps members of certain other minorities; second, women; and third, people with low incomes. The discrimination may be de facto or de jure.

Discrimination against Negroes is unquestionably most acute in the South.

Discrimination against women is also concentrated in the South but is probably also more prevalent de facto in rural and small town areas than in cities. Also, both of these types of discrimination are much more prevalent in state than in federal courts.

On the other hand discrimination in selection for jury service against people having low incomes is decidedly not a peculiarly southern vice, and it is probably more prevalent in federal than in state courts and in cities than in rural areas. Mr. Thomas Dewey, when he was a young district attorney, was an advocate of the so-called blue ribbon jury -- in state courts in New York City. But the use of blue ribbon juries is at least as prevalent in federal courts as in state courts generally.

Prosecutors have the idea that juries drawn from the upper economic strata are readier to convict. We commend Attorney General Katzenbach for his willingness to forgo this advantage for prosecutors, if indeed it is one, and for his recognition that discrimination on grounds of economic status is just as violative of the equal protection of the laws as discrimination on grounds of race or sex.

There is another reason for banning discrimination on the basis of economic status. It is that if such discrimination were permissible it could perpetuate, in a different guise, discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups.

We therefore agree with the sponsor of H.R. 14765 that all three types of discrimination -- i.e. race, sex, and economic status should be ended. Further, we agree that the language of the bill is clear and straightforward, viz. (p.2, lines 9-12):

> "No person or class of persons shall be denied the right to serve on grand and petit juries in the district courts of the United States on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status."

The same terminology is used in the provision as to state courts.

However, we suggest that the procedure for enforcing these standards might well be strengthened.

In the case of state juries, the bill authorizes the Attorney General to bring injunctive proceedings against state jury officials. However, the bill does not contain any such authorization in the case of federal juries, evidently upon the assumption that federal judges and jury commissioners will be readier to effectuate the bill's bans on nondiscrimination than will their state counterparts. Even if this assumption is correct there has been, as the Attorney General acknowledged, some discrimination in the federal courts, and we see no reason why the provision for suits by the Attorney General should not be applicable to federal juries as well as to state.

More important, we are doubtful that the enforcement provisions of the bill are adequate even in the case of state juries. The bill does provide a discovery procedure to make it easier to find out whether unlawful discrimination has occurred in the jury selection process. This procedure is available to the Attorney General in civil suits brought by him and to defendants in criminal prosecutions. However, for enforcement of its bans on discrimination the bill relies exclusively on adjudications in individual law suits, either where the issue is raised by private litigants or in suits brought by the Attorney General.

We are doubtful that this sort of spot policing will be adequate to end jury discrimination. It has not been adequate to end discrimination in other fields.

As respects the right to vote, for example, prior to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 earlier legislation relied for enforcement on suits brought by the Attorney General or by voters. Suit had to be brought in each election district, and in each separate suit there had to be an adjudication whether there had been an unlawful deprivation of the right to vote. We foresaw that these provisions would prove to be inadequate. We testified, when the bill was before Congress that implementing the Fifteenth Amendment by law suits was like trying to paint a wall with a fountain pen.

Our forebodings proved to be well founded, as testified by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The 1965 Act utilized several novel devices to counter enforcement difficulties. It provided an automatic triggering test, i. e. whether fewer than 50% of eligible persons were registered or voted. It provided for determinations applicable throughout major geographic units, i. e. States or counties. It provided for the use of federal examiners to register voters, and for federal observers at elections.

These provisions, in contrast to their predecessors, seem to be proving effective.

As respects school desegregation, too, individual law suits proved to be a slow and ineffective way of vindicating constitutional rights.

On the basis of these experiences, we suggest that broader scale procedures for the implementation of Title II may be needed than enforcement through individual law suits. We believe the suggestions on this point made by Roy Wilkins in his testimony for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights have substantial merit and deserve the attention of this Committee.

TITLE III

This Title deals with discrimination in the schools and other public facilities. It eliminates certain existing limitations on the bringing of suits by the Attorney General, and provides for broadened relief.

We are in favor of the enactment of Title III as written.

Since the Attorney General's testimony of this Title was rather general, we propose to give a concrete illustration of why this Title is needed.

In 1950 some Negro parents brought suit against school officials in Clarendon County, South Carolina, seeking the admission of their children to the white schools. In 1951 the federal district court ruled that the schools were very separate but not very equal, and that the plaintiff's rights under the Fourteenth Amendment were being violated. However, the court did not order that the children be admitted to the white schools: it ordered that the Negro schools be made equal.

In 1954 the Supreme Court likewise held that the Negroes' constitutional rights were being violated, on the ground that segregation by races is inherently unequal. This case was one of the four decided by the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483. In 1955 the Supreme Court, on reargument, ruled that integration should proceed with "all deliberate speed," and the case went back to the district court.

In the District Court the deliberation has been more evident than the speed. It was not until the fall of 1965 that the district court finally required the admission of six Negro children to white schools in Clarendon County.

Of course these were not the same children whose parents had started the litigation. A child who was six years old in 1950 was 21 in 1965. However, one Negro girl whose parents had intervened later, and were parties in the 1954 Brown cases in the Supreme Court, did finally get into a white school at age 17 after 11 years of litigation. Incidentally, according to news reports, the whites have been giving her a bad time.

Of course the litigation isn't over. The court has retained jurisdiction and has ordered further desegregation next fall. Anyway, Negro parents, with the help of the legal defense fund of the NAACP, have been carrying on this litigation for 16 years, and the end is not in sight.

The Department of Justice has not brought suit in this situation. The burden of the litigation has been left to the parents and to the legal defense fund. The Department of Justice could bring suit under Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 if the Attorney General certified that the parents were unable to maintain appropriate legal proceedings, which means under the statute that they "are unable either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation ***."

How can the Attorney General determine such a thing as that? The legal defense fund of the NAACP is presumably able to sustain a certain volume of litigation, but what is the basis for saying that it is able to maintain one particular suit and not another?

More broadly, it is our view that the burden of vindicating these constitutional rights should rest on the Federal Government, and that it should rest there regardless of whether particular parents can or cannot afford to sue. That is one reason why we urge the enactment of Title III.

The other reason is the physical and economic intimidation which faces Negro parents in some areas. Title III authorizes the Attorney General to seek injunctions against such intimidation, and we are of course strongly in favor of that.

Title IV

The AFL-CIO likewise strongly supports Title IV of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966.

Organized labor has long been in the forefront in the fight for fair housing legislation. Laws enacted by a large number of states and municipalities to outlaw discrimination in housing have been placed on the statute books with the full backing, and often on the initiative of, organized labor.

The Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, held last December, called for equal housing opportunity in these words:

> "A key feature of labor's housing program is its drive for equal housing opportunity for all Americans. There is no place in America for racial ghettos. Equal access, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, to every residential neighborhood in every American community should be assured for every family in America. Equal opportunity in housing should be assured in all programs in which housing is provided with Federal aid or is protected by Federal insurance of mortgages or guarantee or regulation of mortgage loans."

The national purpose was pledged by Congress in the Declaration of National Policy set forth in the National Housing Act of 1949 (Public Law 171, 81st Congress; 63 Stat. 413; 42 U. S. C. 1441), which stated:

> "The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require...the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

This Congressional affirmation of the national goal in a basic legislative enactment underlying all Federal housing statutes promulgated from 1949 to date, should be viewed in the light of the Nation's resolve proclaimed by the 14th amendment to the Constitution. The 14th Amendment declares that no State should deny "the equal protection of the laws" to any person, regardless of race.

The Supreme Court has said /Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948)/:

> "It cannot be doubted that among the civil rights intended to be protected from discriminatory state action by the Fourteenth Amendment are the rights to acquire, enjoy, own, and dispose of property. Equality in the enjoyment of property rights was regarded by the framers of that Amendment as an essential pre-condition to the realization of other basic civil rights and liberties which the Amendment was intended to guarantee."

And the Supreme Court has held, in that case, that the 14th Amendment prohibits the courts, as instrumentalities of the states, from enforcing private racially restrictive covenants. In another case /Hurd v. Hodge, 334, U.S. 24, (1948)/, the Supreme Court applied similar prohibitions to the Federal government and its courts, as well.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1961 Report on Housing, reviewed the constitutional problem involved here and arrived at this compelling conclusion:

> ". . . it poses the question whether, as a matter of national policy, the Federal Government can permit itself to be involved in the denial of equal opportunity; whether the Federal Government, which has established national housing programs to achieve a national purpose, should not take affirmative steps to move upward the achievement of equal opportunity in housing for all Americans. The Supreme Court has recognized that 'Equality in the enjoyment of property rights' is 'an essential pre-condition to the realization of other basic civil rights.' If the achievement of this 'essential pre-condition' is not here the explicit command of the Constitution, it is nonetheless its promise."

What opposition there is to the assurance of equal opportunity in housing to all Americans regardless of race, when it is not the result of outright race bias, is usually based on misinformation or ignorance of the facts.

One widely broadcast misconception prompting such opposition is that property values will drop whenever non-white families move into a previously all-white neighborhood. There is absolutely no documentary evidence to support this contention. It is a myth which has been completely exploded.

A comprehensive study of property values was conducted for the Commission on Race and Housing, a distinguished citizens' group which included nationally known specialists in the social sciences, by Dr. Luigi Laurenti. Its findings are included in the volume, Property Values and Race, (University of California Press, 1960). Dr. Laurenti's research involved 20 neighborhoods in San Francisco, Oakland, and Philadelphia, where Negroes had entered during a span of 12 years.

With each of the three cities he studied, Laurenti compared price movements in "test" neighborhoods with those in similar neighborhoods which had remained all-white over the same period. The price transactions studied covered a 12-year period from 1943 to 1955. Over 9,900 sales prices were analyzed comprising about 40 percent of all the sales during the study period. Almost all the neighborhoods consisted of single-family, owner-occupied residences and were not contiguous to other areas of non-white population.

In 44 percent of the comparisons, prices showed gains which ranged from five to 26 per cent. Another 41 per cent of the comparisons showed no significant change in price behavior. The other 15 per cent showed declines but none were over 15 per cent.

Put another way, 85 per cent of the cases either showed upward improvement or remained stable.

The results of the studies in these three cities are consistent with those made by other investigators who studied similar areas in Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, and Portland, Oregon.

In the volume, Property Values and Race, Laurenti concluded:

> "The major statistical finding of the present study is that during the time period and for the cases studied the entry of non-whites into previously all-white neighborhoods was much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price weakening. A corollary and possibly more significant finding is that no single or uniform pattern of non-white influence on property prices could be detected. Rather, what happens to prices when non-whites enter a neighborhood seems to depend on a variety of circumstances which, on balance, may influence prices upward or downward or leave them unaffected."

Another myth, long since exploded, is that neighborhood standards will go down whenever Negro families become part of the neighborhood.

Extensive studies have shown that Negro homeowners are just as concerned with neighborhood standards as any other citizens. Even a poll conducted more than twenty years ago by the National Association of Real Estate Boards supported the fact that Negro homeowners maintain their properties as well as whites.

There are good standards and bad standards in both white and non-white neighborhoods.

Overcrowding, economic exploitation, and neglect of buildings by landlords contribute to the creation of slums, regardless of the color or national origin of the residents. But slum areas, with which the Negro stereotype is all too often associated, generally were badly deteriorated before Negro residents fell heir to them.

Equal access to housing, regardless of race, creed or national origin in a free market, should be a part of the American way of life. Equal opportunity in housing is intimately linked to equal opportunity in schooling and to other civil rights.

The AFL-CIO strongly supports the enactment of Title IV because it will remove the obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of Americans on the unjust basis of their race, creed or national origin. We support it, above all, because its enactment will broaden the horizon of American democracy and will extend the opportunity to contribute to the strengthening of community life to every citizen of our country.

In addition, we believe the committee would be well advised to explore with care the possibility of adding administrative enforcement procedures to this title. As this committee knows from our previous testimony on civil rights matters, we consider administrative enforcement less cumbersome, more immediate and generally more effective in matters of this kind. We hope you will consider carefully adding administrative procedures to this title.

Title V

This Title has to do with crimes against Negroes and civil rights workers.

There have been numerous such crimes in recent years, but very few convictions, particularly in the state courts. Something needs to be done; and if anyone has any doubt of that we suggest that they read the 1965 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. The shocking breakdown of law enforcement in the South, as respects Negroes and civil rights workers, is there set forth in horrifying detail.

Certain violent deprivations of civil rights are made criminal by the Federal Criminal Code, Title 18 U. S. C. § § 241 and 242, but these provisions, which date back to Reconstruction days, contain technical deficiencies which make it very difficult for the government to prove a case under them. Title V parallels but does not supplant these existing federal criminal statutes, and undertakes to cure some of their deficiencies.

The jury selection proposals of Titles I and II also of course relate to the general problem of the administration of justice, which is most acute in, though it is not confined to, the South.

Title V was drafted in the light of the recent Supreme Court decisions in United States v. Price, and United States v. Guest. In those decisions the Court sustained the sufficiency of the indictments, but it pointed out that the requirements of proof under existing law are difficult to meet, and the Court suggested that Congress enact more specific provisions. Title V embodies such provisions, and we urge its enactment.

Under Section 241 it is necessary for the government in a case like Guest to prove that the defendants had a specific, wrongful, intent in two different respects. In the first place, the government must prove, as in the case of nearly all criminal statutes, that the defendant intended to commit the prohibited act, as, for example, that the defendant intended to murder or injure the victim, and that the death or injury was not the result of accident. This sort of intent is a normal and proper prerequisite to conviction in criminal cases. Under Section 241, however, the government must also show a second type of specific intent, viz., that the defendant also intended to interfere with the victim's exercise of some right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The government must show, for example, not only that the defendant murdered a Negro, but that he murdered him to keep him from voting, or attending a desegregated school or exercising some other federally protected right. Proof of this sort is unlikely to be available, and one of the purposes of Title V is to obviate the need for it.

Section 501(a) substitutes for the specific intent requirement we have been discussing the requirement that the defendant must have injured the victim (1) because of his "race, color, religion or national origin", (2) while the victim is engaging or trying to engage in the exercise of any of various enumerated federal rights, such as voting or attending a public school.

Under this provision it would still be necessary to show that the defendant injured his victim because of his race, etc. In other words the specific intent requirement is shifted from intent to prevent the victim from voting, for example, to intent to injure him because of his race while he is voting.

Evidence of racial animus is more likely to be available than evidence that the defendant intended to prevent the exercise of some particular federal right. Even with the new provisions on the books, however, the task of the federal prosecutor will still be a most difficult one. In a case like Guest it will still be necessary for the prosecutor to show not only that the defendants deliberately killed their victim, but they did so because he was a Negro.

In general we think the Department of Justice has done a good job in drafting Title V. We suggest, however, that the language should be revised to make it clear that traveling on a public highway is a protected type of activity. That is what was involved in the Guest case; it is clearly sufficient as a constitutional basis for a federal intervention; and there will be cases where it may not be possible to prove that the victim was engaging or seeking to engage in any of the other types of activities enumerated in the bill.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude with a brief observation. This Congress and its predecessor are certain to go down in history for the trail-blazing legislation passed in 1964 and 1965 in this field. All of us who played any role whatsoever in achieving the civil rights legislation have a right to be proud.

But so much more remains to be done, Mr. Chairman, that none of us can pause for self-congratulations.

We have all read reports that this Congress is tired of the subject; that this Congress believes this is no time for another civil rights battle; that 1966 should be the year of stock-taking, not action.

Well, we just don't believe those reports.

We believe this Congress will recognize -- as did the President in the message

in which he submitted this bill -- that the unresolved problems are many and great but that they can be solved, as indeed they must be solved.

We in the AFL-CIO are dedicated to the belief that true and absolute equality of opportunity is possible in America and we intend to help achieve it. That, we are confident, is the mood of the American people and we believe it to be the intention of this Congress.

File

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NEW SOUTH

A Seminar Series for Congressional Assistants

April - June 1966 Washington, D.C.

sponsored by

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1900 Florida Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20009

general

information

CONGRESSIONAL ASSISTANTS SEMINAR SERIES
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NEW SOUTH

The Institute for Policy Studies is sponsoring a seminar series on "Problems and Prospects of the New South." The series is intended primarily for Congressional Assistants of Southern Congressmen and for those persons in both the executive and legislative branches of the government who are particularly concerned with the development of the South.

Except for the opening session on Thursday, April 7th, approximately twenty-five participants will meet every Wednesday night at the Institute through June 15. The sessions will begin at 6:00 pm and conclude at 9 pm. Coffee and sandwiches will be served. An address by the guest speaker will be followed by informal discussion. Suggestions for background reading will often be circulated in advance of each session.

A registration fee of $10.00 per participant will be charged to cover part of the expenses of the seminar. The remainder of the expenses will be borne by the Institute through grants given for this purpose.

The Institute for Policy Studies is an independent center at which intellectuals, politicians, and government officials can exchange ideas and collaborate on problems most critically in need of new thought.

syllabus

CONGRESSIONAL ASSISTANTS SEMINAR SERIES
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NEW SOUTH

April 7 "Rescuing the South's Depressed Areas"

Leo T. Surla, Regional Economist, Spindletop Research Center, Lexington, Kentucky, will discuss the impact and potential of current federally sponsored development programs such as the Appalachian program and the Economic Development Act, with emphasis on the most depressed rural areas of the South.

April 13 "The Southern Congressional Delegation: New Trends and New Faces"

A panel of veteran Southern Congressional assistants and Southern Washington correspondents will discuss the political significance of the recent development of both receptiveness and resistance to change among Southerners on the Hill.

April 20 "The History of and the Responsibility for White Supremacy in the South"

Professor James W. Silver, formerly of the University of Mississippi and the author of The Closed Society, will bring some new historical interpretation to bear on a problem of the Southern past and present which still haunts the Southern future.

April 27 "Problems of the Urbanizing New South"

Aelred J. Gray, Director of Community Planning for more than two decades with the Tennessee Valley Authority, will discuss what ails the Southern city and what is its promise: is it setting a distinctive pattern, or is it heading for the chaos of the urban North?

May 4 "Dilemmas of Self-Help in the Negro Community"

Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, formerly of Durham, North Carolina, will explore the difficulties of the Negro "bootstrap" development in the South based on his own experience, observations, and knowledge of the changing regional economy.

May 11 "The Southern Industrial Revolution - A World Model?"

James Pierce, Director of Southern Organizing for the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, and another speaker (to be announced) will comment on persisting social and economic problems of Southern industrial development.

May 18 "Civil Rights Enforcement - How Much Progress?"

Al Ulmer, Director of Community Organization Planning for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and Charles McLaurin, indigenous community organizer in the Mississippi Delta from Ruleville, Mississippi, will give "field reports" on the successes, failures, and limitations of the administration and enforcement of existing federal civil rights laws. Federal agency representatives (Civil Rights Commission, Justice Department, Community Relations Service, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Title VI Enforcement officials, etc.) will be invited to respond.

May 25 "The Changing Southern 'Power Structure'"

Dr. Floyd Hunter, author of Community Power Structure, the classic study of the Atlanta elite that opened a whole new area of study for political and social scientists, will describe the changes as well as the constants he sees in the structure of political, social and economic power in the South.

June 1 "The Challenge to the White Southern Liberal"

Congressman James A. Mackay of Georgia's 4th District will assess the sensitive leadership role of the white liberal in a changing region.

June 8 "Political Prospects in the New South"

Randolph Blackwell, Program Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a respected political analyst, will give his views on the rise of new forces in the South, from impatient Negroes and new unionized workers to "white backlashes" and conservative suburbanites, and what potentialities for both new alliances and new conflicts are emerging among these forces.

June 15 "What the 'New Negro' Seeks"

A major civil rights leader (to be announced) will discuss his views of what the "New Negro" wants from the "New South."

The National Broadcasting Company Presents

MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guests

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

ROY WILKINS
Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, Jr.
Executive Director, National Urban League

FLOYD B. McKISSICK
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality

STOKLEY CARMICHAEL
Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

JAMES H. MEREDITH
Leader of the recent March through Mississippi

SPECIAL EDITION SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 1966

Merkle Press Inc. *Printers and Periodical Publishers*

Division of Publishers Co. Inc.

Box 2111, Washington, D. C. 20013

10 cents per copy

Panel: ROWLAND EVANS, *Publishers Newspaper Syndicate & Chicago Sun-Times*
JAMES J. KILPATRICK, *Richmond (Va.) News Leader*
CARL ROWAN, *Chicago Daily News*
RICHARD VALERIANI, *NBC News*
LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK, *Permanent Panel Member*

Moderator: EDWIN NEWMAN, *NBC News*

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. NEWMAN: This is Edwin Newman inviting you to a special 90-minute edition of MEET THE PRESS. Today in this special hour and a half program, MEET THE PRESS focuses on the country's No. 1 domestic problem: Civil Rights. Our guests are six of the nation's top Negro leaders in their first joint live broadcast. With us today in Chicago is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President and one of the founders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. King, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, is a leading proponent of the principle of nonviolence. He is recognized throughout the world as the spiritual leader of the civil rights movement in the United States.

Because of the march he is leading today in Chicago, Dr. King finds it necessary to leave the studio before the end of our program. For that reason we will direct more questions to him than to our other guests in the first part of our broadcast.

And in our Washington studio: Roy Wilkins, a former newspaperman and the Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1950. The NAACP, which he heads, is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the country. Founded in 1909, it now claims a national membership of over 500,000. The first organization to use the picket line, it has been involved in many demonstrations and has played a major role in the fight for civil rights laws.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League since 1961. A former Dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, he heads one of the most important bi-racial service organizations. Its policy has been to lead

Negroes into the American mainstream through job training programs and through housing, welfare and education projects.

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality. He is a lawyer who gave up his practice early this year to become head of the 22-year old CORE. Mr. McKissick's official biography describes him as "a dynamic civil rights activist." He has played a leading role in picketing, sit-ins and other civil rights demonstrations. His organization, CORE, claims a membership of 80,000 and is considered one of the most militant of the civil rights groups.

Stokley Carmichael, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. A graduate of Howard University and the youngest of the civil rights leaders, Mr. Carmichael heads the newest and most militant of the national organizations. His use of the slogan "Black Power" during the recent Mississippi march stirred up a storm in and out of the civil rights movement and brought him to front page prominence.

And James H. Meredith, who occupies a special position in the American Negro movement because of his leadership in desegregating the University of Mississippi and in the recent march through Mississippi. He is now a student at the Columbia University Law School.

Reporters on our panel of questioners today are Lawrence E. Spivak, Permanent Panel Member of MEET THE PRESS; Carl T. Rowan of the Chicago Daily News; James J. Kilpatrick of the Richmond News Leader; Rowland Evans of the Publishers Newspaper Syndicate; and Richard Valeriani of NBC News.

We will begin the questions now with Mr. Spivak.

MR. SPIVAK: Dr. King, despite all of your marches and demonstrations and despite major civil rights laws, the civil rights crisis is getting worse rather than better, or at least it seems so.

Do you think it is growing worse and, if so, why?

DR. KING: I think at points it is growing worse. This does not mean that we have not made significant progress, but I think the real problem today is that there is still a tragic gulf between promise and fulfillment and that the rising expectations of freedom and equality and the rising expectations of improvement have met with little results. So, the problem today is that we have the laws on the books but they have not been thoroughly implemented, and there are still pockets of resistance that are seeking to hold the civil rights movement back. And our just and legal and moral aspirations for a democratic society are still being met with these forces of resistance.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Wilkins, do you think the crisis is getting better or worse?

MR. WILKINS: I think only outwardly worse. We are having some manifestations of abrasive resistance, but actually progress is being made and we are going forward, and this despite the fact that great masses of people cannot count the difference in today's living between that that they had, say a year ago, or two years ago. But the forces are in motion. I agree with Dr. King that they are not moving fast enough, nor on a broad enough scale.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Young, for many years we had no civil rights laws of any importance. Very little was being done by the white community for the Negro population or with the Negro population, and yet we had relative quiet. What is your explanation for the riots that are taking place at the present time?

MR. YOUNG: I think it reflects this high aspiration of the Negro. I have never felt that social progress could be a painless process. I don't think that good race relations is purely the absence of conflict. In fact, we probably have less disruption in South Africa today where we have the greatest segregation and discrimination.

What we are really facing today, I think, is positive, and that is that the white community is now coming to find out that it takes more than the passage of laws which relieve their guilt, that it takes actual determination to live with and to work with and to cooperate with Negro citizens, and it is this final confrontation that people find most difficult to make.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. McKissick, what do you think? Do you think things are getting better or worse?

MR. McKISSICK: I am of the opinion that things have not progressed tremendously for the masses of the people. I would not dispute the statement that some progress has been made, but I would say by and large the average black man in the ghetto has not profited within the last ten years. I think the last statistics showed, even last week at the hearing in Washington here, at the Ribicoff hearing, when he made the statement, we will find we have more discrimination in education, more segregated school systems, we are finding the unemployment rate is higher now than ever before. I think we could just go down the line and we could find that the situation has not improved as far as the masses are concerned. That is what the Congress of Racial Equality is concerned with.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Carmichael, from your experience, are things getting better or worse?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I don't know if you can make a comparison like that. I believe that what is happening is that black people across the country are becoming politically aware of their position, of their strength and of their ability to move, and so,

based on that feeling, the masses of people are beginning to now move. The question is whether or not this country is going to be able to meet their needs peacefully or whether they will have to move to disrupt this country in order to force the country to speak to their needs.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Meredith, may I hear from you on that? Do you think things are getting better or worse?

MR. MEREDITH: I think we have just reached a point in our history where we are really beginning to face the issue and the question. The question in this country is what is the basis or what is going to be the basis of our society. Up until now it is based on the theory of white superiority, and now this nation has to make a decision whether we will continue to use this base of white supremacy or whether we will live up to our ideals of equality and equal justice before the law.

MR. SPIVAK: Dr. King, I'd like to come back to you now. The Superintendent of Police of Chicago, Mr. O. W. Wilson, said the other day that your civil rights tactics have "aroused hatred among Chicago white residents and are hampering the Negroes' progress." What is your answer to that?

DR. KING: My answer is that this is totally erroneous. Our civil rights efforts have not aroused hatred. They have revealed hatred that already existed. There is no doubt about the fact that there are many latent hostilities existing within certain white groups in the North, and what has happened now is that these latent hostilities have come out in the open. I don't think you can blame the civil rights movement for that.

Certainly no one would blame a physician for using his instruments and his skills and his know-how to reveal to a patient that he has cancer. Indeed one would praise the physician for having the wisdom and the judgment and the power to do that. We have only revealed in Chicago that there is a blatant, social, hate-filled cancer, and we haven't said even that it is in its terminal state. We feel that it is curable, that it can be cured. But there is no doubt about the fact that the hate is here. We didn't create it, we merely exposed it and brought it to the surface.

MR. SPIVAK: Dr. King, I am sure you either heard or read President Johnson's speech yesterday when he warned that violence and discord would destroy Negroes' hopes for racial progress. Isn't it time to stop demonstrations that create violence and discord?

DR. KING: I absolutely disagree with that, and I hope that the President didn't mean to equate non-violent demonstrations with a riot, and I think it is time for this country to see the distinction between the two. There is a great distinction between individuals who are non-violently engaged in pursuit of

basic constitutional rights and who in the process face violence and face hatred perpetrated against them, and individuals who aggressively throw Molotov cocktails and engage in riots, so that there can be no equation, or there can be no identity between riots and demonstrations.

I think demonstrations must continue, but I think riots must end, because I think they are socially disruptive. I think they are self-defeating, and I think they can destroy the many creative steps that we have made in a forward sense over the last few years.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Wilkins, despite the fact that you gentlemen sit here together, there is the feeling around the country that there is a crisis of leadership in the civil rights movement. Do you agree that the movement toward Negro equality is jeopardized by what now seems to be a host of warring civil rights groups, each pursuing its own special interest?

MR. WILKINS: No, I don't Mr. Rowan, I don't think it is quite that serious. We tend to feel that unity should be exhibited at all times, no matter what kind of organizations or what kind of personalities or what kind of tactics are involved. I think we have to grow up to the idea that there will be differences of opinion and that these will manifest themselves from time to time. I don't see as yet any great split in the civil rights movement.

MR. ROWAN: I have noticed in The New York Times, Mr. Wilkins, a quotation from a so-called SNCC position paper saying "We are now aware that the NAACP has grown reactionary, is controlled by the black power structure itself and stands as one of the main roadblocks to black freedom."

I note also that an NAACP official was referring to the Urban League as an "Uncle Tom" organization. This you don't think is serious division or anything to be worried about?

MR. WILKINS: No, no. I call your attention first of all to the fact that the SNCC person said that we were—the NAACP was controlled by the "Black Power structure."

MR. ROWAN: I wondered if that was a typo.

MR. WILKINS: No, it wasn't a typographical error, and for that we moved up on the scale, because there was a time when the spokesman would have said we were controlled by the white power structure. But the NAACP official you referred to as calling the Urban League "Uncle Tom" was only a local official, an extremely individualistic one at that, and in no sense can be said to represent the sentiments of the NAACP.

MR. ROWAN: I noted, Mr. Wilkins, that your organization lost some 15,000 members between 1964 and 1965. You don't think the NAACP and the country are in trouble today because the NAACP put its faith in the law and court decisions, but that

when the crunch came, the decisions were not enforced and the law became just so much paper?

MR. WILKINS: No, I don't think we are in trouble because we lost 15,000 members out of a half million. I don't consider that serious or beyond accounting for in the normal course of events. Nor do I believe that the adherence to law and order is a penalty that we suffer. I think we all have to come back to law and order. I understand Dr. King out in Chicago has a lawyer now working on his injunction business, and I see where SNCC is engaging lawyers up in Philadelphia. So we all come to the courtroom and to the law eventually. We find we can't solve it with rhetoric.

MR. KILPATRICK: Dr. King, you have been quoted as saying that you have encountered more hatred among white opponents in Chicago than you have encountered in the deep south. How do you account for this?

DR. KING: I think for years the hatred existed beneath the surface in Northern communities, and as I said earlier, it is coming out now. I think also we have to see that this is something of a dislike for the unlike. You see it a great deal among the lower income ethnic enclaves who have basic fears about Negroes. They have grown up believing in certain stereotypes, whether it is the stereotype of, the Negroes are lazy, or inherently inferior or whether it is the myth that Negroes depreciate property values when they move into a community. There is another fear, the fear that the Negro is an economic threat. I think all of these things have contributed to and in a sense have conjoined to bring about this massive outpouring of hatred in Chicago and, I am sure, in other communities.

MR. KILPATRICK: But why should these factors carry greater weight in Chicago or in some other northern city than they woud in the deep south?

DR. KING: I am not saying and I haven't said they exist more than they do in the deep south because I must make one distinction and that is, in the south we have had the hatred, the violence, the vitriolic and vituperative words of the mobs on the one hand, but often these mobs have been aided and abetted by the law and by law enforcement agents. I think the difference is here that we have the violence of the mobs, but at least the law enforcement agents are trying to preserve a degree of law and order.

In the south we have had a double blow. We have had the mob against us as well as in some instances law enforcement agents actually and literally supporting the mob.

In the north it is often the mob and the support, on the other hand, of the policemen trying to restrain the mob, but I don't say that the hatred is worse. I think it is equal, and I think

we have got to see now that the problem is a national problem and that we must work passionately and unrelentingly to remove these conditions and the kind of hatred that we see both north and south today.

MR. KILPATRICK: Let me ask about your march today, Dr. King. You have decided, as I understand it, to obey the injunction that was laid down limiting the number of demonstrators.

DR. KING: Yes,——

MR. KILPATRICK: Even though you have described that twice yesterday, I believe, as an unjust order.

DR. KING: Yes, it is an injunction which I feel is unjust and totally unconstitutional, but, because we are engaged in negotiations now with the city, with the real estate agents and with labor and industry and other forces of power and goodwill in the community, we decided that we would abide by this injunction until we have our negotiating session next Friday and determine on the basis of that whether we would continue to comply with what we consider a blatantly unjust, unconstitutional and, I might say, amoral injunction.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Young, you had to contend with a new sort of militancy at your national convention in Philadelphia. What, exactly, do the younger Urban Leaguers want that is new? And let me ask you also, do they feel that the Urban League has become too identified today with the middle class?

MR. YOUNG: No, I think that that reflected more of an impatience with the pace. Urban League staff people are probably in the best position of any to recognize how slowly the gap is closing, if at all, in economics and education and housing, and in health and welfare. I think it recognizes also that we can do all we want to in terms of getting parents motivated into getting their children into school and keeping them there, but unless there are school boards that are so politically structured and politically sensitive enough to provide the resources, then our efforts to provide the motivation is of no value. What they are really saying is that we need these other activities, we need the other organizations who are doing the political activity.

The Urban Leaguers know that we are not middle class in the sense of our services. Last year, for example, over 50,000 Negroes were placed through the Urban League, and these were poor people who were placed, unemployed people.

MR. EVANS: But didn't it shock you when at your convention you were picketed by another organization?

MR. YOUNG: No. I think, as Mr. Wilkins said, this was the act of an individual and not the act of an organization. Even there the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia NAACP totally discredited this and disowned it, and the individual himself apologized. He had made a mistake.

MR. EVANS: But surely Cecil Moore represents the NAACP in Philadelphia and surely this represented a dissatisfaction with the work the Urban League is doing in Philadelphia. Is that not a fair statement?

MR. YOUNG: No, it is not a fair statement. This was a personal thing and the local board disowned the activity. Cecil Moore himself later apologized. I think what we are witnessing here—and I think it is a healthy thing—is that we do have in the Urban League at a moment in time when there is great turmoil and when there is a great gulf, that we do have healthy dissent; we do have impatience; we do have people who want to push faster. But I think what we finally ended up with was saying the Urban League cannot do all of these things, that it is good to have other organizations who are supposed to do some things. What we need to do is to go back home and do all we can to help the other civil rights groups to do the job they are supposed to do, so that the Urban League can do what it is supposed to do and do it better.

MR. VALERIANI: Dr. King, to follow up Mr. Spivak's question, recent polls suggest that in terms of national reaction, demonstrations are now counter-productive.

By continuing them, don't you run the risk of doing more harm than good?

DR. KING: Again I contend that we are not doing more harm than good in demonstrations, because I think demonstrations serve the purpose of bringing the issues out in the open.

I have never felt that demonstrations could actually solve the problem. They dramatize the existence of certain social ills that could very easily be ignored if you did not have demonstrations. I think the initial reaction to demonstrations is always negative. When we had them in the south initially there was a negative outpouring of disagreement. Now that they have started on a massive scale in the north, it is only natural that we will have this reaction. but in spite of the reaction, the demonstrations—in Chicago, for instance—have not only brought the issues out, but they have brought us to the conference table, and I don't believe that we would be in Chicago where we are today without demonstrations.

And let me say, secondly, that it is very important to see the difference between nonviolent demonstrations and riots. It may be true that in a demonstration people react with violence toward nonviolent demonstrators, but you don't blame the demonstrators. This would be like blaming the robbed man because his possession money precipitated the evil act of robberv.

Ultimately society must condemn the robber and not the robbed. It must protect the robbed, and this is where we are

in these demonstrations, and I am still convinced that there is nothing more powerful to dramatize a social evil than the tramp, tramp of marching feet.

MR. VALERIANI: In regard to your present movement, in regard to housing, is it not conceivable to you that a majority of white Americans does not want a Negro for a neighbor, and if that is so, as it was demonstrated in a vote in California, should the majority preference be respected?

DR. KING: It is quite true that there are many people who are against open housing and who are against having Negroes as their neighbor. This does not mean that we don't go all out to end housing discrimination. It may be true that in the south many white people did not want Negroes to eat at lunch counters, did not want Negroes to have access to motels and hotels and restaurants, but this did not stop the nation from having its conscience so aroused that it brought into being a civil rights law, as a result of our movement, to end this.

Now, I think the same thing must happen in housing. People have these fears, they have these prejudices, and we are only saying that through legislation and a vigorous enforcement of fair housing bills we will be able to change certain conditions. It doesn't mean that we will change the hearts of people, but we will change through laws the habits of people, and once the habits are changed, pretty soon people adjust to them, just as in the south they have adjusted to integrated public accommodations.

I think in the north and all over the country people will adjust to living next door to a Negro, once they know that it has to be done, once realtors stop all of the block busting, the panic peddling and all of that.

When the law makes it clear, and it is vigorously enforced, we will see that people will not only adjust, but they will finally come to the point that even their attitudes are changed.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. McKissick, you have been quoted as saying —and these are the words—that "the civil rights movement in 1966 has reached the moment of truth, and Negro leaders are not telling it to us like it is."

Most of the Negro leaders are here today. Will you tell us how you see the moment of truth that we are not being told?

MR. McKISSICK: I don't know whether I am being quoted accurately, but in substance that is what I said, and I will certainly explain it. First of all, I believe that the moment of truth is here for the simple reason that, one, nonviolence is something of the past. I don't believe nonviolence can be taught the way nonviolence could be taught years ago.

At our recent convention in Baltimore, the question of self-defense came up, and the convention went on record favoring

self-defense, not abolishing nonviolence, but certainly favoring self-defense. The attitude was that, one, we are an organization fighting for constitutional rights and, in fighting for constitutional rights, one of those rights is the right to defend the home and the person, and no longer could we advocate that a person give up the right of self-defense.

I think, two, the climate which prevailed in 1960 or in the earlier years has changed, and I think it is difficult now to harness and have the control over demonstrations at many points for the simple reason that most of the black people in the communities do not and will not agree to be nonviolent. They will agree to participate in demonstrations, but they will not agree to be hit and passively to stand there and not return blow for blow.

MR. SPIVAK: In your literature as late as 1965, you said, "Nonviolence is effective. It has worked in hundreds of cases. This method attacks the practice of discrimination but respects the person who discriminates."

Do you still stand by that or have you changed your definition of nonviolence? Everybody believes in self-defense.

MR. McKISSICK: Oh, no. Let me get one point very clear. If we make a mistake, we are going to be the first to say an error has been made. Now, we are saying right today, we have had CORE rules for action for a number of years in which we advocated a policy of nonviolence and we still advocate nonviolence in a demonstration. We say that we can march down the street and if nobody hits us, okay, you have got nonviolence. But if somebody hits us, then you better have an ambulance on the side to pick up whoever hits somebody.

MR. SPIVAK: Am I to understand then that you and Dr. Martin Luther King really are not in disagreement on the principle and the philosophy of nonviolence?

MR. McKISSICK: First of all, I'd like to answer that by saying this, that despite the fact that as already has been said, that Dr. King believes in one thing, Mr. Wilkins believes in another and Stokely Carmichael believes in another——

MR. SPIVAK: I am just talking about nonviolence.

MR. McKISSICK: The facts of injustice are so heaped and they weave so closely together that I dare say that we will ever divorce ourselves from each other regardless of any point which may come up.

MR. SPIVAK: You haven't answered my question on nonviolence. Are you in agreement or disagreement with Dr. King on the matter of nonviolence?

MR. McKISSICK: The answer cannot be a positive yes and no answer. The Congress of Racial Equality adopts its position and Dr. King adopts the position for the Southern Christian

Leadership Conference. As far as we are concerned, as I said before, we believe in nonviolence providing nobody hits us. When somebody hits us, we believe in self-defense.

MR. SPIVAK: There is a difference between self-defense and nonviolence though.

MR. McKISSICK: Self-defense and nonviolence are not incompatible.

MR. ROWAN: Dr. King, you have heard what Mr. McKissick said. Are you in disagreement or not?

DR. KING: I believe firmly in nonviolence. I still believe that it is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom and human dignity. I think a turn to violence on the part of the Negro at this time would be both impractical and immoral.

If Mr. McKissick believes in that, I certainly agree with him.

On the question of defensive violence, I have made it clear that I don't think we need programmatic action around defensive violence. People are going to defend themselves anyway. I think the minute you have programmatic action around defensive violence and pronouncements about it, the line of demarcation between defensive violence and aggressive violence becomes very thin.

The minute the nomenclature of violence gets into the atmosphere, people begin to respond violently, and in their unsophisticated minds they cannot quite make the distinction between defensive and aggressive violence.

I think that we must still stand on the premise of nonviolence, and I choose to do that not only because I think it is morally right, but I think it is practically sound.

MR. KILPATRICK: Mr. Carmichael, in a recent speech in Cleveland you reportedly ridiculed as "Uncle Toms" those Negro spokesmen who counsel nonviolence and patience in the civil rights struggle.

Did you mean thus to label such spokesmen as Dr. King and Mr. Wilkins?

MR. CARMICHAEL: Let me say that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will never publicly denounce any black leader in this country, so I couldn't have possibly said that.

MR. KILPATRICK: The quote was simply a false quote; you never said anything of that sort?

MR. CARMICHAEL: No, I never critically publicly criticized any black leader in this country.

MR. KILPATRICK: In the same story you were quoted by the United Press International as saying that when you talk of "Black Power", you talk of bringing this country to its knees.

Were you correctly quoted on that?

MR. CARMICHAEL: The rest of it was not there. The other half of it said that when you talk about Black Power, you talk about bringing this country to its knees any time it messes with a black man."

MR. KILPATRICK: Any time it messes with a black man. By that do you mean violence against the Negro?

MR. CARMICHAEL: By that I mean messes with a black man.

MR. KILPATRICK: You would just stop it right there?

MR. EVANS: Dr. King, a couple of political questions.

You said recently that the "extravagant promises" made a year ago in connection with the voting rights bill have now become a "shattered mockery."

What, exactly, did you mean by that, Dr. King?

DR. KING: I mean that this voting rights bill came into being to end not only discrimination in its overt expressions of voter registration, but also to remove the atmosphere for intimidation, for economic reprisals and for the creation of fear that cause people not to vote. One of the things we have found is that when you have federal registrars in communities, many more Negroes go out to register because they see a different atmosphere and are not over-arched or under-girded with the fear of intimidation and economic reprisals as much as they have in dealing with some of the local registrars that they have dealt with so long.

The problem is that after that bill came into being very few registrars were sent into the south. I mean federal registrars. Even today all too few have been sent, and this is even true in some communities where we know that there are outright patterns of discrimination.

MR. EVANS: That is what I wanted to get to next, Dr. King. Whom do you blame for the failure of, as you call it, enough federal registrars to have been sent south? Is that President Johnson's responsibility? Is it the Department of Justice? Where do you lay the blame?

DR. KING: I think it is both. I think it is ultimately the responsibility of the President through the Attorney General, and I would say that it is not either/or, it is both/and, here. The President and the Attorney General have the responsibility to implement and to enforce it.

I know that the ultimate enforcement of the law is with the President, but certainly he follows the advice of the Attorney General, so I'd say both ends.

MR. EVANS: Dr. King, why do you think the President has not moved as forcibly on voting in the south as you think he should have? What reason do you give to his not having sent more registrars into the south?

DR. KING: There are probably many reasons, and I must confess that I don't know all of the reasons. I think on the

one hand some sincere feelings that if you can get voluntary—I mean if you can move into certain areas forcefully with federal registrars, that other areas will follow through inevitably in the realm of voluntary compliance. I believe that that is a sincere analysis, although I think it is a wrong analysis of the situation. I think on the other hand there are certain political forces that have sought desperately to keep the Administration from sending federal registrars in their areas.

For instance, in southwest Georgia we need federal registrars right now, and I am convinced that the political leaders of Georgia in the Senate have used pressure to keep the Federal Government from sending federal registrars into Georgia.

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Meredith, looking back, what do you think your march through Mississippi accomplished?

MR. MEREDITH: As you recall, I didn't march through Mississippi. I was shot the first day and, of course, all of these other gentlemen carried on the march in Mississippi. I only returned for the last two days.

I think probably the biggest accomplishment was to place in focus the problem in this country, and again I say the question is whether or not white supremacy and the rest of the theory of white superiority is going to be the rule in this country, or if we are in fact going to follow the rule of equality and equal justice before the law, as our ideals say.

MR. VALERIANI: How is the philosophy of white supremacy going to be changed in your opinion?

MR. MEREDITH: It can only be changed in two ways, and one more important than the other. That is, the white in this country decides that—and I think he must make this decision for his own survival—that this country will be one of equality and equal justice before the law, and, of course the Negro must develop himself, make himself whole, so that he can assert his 25 million manpower strength toward making sure that this nation becomes what it should be.

MR. NEWMAN: Gentlemen, I must interrupt briefly here. Our thanks to Dr. King, who is leaving us now.

(Station break)

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Carmichael, you have said over and over again that the white press has distorted your use of the slogan "Black Power."

Will you tell us here and now exactly what you mean by "Black Power," so that all of us can understand your meaning without misquoting you or distorting you?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I am sorry you asked that question now, because two days ago the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Com-

mittee decided we are not going to define the term "Black Power" any more.

MR. SPIVAK: Granted that you won't define it, there has been a position paper of SNCC's organization published in The New York Times, and in that position paper these words of the SNCC organization are quoted: "When we view the masses of white people, we view in reality 180 million racists."

Was The New York Times misquoting SNCC and its philosophy of "Black Power?"

MR. CARMICHAEL: In the first place, that paper was written by some people in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It was not a public paper. We don't know how The New York Times got hold of it. The paper is 75 pages long. I don't see how it is possible for them to assume that in one page of their anti-black newspaper they could publish the thoughts of a 75-page paper, and they said—they said, not the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—that it was the basis for "Black Power." We didn't know that. We thought the work we have been doing for the past six years has been the basis for "Black Power" because that is all we have been working on in SNCC.

MR. SPIVAK: Well, Mr. Carmichael, will you yourself answer? Do you believe there are 180 million racists in this country?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I would say that the system in this country that is set up, that affects all of us, black and white, allows for white supremacy to reign in this country and that it does not allow for any white person to view a black person as his equal but rather to view him as inferior because of the system. That has nothing to do with the white person himself. He or she might be a good guy or a bad guy, but that the system just allows for seeing black people as inferior and that the few black people who are allowed to escape are viewed as excetions to the rule.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Carmichael, you seem to be misquoted a great deal in the press of America. I'd like to try you on one more thing. Did you or did you not say that Negroes who fight in Vietnam are black mercenaries?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I most certainly did, yes.

MR. SPIVAK: Will you tell us exactly what you mean by that?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I certainly do. A mercenary is a hired killer, and I think that when this country says to black youths in the ghetto and to black youths in the rural south that their only chance for a decent living is to join the Army—and then they throw in all sorts of rationalizations about, you can get skills and there is a chance for them to advance, etcetera, etcetera—they are saying to that black man that his only chance

for a decent life is to become a hired killer because that is the sole function of an Army.

MR. SPIVAK: Is that all they are saying, or are they saying the same thing to him that they are saying to every American?

MR. CARMICHAEL: That is what they are saying to the black youth because unemployment for him is double what it is for everybody else, while he is only one tenth, as we are always reminded most recently, of the population.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you then stand by the statement you made on a recent television program that "There is no reason why black people should be fighting for free elections in Vietnam, for some other people to get free elections when they don't have it in their own country?"

MR. CARMICHAEL: I most certainly think, Mr. Spivak, that when you take black people from Washington, D. C., where they don't vote and send them to Vietnam.

MR. SPIVAK: But white people don't vote either, Mr. Carmichael.

MR. CARMICHAEL: Then white people should speak to that.

MR. SPIVAK: That's all right.

MR. CARMICHAEL: I represent the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee an organization that works with black people so therefore I speak for the needs of black people.

It seems to me that when you talk about taking a black man from Lowndes County, Alabama—Mississippi, Georgia—Chicago, where he doesn't have free elections and you send him to another country where he is to deliver free elections for somebody else, he is a black mercenary.

MR. SPIVAK: What about you? Do you vote?

MR. CARMICHAEL: Do I vote? I haven't voted.

MR. SPIVAK: Have you the right to vote?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I have the right to vote.

MR. SPIVAK: Are you a citizen?

MR. CARMICHAEL: There is some question about that.

MR. SPIVAK: Since you have the right—you say you have the right to vote, since you have the right, would you yourself serve in Vietnam?

MR. CARMICHAEL: No, I would not fight in Vietnam, absolutely not, and I would urge every black man in this country not to fight in Vietnam.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Meredith, you have been described as a loner, as a man with no organization and no clearcut philosophy. There are some differences of viewpoint represented here. Is there any one of these groups with which you more closely associate yourself?

MR. MEREDITH: The group with which I most closely associate myself is the Negro. This is a misnomer, this "loner"

business, because I know that no one, including—well, we will take the largest group, which is half a million. We have 25 million Negroes. My position has been and probably will remain for some time that in order for the Negro to accomplish what he deserves and needs, we are going to have to find something that everyone can attach to, say like the Democratic Party. You have Senator Kennedy, you have Senator Eastland, you have Senator Wayne Morse—all members of the same party, but men with different views. I think that the Negro is going to have to do the same thing. We are going to have to have something that a Dr. King or a Dr. Jackson or a Mr. Wilkins or Stokley Carmichael and all of the other peoples in this country—the store fronts, the hustlers and everybody else, can attach to and work toward.

MR. ROWAN: Do you think a declaration that Negroes fighting in Vietnam are black mercenaries is something every Negro can attach to?

MR. MEREDITH: Of course everyone knows my position on Vietnam. I fully support the war effort. I haven't supported the conduct of the war by the Administration, but I am a soldier. I have spent most of my adult life in the military, and I personally think that one of the greatest things in America today is the war in Vietnam, because for the first time black men, the Negroes, are fighting in a war. What this means to me is that these soldiers are not going to come back over here and accept white supremacy any more.

I think that if we lose in Vietnam, this nation will go down.

I want to be a part of a great nation, and I think the Negro wants to be a part of it. Consequently—Stokely hasn't been in the military. I don't want to argue with these fellows. I mean they can believe anything they want, but I am a military man, and I support soldiers fighting. I think everybody should support soldiers fighting.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Meredith, the crux of the issue here today is how to go about wiping out white supremacy, which you have mentioned. Isn't the real issue whether the Negroes' objective is integration or isolation?

MR. MEREDITH: I don't think so, because here 99 percent of the Negroes are going to be isolated anyway. Certainly for many years to come. I am now concerned—and this is what I am devoting most of my effort to—with the Negro himself. Particularly right now in voter registration efforts throughout this country, the Negro in this country feels left out. I meet them every day. They tell me "Why register, because it is going to be fixed anyway?" I don't blame them for feeling this because in the past it has been fixed. If they have not been

sold out, they have not been represented by the people who are up there and supposed to represent them.

MR. KILPATRICK: Mr. Wilkins, a few questions dealing with the desegregation of the schools. Here in Washington you are of course familiar with the process of desegregation that has resulted over the past ten or 12 years. In what way would you combat this tendency toward resegregation that is brought on by the flight of white parents to the suburbs?

MR. WILKINS: I think Washington gave a little of that answer itself in the early days. The answer of course lies in the strengthening of the whole system of public education, irrespective of whether it is in the city or in the suburbs or whether they are white children or black children.

I would say that the sentiment of the Negro community is for integration and quality education with emphasis on the latter.

MR. KILPATRICK: I had in mind the specific tools that have been proposed by the various persons such as Mr. Howe, the Commissioner of Education, the use of federal funds in such a way as to coerce or to compel the more complete integration of schools in suburbs and in cities. Have you thought of that?

MR. WILKINS: Yes, I have thought of it. I approve what Mr. Howe has in mind, and I go farther than he does. I feel that the education of the Negro minority in this country is something that has too long been neglected by the local school boards, by the cities, by the states, and that it is time that the federal government impose not only the restrictions that Mr. Howe talks about—and I applaud him for what he has done—but additional ones. In this case, Mr. Kilpatrick, just as in the case of lynching, the local communities have proved themselves unable to deal effectively with the situation, and yet they say, "We mustn't have federal interference."

I can't buy that. I am sorry.

MR. KILPATRICK: If I understand correctly the implications of some of the speeches Mr. Howe has been making lately, he is proposing to say to a city and its surrounding surburban county, which may be and ordinarily is under an entirely different government: "Neither one of your jurisdictions will receive federal aid unless your school systems are melded together and your children exchanged or bussed in or brought into more integrated situations." Is this what you favor and would like to see?

MR. WILKINS: I would like to see as much—first, I put quality education; second, integration. I don't think a child can have in this country a complete education, either a white or black child, if he goes to a segregated school all his life. He is going to have to live in a multi-racial community, he will have to

function as an adult in a multi-racial community, and very shortly he is going to have to function in a multi-racial world, and he can't sell refrigerators in Nigeria with the kind of nomenclature that he uses in rural Georgia.

MR. EVANS: Mr. McKissick, I would like to ask you if you would try to explain for me the comment about CORE made recently by Lillian Smith, who, as you know, has just removed herself from the Board of CORE and is one of its oldest and most valued supporters.

She says, "CORE has been infiltrated by adventurers, annihilists, black nationalists and plain old-fashioned haters who have finally taken over."

Why do you think Lillian Smith has been affected this way by the developments in CORE over the last six months?

MR. McKISSICK: I can't understand—I really don't understand how Miss Smith has got such an impression. I think it is possibly because she has not been attending the meetings of the organization and has not met its Board of Directors and its chapter members. But I assure you that we regret the loss of Miss Smith, for she has made notable contributions to the organization, but I don't think that her interpretations, or the way she defines people in CORE would be a correct one in any sense.

MR. EVANS: Do you think, Mr. McKissick, beyond Lillian Smith there has been an alienation between white liberals and CORE in the last few months, and if so, does this disturb you as a Negro leader?

MR. McKISSICK: Of course we would like to have everyone love us if at all possible, and of course we hate to lose friends. There is no question about that. But because people get disturbed by a change in policy, simply means that we will have to move the organization alone without those people, if those people decide not to go with us.

MR. EVANS: Mr. McKissick, a last question: Since black power is one of the basic reasons behind Lillian Smith's move and some of this other alienation I talked about, could you define very quickly for us your concept of "black power"?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes, I will be quite happy to define it. That is CORE's philosophy of black power: One, we have stated that black people must decide for themselves. They must have self-determination to determine the direction and the pace in which they will become total citizens in this society. And in doing so, six basic ingredients are needed: One, political power. Two, economic power. Three, an improved self-image of the black man himself—as you well know that is not in the history books, what we have done and the contributions we have made. Four, the development of young militant leadership. Five, the enforcement

of federal laws, abolishment of police brutality. And six, the development of a black consumer bloc.

That is basically what we describe as "black power."

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. Young, to follow up that question, don't most of the civil rights leaders go along with the concept of black power, but rather deplore the idea that the term is being used, that it has a bad psychological effect?

MR. YOUNG: I can speak for the Urban League. We took a position, number one, that we should be very cautious about trying to interpret the slogans of other organizations. Secondly, we deplored the country's obsession and preoccupation with a debate about a slogan which we felt deterred the country from concentrating on the problems of poverty and discrimination. The Urban League takes a position that power is something that one acquires through having sufficient economic means, educational resources and political know-how. We do not feel that one gets pride or dignity or power simply by being white or being black, but by mobilizing into various groups who have similar ideas and working toward those ends. I think I must admit that any slogan, any motto that is left open to so many interpretations always runs a risk.

MR. VALERIANI: You talk about developing pride, and Mr. Meredith has talked about making the Negro whole, and Mr. McKissick has also talked about pride. Yet the civil rights leadership seems extremely reluctant to face up to the implications of the Moynihan Report, which documents the disintegration of the Negro family. Why is this?

MR. YOUNG: I think the opposition or the reservations that many of us had about the Moynihan Report was, one, that it was entitled "The Negro Family," which tended to indict 75 percent of the Negro families that are stable and not disorganized. I think the fact that it pointed up the social pathologies of the Negro and highlighted those and did not point up the social pathologies of the white society that had caused them was unfortunate.

I think also we resented the fact that these various social disorganizations, such as illegitimacy and crime and various other things seemed rather high as far as the Negro is concerned. He did not point out that these are related to socio-economic conditions and while the illegitimacy rate might be much higher among Negroes—say, as 60 percent of the illegitimacy happens to be Negro, actually 90 percent of the abortion rate happens to be white, and I am assuming the initial activity was the same, so there is no question of morality. But the report really presented not anything too new to Negroes. We had talked about it in our presentation of the "Marshall Plan." Franklin Fraser talked about it years before. It was an in-house report. I have

great respect for Mr. Moynihan. I think he is a genuine liberal in this cause, but it was an in-house document, it wasn't expected to be a published report. But since it became one, I feel free to make what I think is a valid criticism.

MR. NEWMAN: Mr. Carmichael, I think you were disturbed by something that was said by Mr. Young.

MR. CARMICHAEL: No, I was disturbed by the Moynihan Report. Never by what any fellow black man says. At least publicly.

I was disturbed by the Moynihan Report because what he was trying to do was put the blame on the——

MR. NEWMAN: May I just interrupt to make it clear we are talking about a report drawn up by Daniel P. Moynihan when he was Assistant Secretary of Labor.

MR. CARMICHAEL: He put the blame on the black family. It is the same old trick of the oppressor switching the blame to the oppressed and saying to the oppressed, it is your fault why you are the way you are, without admitting that the oppressors are the ones who put the people where they were.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Carmichael, may I ask in fairness, ask you this question—in fairness to Mr. Moynihan. Did he put the blame, or was he just reporting the facts? I have talked to Mr. Moynihan, and I don't believe he was placing blame. He was simply stating some facts.

MR. CARMICHAEL: No, he tended to place the blame. He tended to say, now, if all black men and black women got married and had two kids, all the problems would be over. That is what it led to. That was the conclusion and gist of the report, without stating in fact that in the black ghettoes of this country black employment runs rampant and that is not the fault of black people that black mothers have to work as maids away from their children while everybody else has a right to be home helping to bring their children up. That is not the fault of black mothers.

MR. NEWMAN: I think I had better cut off the discussion of the Moynihan Report since Mr. Moynihan is not here to defend himself.

I think—and I know him quite well—that you have mistaken what he said, but still—Mr. Spivak.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Meredith, in your Saturday Evening Post article recently you wrote, "There is much feeling that Dr. King's philosophy of nonviolence is no longer tenable."

Do you believe that or were you simply reporting on something?

MR. MEREDITH: Of course I believe it. In the first place, nonviolence is incompatible with American ideas. This is a military-minded nation, and it always has been. I am very afraid

that if 25 million people start to go a different direction from what the mainstream is going—and let me say what I think that mainstream is: I think this country is one that basically is a tough country. It is a frontier-type of mentality, and everyone has the philosophy that you do right, but you make sure everyone else does right as well.

Now, my father never shot anybody, but he always had a gun above his bed and shells within reach, and I am sure that if someone had broke in his house to disturb his family he would have shot someone.

I see great dangers in nonviolence, although there are many advantages to the country.

MR. SPIVAK: But, Mr. Meredith, don't you think we ought to get straight on the difference between nonviolence and self-defense?

MR. MEREDITH: I think we should, yes.

MR. SPIVAK: Just a minute, may I say, I think that when Dr. King and others speak about nonviolence they say that groups of Negroes shouldn't take arms and shouldn't take, as some have advocated——

MR. MEREDITH: That is the trick in the whole thing. Nonviolence is not the opposite of violence, and this is where the whole trick is in this whole business of nonviolence, and I think we should clear that up.

MR. SPIVAK: I know, but there is a difference between self-defense—I don't think that there are many of us who don't believe in the right of self-defense of any Negro against anyone who attacks him.

MR. MEREDITH: Nonviolence is not the opposite of violence, and this is where this country has been trying to lead the Negro down a wrong road. They have been trying to say to him, "If you are not nonviolent—if you don't turn the other cheek, you are violent. The Negro has never been violent.

MR. SPIVAK: May I ask you a specific question? When we talk about nonviolence, we are saying that the Negro ought not in groups or alone take up a gun or do anything else—neither should a white man—in order to take what he believes belongs to him. That is the difference between nonviolence—self-defense is when somebody attacks him.

MR. MEREDITH: The Negro has never in his history engaged in the type of violence that people are talking about. The whites have always engaged in this type of violence.

What really happened with nonviolence, they took the Negro as he was in 1960, or whenever it was, and they attached this name "nonviolence" to him and thereby gave a legitimacy to a particular movement. This changed nothing. It just gave a name to what already existed and gave the implication that if this were

not the case, there would be violence. The Negro has never entertained the idea of taking up arms against the whites and they cannot. But now I think the Negro must become a part of this mainstream, and if the whites—now you take Mississippi, for instance—I know the people that shot in my home years ago. They know the people that killed all of the Negroes that have been killed. The community knows them; the whites know them, and the Negroes know them, and I am here to say that these people have to be removed from our society. White supremacy will not allow itself to remove these people from its society. If they don't find a way, the Negro has no choice but to remove these men, and they have to be removed. You can't have killers running around in the society killing people themselves.

MR. SPIVAK: Are you suggesting then that if several Negroes are killed or any white men are killed and the law does not punish them, as happens very often in the case of white men too, that people ought to organize as vigilantes and go out and take the law into their own hands and commit violence? You are not saying that, are you, Mr. Meredith?

MR. MEREDITH: That is exactly what I am saying. Exactly.

MR. CARMICHAEL: If you don't want us to do it, who is going to do it?

MR. MEREDITH: I know personally the man who tried to kill my family when I was at the University of Mississippi, and everybody in the community knows him. I know that in all of the other communities in Mississippi—and you have read about all these killings—during the march they killed this 65-year-old man, shot him 16 times, shot his head off.

MR. SPIVAK: But you didn't pick up a gun and go out and try to kill that man because the law hadn't taken care of him; you don't believe in that, do you?

MR. MEREDITH: This is what we are going to have to move to. If the law doesn't take these men, then we've got to stop this. We cannot continue to tolerate this. Now, I know why——

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Meredith, do you mean to tell me that you believe the Negroes in this country ought to organize, take up guns and if the law doesn't take care of the wrongs that the white man or other Negroes commit against him, they ought to take the law into their own hands?

MR. MEREDITH: This is precisely, and I will tell you why, because the white supremacy is a system——

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Meredith, this doesn't even make sense against 180 million people. If you do it, they are going to do it.

MR. MEREDITH: Let me explain it. If you let me explain it, then you will understand.

You see in Mississippi, I know it to be a fact that most of the whites in Mississippi are good whites. They don't like this; but

they condone it. They tell me—they dislike it, they tell me this, but they are powerless to do anything about it. They are just like a father who is incestuous and wants to stop his—he sleeps with his daughter, but he wants to stop his son from sleeping with his mother.

This is what white supremacy does. The whites in Mississippi don't like for whites to go around killing Negroes, but they have tolerated it so long until the law—they cannot bring themselves to enforce it. And we've got to stop this.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Carmichael, do I detect that you agree with Mr. Meredith that the Negro may have to take arms?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I am here to answer Mr. Spivak directly that if in fact the law—and let it remain crystal clear that in this country we are the only people who have to protect ourselves against our protection. We have to protect ourselves against state troopers, against police in Mississippi, against Jim Clark, against Bova in California, against policeman Rizzo in Philadelphia, and we have to protect ourselves against these, and if we do not protect ourselves, since the police forces of this country and the federal government and the law officials are not protecting us, then who is going to protect us? And I agree 150 percent that black people have to move to the position where they organize themselves and they are in fact a protection for each other and in fact of that 180 million people, because I am a little bit tired of that 90 percent theory. I want to talk about that just for two minutes if I may. While we may be ten percent inside the country, continental borders of the United States, we want to make it crystal clear that we are well located in cities across this country and that if in fact 180 million people just think they are going to turn on us and we are going to sit there, like the Nazis did to the Jews, they are wrong. We are going to go down together, all of us.

And the second thing is that we want this country to be crystal clear to understand that its Army is integrated, and in Vietnam 40 percent* of your fighting forces are black people, and if you think those black people are going to fight a war while 180 million people turn on its fellow black brothers inside this country and continue fighting that war, you are mistaken.

And thirdly, while we may be ten percent inside the continental borders of the United States, outside the 180 are 10 percent. Understand that.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Carmichael, let me ask how many Negroes do you think agree with what you have just said?

MR. CARMICHAEL: It will be left to be seen. The Harris polls tell me only 19 percent.

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*Department of Defense estimate: approximately 20%.

MR. ROWAN: I notice that Newsweek Magazine said 19 percent of the rank and file Negroes approved of you as a leader, that 33 percent of what Newsweek called the Negro leadership approved of you and your activities. Do you believe your following is really this low among Negroes?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I don't know. I was just wondering when I looked at that poll that had several other "Negro leaders" above me—I wondered why they weren't invited to MEET THE PRESS, and I wonder why the country is then so obsessed with SNCC since only 19 percent of the rank and file are listening to us. It seems to me there would be no worry. We're a minority, forget about it.

MR. ROWAN: It could be that the press delights in misquoting you, Mr. Carmichael.

MR. CARMICHAEL: It could be the press speaks from a white power base.

MR. ROWAN: Let me ask you this, since we are back to black power again, is it that your organization decided not to define it again because it concluded that it was a public relations blunder to toss out a phrase whose meaning was so obscure and whose emotional impact was so great that it divided Negroes, alienated whites and confused everybody?

MR. CARMICHAEL: On the contrary. The protection of the term "black power" came from the white press, never from black people in this country. The debate about that was arranged among white people and the white press, and it is in fact an attempt to smear and distort SNCC, and it is crystal clear in my mind that any white man in this country knows about power. He knows what white power is, and he ought to know what black power is. For the newspapers which have analyzed the power structure of Vietnam and the power play in the cold war, not to understand what black power is in this country is certainly ludicrous.

MR. KILPATRICK: Mr. Young, let me pursue a somewhat different theme for a moment. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission has now been in operation for a little bit more than a full year. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the record it set over this past year?

MR. YOUNG: I am dissatisfied. I feel that the Commission was slow getting organized, that it initially was not aggressive enough in carrying out what its basic mission was—and that was to implement the law. I felt that initially they were too much concerned about trying to get people to do something voluntarily which they were supposed to see that they did as a matter of law. I don't think the Commission has been aggressive enough. I don't think it has pushed enough the whole matter of training as a

responsibility of industry. I think that it has been poorly organized and at this point is in need of a major reorganization.

MR. KILPATRICK: Do you have in mind such a reorganization as that contemplated in the bill passed by the House in April that would give to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in general the same powers that the NLRB has to issue its own cease and desist orders?

MR. YOUNG: I think this would greatly strengthen the Commission's work providing it had the right administrative leadership.

MR. KILPATRICK: Is the "civil rights lobby," if you will forgive the phrase, pushing that House bill?

MR. YOUNG: Oh, yes, we are supporting this. Mr. Wilkins, who actually heads the civil rights lobby, might be able to speak to this more in detail.

MR. KILPATRICK: In the field of employment opportunities the statement often is made on the part of many employers that they are perfectly willing to hire more Negro workers but that none apply, or that so few who are qualified apply.

How do you respond to that defense on their part?

MR. YOUNG: I think this is very feeble. We have in this country in the corporate circles the most creative minds, the most imaginative people. Anything they really want to do, any type of worker they really want to employ or to train, they can do it.

I think what has been happening is that many have assumed their responsibilities were met once they opened their doors. I think many have been looking for the exceptional Negro. They have been expecting a Negro to be superior to a white person when he had no opportunity to be. They have been looking for Lena Hornes for secretaries, and Ralph Bunches for accountant jobs. They have not been willing to say, "We will hire the whole range of Negroes as we hire the whole range of white people." They have not been willing to set aside the jobs that they have for mediocre white people or dumb white people and set those aside for the mediocre or the not-too-bright Negroes. I don't think industry has yet gone all out. It has certainly changed in its policies, its pronouncements. It certainly has opened its doors to the more talented, but I think it can do much more than what has been done up to now. It only convinces me of what more they could do if they really tried, because there has not been major disturbance in any of these areas where they have given new opportunities to Negroes.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Wilkins, I want to ask you, without trying to join in a fight between you and Mr. Carmichael about his last statement, do you think it serves the Negro or the white man,

his purpose in any way, to threaten that the ten per cent of the Negro population can, if it has to, drag down this whole country?

MR. WILKINS: I didn't interpret Mr. Carmichael's remarks that way.

MR. EVANS: He said, "We are going to go down together, all of us," if certain things don't happen.

MR. WILKINS: I think Mr. Carmichael—if he weren't where he is, he ought to be on Madison Avenue. He is a public relations man par excellence. He abounds in the provocative phrase.

Of course, no one believes that the Negro minority in this country is going to take up arms and try to rectify every wrong that has been done the Negro race if somebody doesn't rectify it through the regular channels.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Wilkins, may I just ask Mr. Carmichael if he would agree with that, that nobody in this country believes, as Mr. Wilkins has just stated?

MR. WILKINS: I think that Mr. Carmichael is on record—

MR. CARMICHAEL: What Mr. Wilkins is saying and you ought to be clear in your mind, Mr. Evans, since you are a newspaper reporter, that we have been forced by statements in this country, which remind us of the 90 per cent and what they can do and the 180 million and what they can do—as if they say to us, "Now, if you don't do exactly as we want you to do, if you don't follow what we prescribe for you, then we have the power to wipe you out." That threat is not going to stand in my mind as a black man, and I am going to move to get the things that I have to get in this country to be able to function as an equal.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Wilkins, to go back, don't you think it is precisely this kind of approach to the civil rights problem, correct or incorrect, that has aroused so much basic concern, fear, perhaps hostility, over the whole "Black Power" concept? Isn't this precisely what is worrying so many white people today?

MR. WILKINS: I go back to—without a yes or no on that, I go back to the statement of Dr. King some moments ago in the difference between southern hatred and northern hatred, he went on to say that he was simply arousing—not arousing it, but exposing it.

The thing that I think he omitted or gave too little emphasis to was the direct job competition in the north, whereas you didn't have that sort of competition in the south. The people in north who feel that the Negro is a competitor for the job will be more fierce in their reaction than those down south who only had to defend a psychological superiority. They already had the physical superiority.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Carmichael has said in Chicago recently that there is a tendency for the middle class Negro, who has achieved exit from the ghetto, who has managed to get out of the ghetto,

to forget the plight of the Negro in the ghetto once he has been emancipated.

Do you agree with that and, if so, is this endemic or is this peculiar to the Negro? Was this true of the Jew in this country, of the Italian and the other minorities?

MR. WILKINS: In the first place, I don't agree with it and, in the second place, I feel that it isn't peculiar to the Negro at all. Everyone is trying to better his condition in life. Everyone is trying to get ahead. If you can move away from a warehouse or on a street that has no paving to a street with paving and far from warehouses, you will do it. That is if you are normal. Whether you are an American or whether you are a Lebanese, it doesn't make any difference. There is too much evidence that the Negro middle class in this country, while not having done all it should have done, has nevertheless financed and supported and spearheaded the civil rights fight in the days when there were no people arguing philosophically about whether we should go this way or that way or the other way. There was only one way to go and that was to jam your head right into the wall and fight the man right on the firing line. That is what the Negro middle class did.

Now, because they have two suits and wear a white collar and can speak English reasonably well, they have to take a lot of vituperation from those who are still in bad and say they have been forgotten. They haven't been forgotten. They have been pretty well taken care of, but the Negro middle class can do more than it has done.

MR. VALERIANI: Mr. McKissick, what do you consider to be the No. 1 priority of the civil rights movement today?

MR. McKISSICK: I think that we have got two basic priorities that are facing us as a nation. I think one is racism, and the second is peace. I think they both are interwoven within our pattern of thinking. When we talk about "Black Power," for instance, and everybody gets excited—two little bitty words in the English language. One, "black"—everybody who has gone through the sixth grade knows what "black" means. "Power"—everybody who has gone through the sixth grade knows what that means, and I get a letter from a professor at Harvard saying, "Explain black power."

That means putting black power in black people's hands. We don't have any and we want some. That simply is what that means.

To answer the two basic questions you are talking about. I think we have really got to change some values in this country. I think the war is indicative of black men going over to Vietnam and dying for something that they don't have a right for here. I think that not only do we have the war, we've got racist

thought. It is a racist thought to oppose black people having power, if I can put it like that. That is a racist thought—because what you are saying is, "I am opposed to black people having power."

Then, you join issue, and as a lawyer when you join issue, you start preparing and I start preparing, because the issues are joined. So when we say changing what are the most important issues today, I think you've got two. You got peace and you got racism. Racist thoughts.

MR. CARMICHAEL: Can I add to that? It seems to me that is very indicative in terms of the foreign policy of this country and its racistic attitude outside of the country, its exploitation of other non-white countries and the way it draws their resources and brings it back here to be industrialized. One of the reasons why I think that black people now across the country who have become politically conscious of what is being done in Africa and Asia and Latin America by this country are saying they must join up with these emerging countries in the Third World [is] because they have in fact a common need—that they must stop this system that has exploited and oppressed them because of their color.

MR. SPIVAK: May I ask Mr. Carmichael a question first? A short while ago, when I was questioning you, you said you weren't sure that you were a citizen of this country. Was that correct?

MR. CARMICHAEL: Yes, I meant that in the sense that many people question that right, not me.

MR. SPIVAK: I am only questioning you. Are you a citizen of this country?

MR. CARMICHAEL: Do you mean in terms of a paper?

MR. SPIVAK: In terms of actual rights.

MR. CARMICHAEL: Obviously not. My dear black brother, Dr. King, can't even march in Chicago without getting a rock thrown on his head.

MR. SPIVAK: I am talking about you. Do you have a right to vote here? Are you a citizen, or are you still a citizen of Trinidad?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I am a citizen of the United States, if that is what you mean.

MR. SPIVAK: That was the question.

MR. CARMICHAEL: In that sense, in the paper citizen sense, is that what you are talking about?

MR. SPIVAK: That is right.

MR. CARMICHAEL: A paper citizenship.

MR. SPIVAK: You just don't identify yourself with the United States as it is today, and therefore you have virtually thrown your citizenship out the window, is that correct?

MR. CARMICHAEL: On the contrary. It seems to me that

what we are saying is that we see that there are some changes that have to be brought about in this country for people to live on the humanistic level that other people always talk about, and it seems that—that is where we say that we are going to move, to try to bring about those changes since people in this country do not live on the humanistic level everyone talks about.

MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Wilkins, the SNCC position paper which was recently published by The New York Times quoted SNCC as saying—and these are the words: "We are now aware that the NAACP has grown reactionary, is controlled by the "Black Power" structure itself, and stands as one on the main roadblock to black freedom."

Many of us have long believed that your organization is one of the oldest, has made one of the great contributions in getting civil rights laws through the country and in many, many other ways. What is your answer to this rather serious criticism made by the younger, more militant groups?

MR. CARMICHAEL: That was a private paper and was not for publication. I don't know how The New York Times got hold of that.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you repudiate that?

MR. CARMICHAEL: No, I am just saying that it was not a public statement. Privately, we have a right to analyze other civil rights groups, but we never do it publicly.

MR. WILKINS: Of course, we don't agree with it, and we feel it is a little uninformed. This is nothing unusual in these times. There are thousands of young Negro people in this country who believe that the civil rights movement started in 1960 when they became active in it, and so, anything before 1960 has to be aged and reactionary. This is not true. We feel that the NAACP is one of the most radical organizations because it addresses itself—that is, if the objective now, Mr. Spivak——

MR. SPIVAK: What is your goal? Does it differ in any way from theirs?

MR. WILKINS: If the objective is to reform America so that the Negro can live here in equality, if you can achieve his citizenship equality here—that is the goal, and that is our goal in the NAACP—then we have the radical approach, not the reactionary approach, because we want that equality with all the weapons we can muster.

MR. SPIVAK: Both SNCC and CORE seem to feel that integration is irrelevant in the civil rights fight. As far as I know, most of the older and those who are called more responsible leaders, have always felt that this is the fight, that this is the battle, to integrate the Negro into America society.

Have you changed your position on that?

MR. WILKINS: We haven't changed it at all.

MR. SPIVAK: Do you think it is irrelevant?

MR. WILKINS: The SNCC private paper—Mr. Carmichael says it was a private paper—uses a very significant phrase: "SNCC has become" it says "a closed society." We can't agree with this in any respect. No man is an island, to quote a familiar thing. You can't be a closed society and function in this world.

MR. ROWAN: Mr. Young, we all know that the Negro in the civil rights movement labors under a great many burdens. Do you think it wise to add to it this extra burden of the great debate over Vietnam?

MR. YOUNG: No, I find myself terribly distressed by a great deal of this conversation here today, that, instead of focusing on the basic gap, the situation where the Negro today has 55 per cent of the average family income of the white, that two and a half times to three times as many Negroes are unemployed, that 40 percent of all Negro families live in substandard housing.

As long as we have this situation, we will always have these problems that seem to upset people, and people forget that when they were in the same situation—the labor movement, the women, the Irish group—they demonstrated, they marched in the streets, they fought for all these things.

As far as Vietnam is concerned, the Urban League takes no position on Vietnam. We know this, that we had a race problem in this country before Vietnam; we will have a race problem after it is gone. We know well that the resistance, savage resistance we are running into in Chicago, has nothing to do with Vietnam. We know that the unemployment—certainly the lack of employment on the part of some industries, is not related to Vietnam. We think that as an individual, one has a right to take a position. Our concern is that there be no money diverted into Vietnam that ought to go into the poverty program, and we also are concerned about the 60,000 Negro fellows who are in Vietnam whether we like it or not, and we want to see when they come back that these men, their rights, are respected, because one man throwing a rock seems to upset more people in Watts than the hundreds of Negro boys who are dying in Vietnam.

MR. NEWMAN: Excuse me, gentlemen. We have just two minutes more.

MR. KILPATRICK: I wanted to ask a question of Mr. McKissick, if I could, relative to CORE and politics. In the book that he published back in February, James Farmer spoke quite candidly of the major change in CORE's policies that will take you into more direct political involvement. He called it "open political action, partisan and direct."

Can you tell us how widely CORE will be engaged this fall in congressional campaigns?

MR. McKISSICK: We will—when we talk about going into pol-

itics, we can talk on one level about parties, we can talk on another level about personalities, and then we can talk on another level about issues.

MR. KILPATRICK: Mr. Farmer talked on every level.

MR. McKISSICK: Yes.

MR. KILPATRICK: He talked even of CORE's running its own candidates for public office and supporting particular candidates and particular parties.

On that score, let me ask a question just for information. Are contributions to CORE tax deductible, or are they not?

MR. McKISSICK: Contributions are not tax deductible.

MR. KILPATRICK: So then you can involve yourself in politics?

MR. McKISSICK: That is correct.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Carmichael, were you invited by Bertrand Russell to that so-called "War Crimes Trials" in Europe?

MR. CARMICHAEL: It is not so-called. It is a war tribunal.

MR. EVANS: Are you going?

MR. CARMICHAEL: Yes, we of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have certainly accepted——

MR. EVANS: You personally?

MR. CARMICHAEL: —the invitation.

MR. NEWMAN: Invitation to what, Mr. Carmichael? Let's make it clear.

MR. CARMICHAEL: To attend the war tribunal that is being convened by Mr. Russell and——

MR. EVANS: Bertrand Russell. Are you going yourself, Mr. Carmichael?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I am not sure, but I'd like to very much.

MR. EVANS: You think President Johnson is guilty. Is that fair?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I didn't say I did. That is why I am going to the war tribunal, to see the evidence.

MR. EVANS: You think he may be?

MR. CARMICHAEL: I certainly don't agree with the war in Vietnam. I think it is an immoral war, yes. I think it is an immoral war.

MR. NEWMAN: I am sorry, gentlemen. I must interrupt. Our time is up. Thank you, all of you, for being with us today on this special edition of MEET THE PRESS.

The Proceedings of

MEET THE PRESS

as broadcast nationwide by the National Broadcasting Company, Inc., are printed and made available to the public to further interest in impartial discussions of questions affecting the public welfare. Transcripts may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope and ten cents for each copy to:

Merkle Press Inc. Box 2111, Washington, D. C. 20013

(Division Publishers Co., Inc.)

MEET THE PRESS is telecast every Sunday over the NBC Television Network. This program originated from the NBC Studios in Washington, D. C. and Chicago, Ill.

Television Broadcast 3:30 P.M. EDT
Radio Broadcast 8:05 P.M. EDT

August 30, 1966

Mr. Ronald Moskowitz
Associate Director
Education Commission of
the States
Suite 2575
Kroger Building
1014 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Mr. Moskowitz:

Thank you, indeed, for your invitation to cover the quarterly meeting of the Steering Committee of the Education Commission of the States. While we will be unable to attend, we would like very much to have a report of the proceedings if that can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

KATALLAGETE

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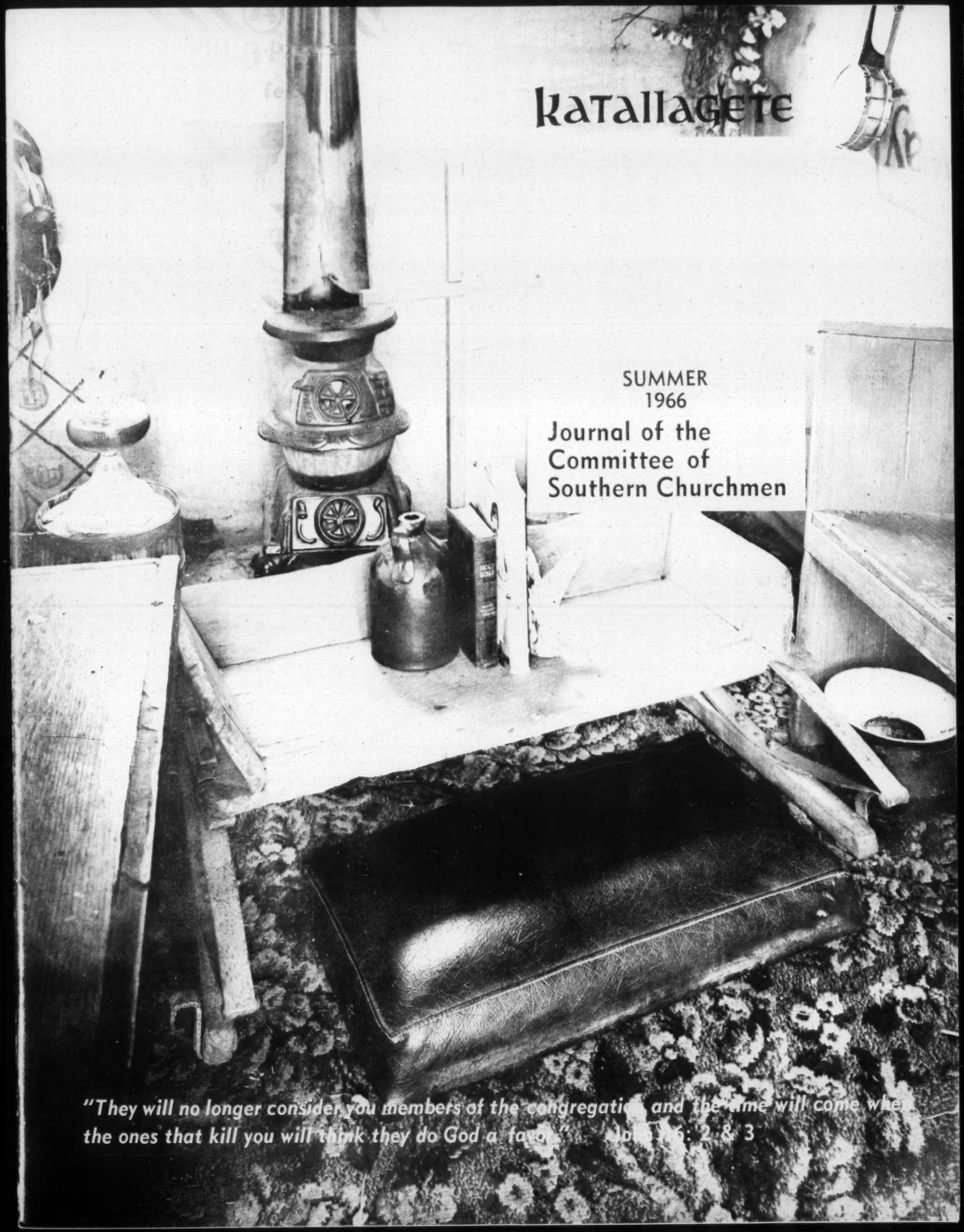
1966

Journal of the
Committee of
Southern Churchmen



"They will no longer consider you members of the congregation and the time will come when the ones that kill you will think they do God a favor." John 16: 2 & 3

File

August 17, 1966

Mr. Al Lowenthal
Executive Assistant to the President
International Union of Electrical, Radio
and Machine Workers
1126 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Lowenthal:

We will be most happy to provide an exhibit for your Miami Beach convention September 5. Thank you so much for offering us the space.

We are now in the process of putting together a three panel exhibit which will be shipped by express to the Americana Hotel around September 1. Each panel stands six feet tall and is four feet wide. However, the arrangement will not be spread out in the full width of 12 feet. Rather, each panel will be set at angle to the other so that I would think the total width would not exceed nine feet.

Thank you again for thinking of us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Anderson
Managing Editor, NEW SOUTH

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PAUL JENNINGS
President

PHONE: 296-1200 (Area Code 202)
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

July 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO-CLC, is holding its Twelfth Constitutional Convention at the Americana Hotel in Miami Beach, Florida, September 5, 1966 through September 9, 1966.

We expect that this will be one of the best attended conventions in our Union's history. It will be a delegates convention and the delegates will have the opportunity to express the ideas of those they represent for specific programs and policies.

Thus, the officers and membership of our International Union invite you to display an exhibit at what promises to be one of our most popular International Conventions.

If you wish to provide an exhibit, would you please let us know as soon as possible. In addition, would you please send us your space requirements in order that we can arrange proper space allocations.

Our official convention decorator will be in contact with you to work out the specific details.

Sincerely yours,

Al Loewenthal

Al Loewenthal
Executive Assistant
to the President

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CCAP Bulletin

September, 1966
VOL 1, NO. 4

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

File

PERISCOPE on POVERTY

The *anti-poverty authorization bill* continues to have trouble in Congress . . . current strategy is to press for passage of a bill in the Senate where the atmosphere is more friendly . . . then get the Senate Bill passed in the House . . . In the House, action has been postponed until the month's end. *The House version sharply cuts funds* available for community action programs, the heart of the anti-poverty effort.

The battle has been livened by a demand from House Labor Committee Chairman Powell that OEO chief Shriver resign. Shriver said he wouldn't . . . President Johnson, signing an appropriation bill containing $22 million for the *Rent Supplement program*, termed it "single most important breakthrough in history of public housing." Program will help poor meet rent bill provided they live in housing sponsored by non-profit or limited dividend groups . . . The $22 million is for year starting July 1.

The Demonstration Cities Program to combine physical rehabilitation of the slums in selected cities with social services passed by the Senate, but cut to $900 million from $2.3 billion requested to finance it, and is now before the House.

A cold shoulder and a deaf ear were all Gov. John Connally of Texas had for Rio Grande Valley farm workers who have been on a 400 mile march to Austin, the state capital, to dramatize their plea for decent wages. Connally intercepted the marchers . . . told them he

Continued on page 3

CRUSADE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR POOR MOVES AHEAD

Ford Foundation Provides Starter Grant of $375,000

National poverty interest focused on Washington this month with the announcement of an immediate start on a $4 million, three year program of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty to train 1,000 community workers to help the poor organize and participate more effectively in the War on Poverty.

News of the program's launching was made public by Walter P. Reuther, chairman of the Citizens Crusade shortly after the Ford Foundation announced a starter grant of $375,000 to the Citizens Crusade for the program.

Walter P. Reuther

McGeorge Bundy

"Sufficient funds and commitments are on hand," Reuther said, "for us to launch the program and assure its continuation." Two training centers will be established, one on the east coast and the other on the west coast. Staffing of the centers has been started.

Backing for the Crusade's program, he said, has come from religious, civil rights, labor, academic, business, student and farm groups as well as foundations. The cost of the three year comprehensive training effort is budgeted at $4,000,000.

Reuther stressed that the Crusade was going to make a special effort to attract the "natural leaders of youth among the poor" to receive training in the program. "These are people with great leadership potential," he said. "Instead of being permitted to use their skills and talents they are too often blocked and frustrated and react with understandable anger."

"It is our moral and social duty to give these young people, who are now the object of fear and suspicion, the training and opportunity to improve the quality of their lives.

Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy commented in announcing the grant: "Front-line workers in the war on poverty need skills as well as commitment, and

Continued on page 4

The Poor in Action:

Freedom City in the Delta

In the heart of the black, fertile Mississippi Delta some 94 Negroes who no longer have jobs or homes on the white man's plantations have set up housekeeping on a 400 acre community farm they hope to make into a new town.

Unlike many previous communal experiments it is based neither on intellectual curiosity nor idealism.

People moving into "Freedom City," as it is called, have been forced off the land by cutbacks in cotton allotments and increased mechanization. Many left their homes with no more than the clothes on their backs and a houseful of children.

When their farm jobs and homes were eaten up by machinery, the residents of Freedom City stayed in the Delta rather than migrate to some northern ghetto where they almost surely would have been unable to find work.

"Mainly, they're coming here 'cause there's no place else to go," said one of the community leaders.

The new community was the idea of the Delta Ministry, an action arm of the National Council of Churches which has been working in Mississippi for the past three years. The new residents of Freedom City hope it will become a center of small industry and agriculture and a base for the full citizenship necessary to contribute to a new Mississippi. "The whole thing is cooperative development," said Isaac Foster, a young organizer helping plan the new town.

The farm and equipment cost $170,000, for which the Delta Ministry received donations from the North and the East. The farm includes a large frame buliding used for cooking and eating, five used tractors, two used trucks, and a used combine. Families sleep in 24 "igloo-like" pre-fabricated houses.

A major problem for the residents of Freedom City, according to Foster, will be for residents to accept the responsibilities which once rested with the plantation overseer. Most Negroes on plantations in Mississippi live in almost total peonage to the white man. They are taught no skills beyond cotton chopping and are not given enough schooling to learn how to read and write.

The residents of "Freedom City" first planted their acres in wheat and soybeans, after hours of discussions as to what kind of crops would be best. The wheat growing venture brought the group some $2,000 income, and the soybean crop should bring more. An attempt is also being made to start a modest quilt making cooperative to be run by the women while the men work in the fields.

Blackwell Will Head Southern Rural Action Project

ATLANTA — First results of the Southern Rural Action Project, an experimental anti-poverty program which seeks to mobilize private resources to build a social and economic base for grass roots communities in the rural South and Southwest have been announced by the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty.

At the same time, CCAP Chairman Walter P. Reuther announced the appointment of Randolph Blackwell, former program director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as director of the Southern Rural Action project.

The first grass roots communities receiving support under the Southern Rural Action Project, aimed at assisting more than 100 rural communities over the next three years, will be Taliaferro, Lincoln, and Hancock Counties in Georgia and Greene and Perry Counties in Alabama.

A number of grass roots communities in Mississippi and Mexican-American groups in the Southwest are expected to join the program.

Under the new program, groups from more affluent sectors of the Nation — both in the South and the North — are linked with a grass roots organization in a two-year community development plan.

The following projects are already under way:

• The University of Illinois Small Home Council—Building Research Council, under the direction of Dr. Rudard A. Jones, will work with SRAP to develop a low-cost, self-help housing program for the grass roots communities participating in the project.

• The National Student Association will work with SRAP in developing appropriate support groups among its more than 300 affiliate chapters to provide marketing assistance for a small cooperative factory in Taliaferro County that produces athletic uniforms and other goods.

• A group of former Alabama

Continued on page 4

Crisis in the cities:

THE TRILLION DOLLAR PROBLEM

For the past several weeks more than a score of mayors and top administration officials have been testifying before a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, on the "crisis in the Nation's cities" and what should be done about it.

Clearly, the Senators didn't think enough of the right kind of things were being done, for they had stinging words about the way the Nation's housing program were being run, and short patience for witnesses who didn't have the facts and figures they wanted for their probe.

The harshest criticism was directed at Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, who predictably could tell the committee very little specific about the problems of his city, other than he lacked jurisdiction over most of the key branches of city government. Senator Ribicoff told him bluntly that despite his city's glitter and claim to greatness that "right now Los Angeles doesn't amount to a damn thing." And Senator Robert Kennedy of New York snapped: "You might not have the responsibility but you are the mayor and it seems to me we could expect some leadership from you."

The Senators also heard testimony from Detroit's Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh, who said his city would need $15 billion in federal aid the next decade, and Mayor John Lindsay, of New York, who claimed his city would need $50 billion in the same period to become a "thoroughly livable and exciting place to live." Doing some rough calculation, Senator Kennedy figured that if every city asked proportionately as much, the nation would have to come up with $1 trillion in the next decade.

Said Kennedy: "There's just not going to be those sums available." He advised the mayors that they would have to look to private sources to meet some of their needs.

All but obscured was testimony by two of the nation's most successful mayors: Richard Lee of New Haven and Ivan Allen of Atlanta. Both Mayors warmly praised a multi-million dollar plan proposed by Senators Kennedy and Ribicoff to rehabilitate slum areas and hire residents of the neighborhoods to do the work. Lee said that the Federal government had to help the cities attack problems of housing, education and employment regardless of the cost.

Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles on what must have been one of the rougher days of his life.

Welfare Revisions

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare recently recommended several radical revisions in federally aided public assistance programs in its report to HEW Secretary John W. Gardner. The crucial recommendations call for the establishment of minimum federal standards for public assistance which states would have to meet to have their federal support continued, and the elimination of special public assistance programs (Old Age Assistance, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, etc.) and the substitution of a single comprehensive program in which a persons public assistance payments is based solely on need.

While no specific standard of support was suggested by the report it has been estimated by experts that the new proposals would more than triple the present cost of $4 billion — to $13 billion for public assistance payments.

The advisory council also made several other far reaching recommendations including a mechanism to assure legal representation for recipients with complaints against welfare agencies, a positive program for informing welfare recipients of their rights, and a full range of social services available to all who need them as a matter of right.

Periscope—*Continued from page 1*

wouldn't be in Austin for their rally at the capitol . . . flatly rejected their plea for a special session of the legislature to enact a $1.25 an hour minimum wage . . .

In California preliminary results of a second election at the huge Di Giorgio Corporation fruit ranches showed *a smashing victory for the newly chartered AFL-CIO Farm Workers Organizing Committee* over the Teamsters . . .

The *federal minimum wage* will be raised to $1.60 an hour on February 1, 1968 . . . to $1.40 an hour by next February 1 . . . under an agreement reached by Senate and House conferees. An additional eight million workers will be covered . . .

Randolph Blackwell

Blackwell—*Continued from page 2*

residents, many of them ex-migrant workers who have settled in the North have agreed to provide direct financial assistance for Greene County, Ala. The group calls itself the "Alabama Greene County Club" and has affiliates in Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Akron, and Brooklyn.

Ten national organizations will join with the Crusade in participating in the Southern Rural Action Project. They will locate support groups among their affiliate chapters and aid in the development of plans and strategy for the overall project.

They include: The National Council of Churches; The Southern Regional Council; The Southern Christian Leadership Conference; The Delta Ministry; The National Council of Negro Women; The National Council of Catholic Women; Wednesdays in Mississippi; United Church Women; National Council of Catholic Women; The National Student Christian Federation; and The National Student Association.

Training Program—*Cont. from p. 1*

community-action programs are growing faster than there are people to man them effectively."

He added: "Tangled issues in the poverty program are still being thrashed out, particularly the limits of governmental control and the real dimensions of 'maximum feasible participation of the poor.' In the meantime, though, there is a premium on a greatly expanded supply of purposeful, informed community workers. Without them the most ambitious government program will bog down right at poverty's door."

Under the training schedule a series of 10 week programs will be instituted that will train 1,000 persons skilled in helping the poor establish strong and effective local organizations. Between 250 and 300 of the trainees will be community action fellows who will be supported financially for the period of from four to 21 months. The remaining trainees will be tuition students selected and supported by their sponsoring organizations.

Part of the training program will consist of field work and the training center will arrange placement of workers in up to 400 selected locations. Emphasis will be on returning trainees to the communities from which they came.

Citizens' Crusade officials said the training program will be directed toward giving trainees:

1. techniques for organizing poor people in local communities
2. knowledge of the relevant programs for fighting poverty and how to obtain operating funds
3. commitment to the democratic processes of change.

Reuther emphasized that those attending the two training centers will be, in most instances, selected by the grass roots organizations of the poor. They will, he said, represent every group including Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, poverty-stricken farmers and farm workers.

Assisting in the plans for the training program was an Interim Program Planning Group. On the planning group were: Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Herman Gallegos, Community Services Organization, San Francisco; Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard University; Dr. Leonard Duhl, psychiatrist; Stokely Carmichael, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Dr. Charles Leber, Urban Church Mission for the Presbytery of New York; Jack Mansfield, Community Services Foundation, Largo, Florida; Dr. S. M. Miller, New York University; Dr. Frank Riessman, New York University; Brendan Sexton, Leadership Studies Center, Detroit; Rev. Leon Sullivan and Frederick Miller, Opportunities Industrialization Center; Cyril Tyson, Human Resources Administration, New York.

CC AP

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Chairman
Walter P. Reuther

Secretary
Rabbi Richard Hirsch

Treasurer
Robert S. Benjamin

Executive Director
Richard W. Boone

BULK RATE
Permit 42712
Non Profit Org.

MR AL ULMER DIRECTOR
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
PLANNING 120
S FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA, GA

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT

SEPTEMBER 1966

PRELIMINARY REGISTRATION
WINTER MEETING - STEERING COMMITTEE
EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES
ROYAL ORLEANS HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS
DECEMBER 8-9, 1966

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State College
Institute, West Virginia

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Supt. of Schools
270 E. State St.
Columbus, Ohio

Dr. Walter McKee, Supt.
City-County Schools
P. O. Box 991
Montgomery, Alabama

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State Senator
516 Earl Street
St. Paul, Minnesota

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321 Washington, S.E.
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State Representative
Box 901
Ketchikan, Alaska 99901

Mrs. Eldra Shulterbrandt
Chairman, Board of Education
P. O. Box 544
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

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of Public Instruction
318 Public Service Bldg.
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Providence, Rhode Island

Mr. John Gray, Chairman
Coordinating Board
Texas College & Univ. System
P. O. Box 3391
Beaumont, Texas

OBSERVERS

Eldonna L. Evertts
National Council of Teachers
of English
508 South Sixth St.
Champaign, Ill. 61820

Dave Darland
Journal of Teacher Education
1201 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Eleanor D. Malmborg
American Assoc. of University
Women
2401 Virginia Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

OBSERVERS

Paul Ackerman
Council for Exceptional Children
1201 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Norman Burns
North Central Assoc. of Colleges & Secondary Schools
5454 South Shore Dr.
Chicago, Ill.

J. Andrew Holley
National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

James K. Sours
American College Testing Program
P. O. Box 168
Iowa City, Iowa

Irvamae Applegate
NEA
1201 16th St., NW
Washington, D. C.

William P. Cunningham
Isidore Newman School
1831 Jefferson Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Charles F. Deubel
Nat'l. Education Assoc.
1201 Sixteenth St., NW
Washington, D. C.

John S. Hollister
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey

Otis A. Singletary
American Council on Edu.
1785 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

John C. Evans, Jr.
Utah Education Assoc.
875 East 5180 South
Murray, Utah

OBSERVERS

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Harold E. Wigren
National Education Assoc.
1201 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Donald C. Agnew
Southern Assoc. of Colleges & Schools
795 Peachtree, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. H. A. Cory
Louisiana Congress P.T.A.
900 Booth Drive
Shreveport, La.

Jean Dye
Board of Education
2566 Stratford Rd.
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

Herman I. Orentlicher
American Assoc. of University Professors
1785 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

Trevor K. Serviss
American Assoc. for Gifted Children
15 Gramerce Park
New York, N. Y.

T. Leslie MacMitchell
College Entrance Examination Board
475 Riverside Dr.
New York, N. Y.

Robert Berdahl
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, D. C.

William G. Shannon
American Assoc. of Junior Colleges
1315 16th St., NW
Washington, D. C.

OBSERVERS

Allan W. Ostar
Association of State Colleges & Universities
1785 Massachusetts Ave.NW
Washington, D. C.

Russell I. Thackrey
Nat'l. Assoc. of State Universities & Land Grant Colleges
1785 Massachusetts Ave.NW
Washington, D. C.

John R. Miles
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.
1615 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Marvin Hurley
Chamber of Commerce
Box 53600
Houston, Texas

Arthur F. Corey
California Teachers Assoc.
1705 Murchison Dr.
Burlingame, Calif.

John Mallan
American Association of Junior Colleges
1315 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

James T. Stewart
American Technical Edu. Assoc.
Delgado College
615 City Park Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Winfred Godwin
Southern Regional Education Board
Atlanta, Ga.

JoAnn Smith
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Ave.NW
Washington, D. C.

PRESS

John A. Roberts
The News-Journal
831 Orange St.
Wilmington 99, Delaware

James W. Brann
Chronicle of Higher Education
3301 North Charles St.
Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Howard Ravis
Scholastic Teacher
50 West 44th St.
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Host: The Honorable John J. McKeithen, Governor of Louisiana

EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES
FINAL AGENDA
WINTER MEETING OF STEERING COMMITTEE

ROYAL ORLEANS HOTEL
St. Louis at Royal Streets
New Orleans, Louisiana

December 8-9, 1966

Wednesday, December 7

5:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	*Commission-sponsored reception for all commissioners and observers in the Toulouse-Dauphine Room, Royal Orleans Hotel.
7:30 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	*Dinner hosted by the Honorable John McKeithen, Governor of Louisiana, for all commissioners and observers at Antoines Restaurant, 1/2 block from hotel, at 713-17 St. Louis Street.

Thursday, December 8

8:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Executive Committee breakfast in Petite Salon A, Royal Orleans Hotel. (All Governors are invited)
9:00 a.m.	Steering Committee convenes in Josephine Bonaparte Room to discuss policy matters regarding: Item A-1 Endorsing Projects of Other Organizations Item A-2 Administering New Projects Item A-3 Co-sponsoring Conferences and Workshops Item A-4 Relationships with Other Political and Educational Organizations
11:30 a.m.	Meeting recesses for lunch.
12:00 noon	Steering Committee Executive Session Luncheon, Toulouse-Dauphine Room.
12:00 noon	*Observers, Guests Luncheon, Petite Salon.
1:30 p.m.	Meeting reconvenes in Toulouse-Dauphine Room to discuss program matters regarding: Item B-1 Progress Report on Seven Commission Studies Item B-2 Action Targets and Format of next Commission Meeting Item B-3 Long-Range Information Services Program Item B-4 Interim Communications Program Item B-5 Report on State Membership Campaign
5:00 p.m.	Meeting recesses.
6:00 p.m. - 7:15 p.m.	No-host reception for all commissioners and observers at Brennan's Restaurant, 1/2 block from hotel, at 417 Royal St.

7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	*Dinner at Brennan's Restaurant.
10:00 p.m. - ?	Commissioners and observers will retire to Pat O'Brien's, 718 St. Peter Street, for a no-host after-dinner entertainment. (a three-block walk)

Friday, December 9

9:30 a.m.	Meeting convenes in Grand Salon East to discuss administration matters regarding: Item C-1 Site for Denver Headquarters Item C-2 Budget and Staffing and Organization Matters Item C-3 Blanket Bonding for Commission Employees Item C-4 Future Meeting Sites and Dates of Full Commission New Business
11:45 a.m.	Meeting adjourns.
12:00 noon	*Luncheon for all commissioners and observers in Escoffier Esplanade Room at Royal Orleans Hotel.
2:00 p.m.	Tours available of New Orleans for those who desire them.

*Denotes functions covered by observers' registration fee.

S.C. = fed prog study & reports.

NOTICE:

The Thursday, December 8, Luncheon for Observers and Guests has been moved from the Petite Salon to the Toulouse-Dauphine Room. The Executive Session Luncheon for the Steering Committee has been moved from the Toulouse-Dauphine Room to the Petite Salon.

The headquarters and press room for the Commission will be room 760 in the Royal Orleans Hotel.

ITEM A-1

THE DESIRABILITY OF THE COMMISSION OR STEERING COMMITTEE ENDORSING OTHER ORGANIZATIONS' PROJECTS

The staff and the Executive Committee concur that the Commission's policy on this matter should be as follows:

> The Education Commission of the States should not make formal endorsements of projects of other organizations. It should feel free, however, to recommend certain policy positions which might grow out of another organization's projects.

A resolution is attached for the Steering Committee's action.

RESOLUTION A-1

WHEREAS, the staff and the Executive Committee concur that the Education Commission of the States and its Steering Committee should not endorse other organization's projects,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee recommends to the full Commission that it adopt the following policy position regarding this matter:

> The Education Commission of the States should not make formal endorsements of projects of other organizations. It should feel free, however, to recommend certain policy positions which might grow out of another organization's projects.

ITEM A-2

DESIRABILITY OF THE COMMISSION AND/OR THE STEERING COMMITTEE ADMINISTERING NEW PROGRAMS OF INTERSTATE COOPERATION SUCH AS EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

It is recommended that the Commission, which was formed by the Compact for Education, should do everything it can to prevent the need for splinter compacts between the states which concern education. Proponents of an Educational Television Compact have asked the Education Commission of the States to administer their project. The staff and Executive Committee agree now is not the time to act. Because the Commission is a new organization and because it is still in the stage of defining its key roles, taking over the administration of any program, especially an auxiliary program of such magnitude, could completely eclipse the primary goals it is trying to set and dissipate the energy, effort and finances of its staff.

In the case of educational television there are two other important reasons why the Commission, while leaving the door open for later action, should not act precipitously at this time. Both the Carnegie and Ford Foundations are nearing completion of massive studies in this area and the Commission should await these recommendations before acting.

Preliminary recommendations should be available next month from both foundations. It is recommended that the Executive Committee informally suggest to those considering the establishment of an interstate educational television compact that they, too, wait for such recommendations.

A resolution is attached for the action of the Executive Committee.

RESOLUTION A-2

WHEREAS, a group of persons proposing to establish a separate interstate compact for educational television has invited the Commission to administer that program, and

WHEREAS, the staff and the Executive Committee concur that the Education Commission of the States should minimize the need for splinter educational compacts between the states, and

WHEREAS, two major studies are now pending which concern educational television,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee takes no action at this time on the request of the group seeking to establish an interstate compact on educational television, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Steering Committee asks the group also to await the recommendations of the two major studies before acting, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that on other matters of interstate cooperation concerning education, that each be decided on its own merits after due consideration of the staff, the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be distributed to every governor and legislator member of the Commission and to governors of non-member states, territories and possessions.

ITEM A-3

DESIRABILITY OF THE COMMISSION AND OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE

TO CO-SPONSOR WORKSHOPS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

It is recommended that the Commission's policy on this matter should be as follows:

> The Education Commission of the States should feel free to sponsor its own workshops and conferences when it deems them necessary or advisable, but should be careful to plan them so that in the long run, they involve equally political and educational leaders. Since other organizations and agencies seldom need to seek such a balance, or do, the Commission should not attempt to co-sponsor conferences and workshops with them. The added advantage of sponsoring only its own workshops and conferences is that the Commission would maintain complete control over the programs as well as the invitation list.

A resolution is attached for the action of the Steering Committee.

RESOLUTION A-3

WHEREAS the staff and the Executive Committee concur that it is necessary for all workshops and conferences carrying the Commission's name to be -- in the long run -- equally representative of educational and political leaders, and

WHEREAS other organizations and agencies, of either a political or educational nature would be more likely to invite either one type or the other, and

WHEREAS the Commission should maintain complete control over its conferences and workshop programs,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee calls upon the full Commission to adopt the following policy regarding conferences and workshops:

> The Education Commission of the States should feel free to sponsor its own conferences and wrokshops when it deems them necessary or advisable, but it should not co-sponsor conferences and workshops with other organizations or agencies. All Commission-sponsored conferences and workshops should attempt to -- in the long run -- involve equally political and educational leaders.

ITEM A-4

ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICY REGARDING THE COMMISSION'S RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The Commission and other organizations involved in the field of education and politics must maintain a very close cooperative relationship so that the Commission staff will not duplicate the work of other organizations. Such a close relationship can produce a climate of mutual benefit for the Commission and other organizations, a climate whereby the Commission can complement the work of other organizations rather than compete with them.

This would enable an interchange of research and program ideas and an involvement of memberships of various organizations in the development of the Commission's program planning. There should be caution always, however, that the Commission and other organizations maintain their separate and distinct identities. The Commission's recommendation must, in the final analysis, be the sole responsibility of the Commission.

A resolution is attached for action by the Steering Committee.

RESOLUTION A-4

WHEREAS, the staff and Executive Committee concur that the Commission and other organizations involved in the field of education and politics must maintain a very close cooperative relationship so that the Commission staff can be careful not to duplicate the work of other organizations, and

WHEREAS, such a close relationship can produce a climate of mutual benefit for the Commission and other organizations, a climate whereby the Commission can complement the work of other organizations rather than compete with them;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee calls upon the full Commission to adopt the following policy regarding the Commission's relationships with other organizations:

That in the development of the Commission's program planning there be an interchange of research and program ideas and an involvement of memberships of various organizations. There should be caution, however, that the Commission and other organizations maintain their separate and distinct identities, and that the Commission's recommendations be the sole responsibility of the Commission.

ITEM B-1

PROGRESS REPORT ON STUDIES

Progress is being made on three of the Commission-authorized studies. They are:

1. Methods of Financing Elementary and Secondary Education

2. Community-Centered Post High School Education

3. Trends and Needs in Vocational and Technical Education; What is Being Done, What Can Be Done, for the General Education of Vocational Students

On October 18 a dozen of the top minds in American education were convened in a one-day conference called by the Education Commission of the States, in part to review a progress report on the three studies and to discuss alternative next steps. As a result of this meeting and further staff thinking, two major conclusions evolved:

1. Each of the three studies should be done in two parts. The first part would be a status report, state-by-state. The second part would include an analysis of the nationwide picture and guidelines for state action for improvement.

2. For each study a small policy advisory board should be established. This policy body will be broadly based so as to represent divergent points of view and practices.

Study developments and foreseeable events follow:

1. Methods of Financing Elementary and Secondary Education: Dr. H. Thomas James, Dean, School of Education, Stanford University, has agreed to lead the study. A policy advisory board has been established. Its first meeting was held on November 23.

2. Community-Centered Post High School Education: Dr. S. V. Martorana, Executive Dean for Two-Year Colleges, State University of New York, has agreed to lead this study. Negotiations are now underway with Dr. Martorana regarding the limits of the study and the formation of a policy advisory board. Dr. Martorana will present to the Steering Committee a paper which will outline in brief the take-off point for further research when the policy advisory board is convened early in 1967.

3. Trends and Needs in Vocational and Technical Education: Dr. Leon P. Minear, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salem, Oregon, has agreed to head a task force to explore this study. Dr. Grant Venn, Associate Commissioner for Adult & Vocational Education, U. S. Office of Education, has also agreed to serve.

4. Coordination of Higher Education at the State Level:
The American Council on Education initiated a study on this subject in September and employed Dr. Robert Berdahl, of San Francisco State College, to lead it. His preliminary outline for the study was reviewed at the Advisory Committee on Higher Education meeting held in early September. This report revealed limitations in the following areas of their study:

A. State Master Plans.

B. Relationships between private and public higher education institutions.

C. The influence of the new Federal legislation on coordination at the state level.

There were two reasons for these limitations. (1) The American Council did not have sufficient money to expand the study, and (2) Berdahl was unable to find qualified individuals to work on these particular areas.

At the recent American Council on Education meeting in New Orleans, a staff member attended a meeting of the Advisory Committee for the study. At that time, the center for the study of Higher Education from Berkeley, California, indicated it would pursue the study of state master plans. We recently received a request to serve on an Advisory Committee for that study also.

In view of these two studies, plus the fact that Louisiana has already published a status study in this field as of September, 1966, it seemed unwise for the Commission to attempt to initiate studies in this area at this time. When we have a staff member qualified in the field of Higher Education, we believe we can draw sufficient information from these studies to make adequate recommendations to the Commission concerning the coordination of higher education.

5. The States' Role in Urban Education:
Conversations have been held with numerous individuals who it might be possible to interest in this study. We have been unable, so far, to get any capable person with enough time available to work in this area.

Dr. James Allen, in cooperation with the Chief State School Officers of seven other populous states, is holding a meeting of urban superintendents, Chief State School Officers, and other important staff members in New York, in early December on this topic. It is hoped that from this conference, we will be able to select a task force of skilled personnel to deal with this problem. In addition, on November 19, the Executive Director met with the superintendents and board members of the Great Cities Project about their interest in cooperating with our organization in furthering this study.

6. Ways in which States can Better Communications between Educational and Political Leaders:
This study would seem to be easiest to implement before May. While we have two or three persons interested in pursuing it, we have hesitated to take positive steps because of our limited budget. If we get approval for additional money from the foundations, this should be one of our first activities, since there is hope, as indicated, that we can have something completed by May.

ITEM B-2

RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING ACTION TARGETS

It has never been the intention of the Education Commission of the States to count on the seven studies initiated last June in Chicago as the only major activity with which the Commission would concern itself this year. Therefore, an attempt has been made to identify other programs with which the Commission might help states make immediate advancements for the betterment of education.

You will recall that the Commission's founding fathers, Terry Sanford and Dr. Conant, saw as one of the chief roles of the Commission, not only original research, but the spotlighting of other good ideas, which by virtue of previous research or general consensus, should be implemented.

It is recommended that the Commission should go into its May meeting in Denver with something else that will stimulate America's political and educational leaders who will be gathered there into action.

Therefore, it is asked that the Executive Committee and the Steering Committee approve the following idea for the next Commission meeting:

Basically, the plan is to utilize most of the meeting as a working session to develop recommendations for state action on 12 specific topics.

This would have the advantages of:

1. Making the Commission meeting a working session.

2. Ending the session with specific action alternatives on important topics which would be useful in planning legislation in the member states.

3. Giving the correct impression that the Commission is doing its job in stimulating state action for the betterment of education.

The commissioners would divide up into 12 section meetings the afternoon of the first day, where they would hear a small panel of experts debate the assigned topic. They would then join in the debate and later, during small dinner working sessions, draft a resolution outlining alternative courses which would be designed to spur state action on that subject.

The following day, the chairman of each section meeting would report back to the full Commission with a suggested resolution. The entire Commission would then be expected to take action on each of the 12 resolutions.

The governor and legislators of each of the member states would then have guidance from the most important educational and political leaders in the nation on 12 vital, and sometimes controversial topics.

Details of the plan follow:

Who Would Attend Section Meetings

There are presently 266 commissioners, seven each from 38 states. With 12 sections, there would be an average of about 22 commissioners in each section. Observers would be allowed but could only observe; could not discuss or vote.

Mechanics

Each commissioner would receive, at least a month in advance of the meeting, a section selection card on which all 12 sections would be listed. He would be asked to put a priority number by each of the 12 panels showing in what order he would choose to attend them if he had a choice. The staff would then try to give persons their first choice, based on first-come, first-served -- but also on a balance between educators and politicians. A computer would make final objective decisions as to who would attend each section. Two weeks before the meeting, each commissioner would receive a background paper regarding the subject he would be discussing in his section. Each section meeting would be led by a panel of experts on the assigned subject, probably no more than five nor less than three. A very strong chairman would be hand-picked by the staff. He would have to be able to control his panelists and the audience. Most important, he would have to be able to develop a lot of talk into a resolution containing alternatives for action. A recorder to take notes and aid the chairman would be designated in each section.

The night before the first meeting day, panel chairmen and panelists (only) would be invited to a dinner meeting where several items would be stressed:

1. No speeches by panelists; each chairman is to allow no more than 3 minutes to any speaker at one time, be he panelist or from floor. A stop watch would be supplied each chairman and he would be ordered to use it.

2. The talk must be resolved into resolution form by the end of the first day. This means debate must be cut-off and drafting attempts begun by 5:30 p.m. at the latest. It would be stressed that no panel would have done its job unless it turned out a positive resolution outlining useful alternatives for state action by that night. To help facilitate this, the chairman and panelists and recorder would be asked to draft a sample resolution which would be distributed to the audience so that they would have something on paper from which to work at dinner. After the cocktail party, each section would reconvene over dinner and approve a final resolution. The final forms of the resolutions would be taken to one staff man in a designated room between the hours of 10:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. He would give them to the production man who would run off enough copies of each to distribute to all commissioners the following morning.

The entire second day of the conference would be spent with each of the 12 chairmen presenting his resolution, leading discussion on it, and having the full Commission vote on it. Each recommendation of alternatives for action would then have the force of the full Commission behind it.

Criteria For Choice of Panel Topics

Criteria for the selection of the 12 topics below was as follows:

1. Empirical judgement would indicate that the item has promise of improving education in the states.

2. Each item has been identified as being of current interest, and perhaps even controversial, in the field of education.

3. By and large, further research would not clarify necessary action on the item.

4. Political and educational leaders could help clarify the potential importance of state action on the item, and could help direct the type of action which should be implemented.

5. The item is the type that states could take legislative or administrative action on for the betterment of education.

Panel Topics Chosen

It is hoped that following the lengthy discussion which each topic will stimulate the commissioners will draft a resolution outlining alternative solutions to the problem at hand. By listing alternative solutions, rather than a single solution, the Commissioners will avoid preempting legislative prerogative in any state; instead, they will merely point up to legislators in a brief, concise way what the alternatives are. Legislators will then be free to choose the alternative, or combination of alternatives, which best suits their state, if any do. Thus, the Commission will be providing leadership for state action without attempting to preempt decision-making in each state.

1. What are the advantages of early childhood education?

The systems which have resulted from Project Headstart have proven to the general public something that educators have known but have done little about for years -- the earlier a child begins school, the better his chances are for success.

This is especially true with children from deprived homes.

Political and educational leaders in other states are looking at various plans to get children into a formal education program earlier than at present.

The general public, polls show, has reached the general consensus that early childhood education is beneficial.

A resolution encompassing the advantages of various types of early childhood education, would be helpful to educational and political leaders in each state in forming their legislative and administrative programs.

For instance, the Commissioners in this section might list as alternative recommendations any or all of the following: (these are only examples)

a.) each state should mandate kindergarten attendance for all 5-year-olds.

b.) each state should mandate kindergarten attendance for every 5-year old who comes from a family earning less than $3,500 a year.

c.) only the more populous states with large urban areas should mandate attendance for 5-year-olds.

d.) each state should mandate kindergarten for five-year-olds and the more populous states with large urban areas should mandate attendance also for 4-year-olds from families earning less than $3,500 annually.

e.) an extra grade should be added below the first grade in every state and the 12th grade should be eliminated; this way children could begin school a year earlier without additional cost to the state.

2. <u>What are the advantages of using para-professional workers in the education process?</u>

Today, there is a great shortage of competent teachers in almost every field. Yet, we still are misusing teachers' time by having them do menial tasks which could be done as speedily and efficiently by para-professional workers. In these days of exploding knowledge, these teachers' time could be better spent in learning more about their subject matter areas and better methods of conveying this knowledge to their pupils in an exciting and stimulating manner. Also, the effecient use of sub-professional workers has proven to be more economical. For these reasons, it is very important that techniques be developed at a state level to rain, certify and advance the usage of sub-professional workers in the education process.

3. <u>What are the advantages for having each state or group of states draw up a master plan for all of education?</u>

Master planning in the field of higher education is not new. But no state or group of states has ever taken a total look at all of the education needs from preschool through graduate school and come up with a single master plan. There is only a certain amount of resources at a state level that can be allocated to education in any given year. A state must also allocate its funds to other areas of need.

Instead of looking at the total picture of its educational needs, however, and allocating its resources accordingly, states today examine minute facets of the overall problem individually. Elementary-secondary needs are completely apart from higher education needs in the examination, yet the competition for funds between the two surely exists.

Such a master plan for all of education would have to encompass first, a survey of needs followed by a plan to meet those needs. This plan could include not only financial aspects, but could include such important aspects of long-range planning as the need for teachers and professors, classrooms, equipment and supplies, salary increments,new campuses, transportation, etc.

4. <u>What are the advantages of each state or group of states having a separate master plan for higher education</u>?

This is one of the most volatile topics in the field of higher education today, because of the conflict over the types of coordination and administrative structures used in coordination efforts. Before a state can really determine the type of structure it needs, it must take a careful look at the total higher education problem in a given state or group of states and must have some idea of the direction in which it hopes to go in order to render proper service.

The master plan seems to be the base upon which all of this structure hinges, although quite frequently, a state will have a coordinating program which helps evolve a master plan.

The question today seems not to be whether states or groups of states should have master plans, but instead what types of coordination should be included in those master plans. Should a plan include or exclude private education, for instance? Should there be one board over all public higher education units or should universities, four-year colleges and two-year colleges each have separate boards with another coordinating board? Should this coordinating board be composed of lay members or administrators from the various types of institutions, or both?

5. <u>How far should legislatures go in influencing instructional programs in schools</u>?

There is a growing feeling on the part of some school people that legislatures are increasing their influence in the instructional program, and are probably getting into areas where they are really not competent. This is probably due to the failure of local communities to pick-up the real educational needs and do something about them at the local level. In other words, it's actually the counterpart for what's going on within the Federal Government -- where the Federal Government is picking up the needs based upon state policy and attempting to do something about it.

This particular topic, will be extremely controversial and will have real value, particularly if some lines can be drawn and clarifications made for both educators and legislators regarding those fields of decision-making in which they are most competent to perform.

6. <u>What are the advantages of establishing an equal opportunities commission in each state</u>?

One of the greatest social problems today, and certainly one on which a great deal of publicity is being released, deals with whether each and every child has an equal opportunity, regardless of race or religion to have access to a quality education. The pressure to solve this particular problem is primarily coming from the Federal Government. The Federal Government deals with 25,000 school districts. It seems only logical that if you're going to attempt to change attitudes and approaches toward the equal opportunities for each child, it could be done more effectively by the state. The differences in regions and attitudes inherent in certain parts of the country would enable the state to more readily develop a program best suited to meet the needs of the people in that particular area while still achieving the sought-after goal.

7. How can states help utilize the talent of its college and university faculties in a systematized manner to improve the state?

This is a purpose which many universities and colleges do not accept -- to use their particular talents to help solve the state's problems. Many faculties feel that a university's sole purpose is to search for truth. But some think of truth only in a theoretical or abstract since, rather than applying these truths to concrete problems of air pollution, transportation, waste disposal, water, and other knotty problems facing each state today. There is a growing tendency on the part of governors and state legislators today to expect state-supported institutions -- and even private institutions -- to help states solve these problems by the use of the brainpower on their campuses. This is probably a good and reasonable trend, and should be encouraged. A resolution urging states to develop systematic methods of utilizing this talent with fair remuneration for those consultants used should be adopted.

8. How can states best help strengthen their departments of education?

Each state has a department of education which as a Chief State School Officer who is responsible, to some degree, for allocating state funds to various educational programs. Despite these similarities, comparisons show that there are vast differences in the staffing, organization, functions, financing and, therefore, influence of state departments of education.

Many states have various unique problems which need to be solved if their departments are to be effective in providing leadership in the educational program of the public schools. Low salaries limit competition for personnel in some; in many, there is too little state financial support. Others are plagued by restrictive legal limitations, in adequate professional leadership, partisan political interference, and an increased demand for state's services from taxpayers who don't want to pay any extra for these services. Further, the very organizational structure in some states which have elective Chief State School Officers and appointive boards makes efficiency of operation impossible.

State departments of education must be strengthened if quality is to be raised for they must provide the leadership toward quality. As more federal aid comes into education, these state departments will have an increasingly important relationship with the Federal Government. New roles will be demanded of these state departments to meet the challenges of change.

There are many ways in which various departments could be strengthened. Among these are included a re-examination of the legal structure, improvement in state financial support, an establishment of better relations between the leadership of the state departments and other educational and political leadership in each state.

9. How can institutions of higher learning better their teaching without sacrificing important research programs?

Originally, the sole purpose of a college or university, be it public or private, was to impart knowledge to students. Gradually, this role changed. Research to gain new knowledge and better society has, over the years, gained more and more importance on every campus. Today, on many campuses, in fact on some of our most prestigious campuses, teaching has taken a secondary place to research. The most renown professors and scholars on many campuses are involved solely, or at least a majority of their time, in research. On some campuses, the majority of undergraduate teaching is done by teaching assistants -- other students.

Many fear that the time has come when the cart is pulling the horse. Many feel strongly that the primary role of colleges and universities, be they public or private, is still the imparting of knowledge to students.

It is important that states take the leadership in redefining the primary purposes of colleges and universities so that there is a proper balance between teaching and research. Should the states fail to do this, it is feared that a public ground swell will cause the pendulum to swing so far the other way that important research might be minimized or even excluded.

10. How can state governments modernize their structure so that their policy decisions regarding education are approved in advance by a broad base of population?

For instance, one of the greatest problems in education today is the question of who decides policy matters concerning education at a state level. Each state must recognize that policies in education today must be jointly developed by those trained and/or interested in education, welfare, civil rights, law enforcement, health, labor, business, mental health, and lay citizens whose children are affected and whose taxes support the schools. If states do not structure policy-making in educational matters on this broad base of knowledge and interest, the Federal Government will be forced to turn directly to local governments, which have already grasped this modern concept of educational policy development.

The subsequent battle for power between the local and state leadership over federal money coming into the state would automatically lessen any chance of such federal programs working well. This is not just conjecture on the part of the staff. There are many instances where this is already the case.

State governments must adopt this modern concept of broad educational policy development if they expect the Federal Government to move away from categorical aid and switch to general aid, as a majority of educational and political leaders desire. General aid simply will not be made available to the states at the state level until such modern machinery is set up and operating well.

A resolution encompassing the need for this direction in each state would be helpful in getting state leaders to structure policy-making on a broad base.

11. What criteria should be used in determining minimum salaries and state salary structures for teachers?

In many states, there is no "system," as such, for determining minimum salaries or state salary structures for teachers. In some states, the entire matter is left to local school districts while in others the state does set a minimum salary and basic salary structure.

There seems to be a consensus that each state should set a minimum salary for its teachers, since there is a definite correlation between the salary scale and the quality of education in states.

But whether salary structures are determined by the state, or by local districts, having criteria available on which these structures could be based would be very helpful. A discussion of what these criteria are would be helpful both to state and local districts, especially if some alternative criteria could be suggested.

12. What should be the role of junior college, community college and two-year branch of universities as related to vocational-technical education?

A great deal of in-fighting is presently going on in many junior colleges, community colleges and two-year branches of university systems between those who would like to minimize the teaching of vocational-technical education and those who would like to minimize the academic orientation of these kinds of schools. There seems to be a general consensus that these types of institutions should offer both academic and vocational-technical curricula. The argument usually centers around how much of each.

A discussion of this problem might lead to the formulation of some alternatives for establishing criteria which would help states determine what would be best for their junior colleges, community colleges or the two-year branches of their universities.

Sample Time Table

Denver Commission Meeting

Monday

9:00 - 9:30	Welcoming, keynote address, introduction of notables.
9:30 - 10:15	Housekeeping items.
10:15 - 12:15	Progress report on studies.
12:30 - 2:00	Separate luncheons for legislators, governors, and other commissioners.
2:15 - 5:15	Break up into 12 sections which will discuss assigned topic in order to later approve a resolution containing alternatives designed to spur state action on assigned subject.
5:15 - 6:15	Drafting committee composed of chairman, recorder and panelists draw up resolution.
6:30 - 7:45	Reception for all.
7:45 - 9:30	Individual working session dinners where each section discusses and approves resolution.
10:00 - 11:00	Resolutions reproduced in quantity for distribution to entire Commission.

Tuesday

9:00 - 12:15	First six chairmen report with resolution, 1/2 hour each for discussion and vote.
12:30 - 2:00	Luncheon with speaker.
2:15 - 5:15	Remaining six chairmen report with resolution, 1/2 hour each for discussion and vote.
5:15 - 5:30	Closing remarks to end meeting.
6:00 - 7:15	Reception
7:30 - 9:00	Final banquet and speaker.

ITEM B-3

PROGRESS REPORT ON LONG-RANGE INFORMATION SERVICES PROGRAM OF THE COMMISSION

Attached is a copy of the prospectus describing the proposed feasibility study designed to determine the Commission's Information Services Program on a long-range basis.

If the prospectus meets with the approval of the Steering Committee, it will be distributed to several philanthropic organizations in hopes of raising the $135,000 necessary to commence the study.

Authorization to begin the study as soon as the money is in hand was already given to the staff by the Steering Committee at the Newport meeting. Therefore, no further formal action is required by the Steering Committee at this time.

In order to effectively implement these vital aims, we believe the Commission must establish a practical program of gathering, storing, and disseminating educational information. The scope of such a service should be in keeping with current and future needs of public policy-makers in education, but should not needlessly duplicate existing or planned educational data services.

In order to define the Commission's role in information services, we plan to:

I. Identify Present and Future Needs of the Educational and Political Leadership Within the States.

II. Inventory Existing and Planned Information Sources in Other Agencies That Bear Upon Needs.

III. Ascertain How Much of Available Information is in a Form Useful to Decision-makers.

IV. Define the Specific Information Services Which the Commission Should Provide and Recommend the Means to Provide Them.

I. Identify Present and Future Needs of the Educational and Political Leadership Within the States

Development of the Commission's role in information services requires a study plan which is orderly, yet flexible. While the Commission's staff is convinced that there is a need for recent and pertinent information and analysis, the extent, scope and kinds of queries to be expected are relatively unknown. Rather than initiate a data center which might gradually be adapted to meet the real needs of the states' educational and political leadership, a more economical and efficient approach would be to ascertain what is really needed in comparison and compare it with what is available or planned.

As the initial step in developing the program, representative potential users of the Commission's Information Services should be contacted to determine their information needs, both present and future, and the time interval necessary between inquiry and response. From this survey, information volume by subject area and user can be estimated and tentative priorities established. Without an independent and objective analysis of information needs and how the Commission can best fulfill them, there is the risk of initiating a program which does not meet the Commission's goals and users' needs.

In accomplishing this important phase, the following representative questions should be answered in detail:

- Who will be the primary users of information?
- What is the breadth of information needed?
- How frequently is similar information requested?
- To what extent would analyses and interpretation be required?
- How fast is information needed?

- What types and levels of other related services would be desired?
- To what extent can users' needs be anticipated?

These are complex and difficult needs to define. Therefore, it would be unwise at this time to overly specify an approach. Generally, the present plan of approach includes:

- Preparation of a preliminary interview guide for review with a selected panel composed of representative political and educational leaders. This guide will include a flexible list of current and predicted problem areas about which current data would likely be needed.
- Pretesting of guides with a representative sample of potential users.
- Finalization of guidelines with help of the selected panel.
- Selection of representative executive, legislative, and educational leaders to assure appropriate coverage.
- In-depth interview with each leader.
- Analysis and summarization of findings for review by the selected panel to define information needs of policy-makers in public education.
- Evaluation of determined needs by the Steering Committee and, if required, by the full Commission. (Commission composition: seven representatives from each member state -- one member is the Governor; two are members of the State legislature selected by its respective houses and serving in such manner as the legislature may determine; and four are appointed by and serve at the pleasure of the Governor.

II. Inventory Existing and Planned Information Sources in Other Agencies That Bear Upon Needs.

The Commission staff, with assistance and counsel from Ernst & Ernst, has preliminarily surveyed current and planned information services which have a significant bearing on this study proposal.

Our review has encompassed:

- The Educational Research Information Center (ERIC), including current and presently planned clearinghouses.
- Office of Education project for a center of statistical and management information.
- National Education Association statistics, sampling approach, and research projects.
- American Education Research Association.
- Midwestern States Educational Information Project (extension of Iowa Educational Information Center) statistical data bank for educators and school administrators in 13 participating states.
- Project Talent's data bank for the study of characteristics (achievements, aptitudes, and interests) school performance of the Nation's youth.
- National Referral Center for Science and Technology.

In addition, the Commission staff has reviewed information needs and methods of information exchange with the planning committees of various state education departments. The staff has also surveyed various non-educational information files of organizations including the American Chemical Society, the Ohio State Bar Association, and the American Society for Metals.

Thus, the second phase of the study would be to prepare a comprehensive inventory of educational information sources as these relate to determined needs. Federal, state, university, association, and private sources would have to be studied in enough depth to insure a relatively complete description. This inventory should assist greatly in identifying those information areas upon which the Commission should focus its attention. Sources of information would be classified and prepared as an index or catalogue.

The approach to this segment of the over-all study is, of course, dependent upon earlier findings. Authorities would be consulted and sources identified as these relate to determined needs. Non-duplicated information sources would be catalogued as to coverage, type, and scope by using individual and institutional contacts. Data restrictions, time required to obtain such information, and the form or purpose of such sources would be summarized.

III. Ascertain How Much of Available Information is in a Form Useful to Decision-makers.

This brief review has served to point up the myriad available statistics, primarily related to quantified data, and selective abstracting. The users of these data are often ill-defined and their real information needs often unfilled. The user of these services is expected to know where else to go to obtain further information, and can easily get lost in the maze.

Concurrently, there is too much of a time lag from research to publication of research summaries. In addition, we found no summaries of current information designed specifically to help political leaders make decisions. The Commission should attempt to end both the time lag and the information lack.

As Governor Sanford observed in a keynote address to the Commission, public policy-makers require up-to-date data, and even more important, they need informed trend analyses, interpretation and counsel.

Relating user needs to information sources, we would determine:

- Types of information the Commission should generate, store, and disseminate.
- Best method to compile, store, and disseminate this information, including a consideration of automatic data processing.
- Best method to keep such information current.

Answers to these questions must be determined on the basis of economics, and the speed and frequency with what data must be retrieved and updated.

IV. Define the Specific Information Services Which the Commission Should Provide and Recommend the Means to Provide Them.

It appears that the Commission can be most effective, not in compiling additional data, but in pioneering concepts and techniques to obtain timely information, disseminate information in a useful form, and provide the analysis and interpretation essential for informed action. Original data should be compiled only where it is not already available.

The other varied operations of the Commission would be affected by the plan chosen, for we would have to consider and determine over-all requirements with regard to policies, organization and staffing, current and planned programs, publications and public relations, cooperation with other agencies, financing and budgets, and planning of physical space requirements. These would affect the nature, extent, and location of Commission staffing required.

An important by-product of the proposed Information Services Program would be to assist the Commission to identify deficiencies in information and to determine conflicts in educational data or its interpretation. This knowledge would help initiate needed research.

A determination would be made of how the Commission should cooperate with other organizations involved in education information. Where there are gaps in educational information services, an evaluation would be made of whether the Commission or some other agency should provide such unavailable data. This decision would be based in part on the means, feasibility, and financing necessary to provide the needed data.

PROJECT PROCEDURE AND ESTIMATE

Based upon the foregoing outline, we estimate the anticipated time and expense costs to complete this proposed project as follows:

	Time Cost Estimates by Phase	
I.	$35,000	
II.	25,000	
III.	15,000	
IV.	40,000	
Total		$115,000
Expenses (travel, and subsistance)		20,000
		$135,000

A detailed analysis of these costs will be prepared as required.

Fundamental techniques to be used in this study will include panels and steering committees, individual interviews, and clearly defined staff responsibilities. Contemplated panels include the Steering Committee of the Commission; representative administrators from the various levels of public education; and Federal, state, and private representatives of information centers. Individual interviews will be held with Governors, legislators, and appropriate staff associates of representative states; certain association executives; public education trustees, board members; and with administrators at all levels of public education.

Staff representatives and consultants will include specialists from a number of fields: education, information storage and retrieval, library science, data processing, management and organization planning, statistics, economics and government, and finance.

CONCLUSION

Based upon our review to date, obtaining and updating interpretative information on a planned and coordinated basis is vital if the Commission is to suggest alternatives and guidelines for those who must make policy decisions affecting education at the state level. Thus, the Information Services Program would be the key to a close working relationship with the multitude of educational agencies, key administrators and lawmakers throughout the United States. The Program would greatly assist the Commission in achieving its objective as an effective force in developing and coordinating better educational policies and practices throughout the Nation, without duplicating the work of existing agencies and organizations.

Most important, for the first time it would enable legislators to have current, accurate, carefully-interpreted data in synopsis form which would hopefully be used in drafting legislation for the most effective public education.

ITEM B-4

REPORT ON THE INTERIM COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM OF THE COMMISSION

Attached is a copy of a memorandum which contains recommendations concerning the Commission's public relations program for the coming year.

These recommendations have been adopted and will constitute the Commission's interim program in this area until the long-range program can be formulated from the recommendations to be contained in the Ernst and Ernst report.

TO: Wendell H. Pierce

October 21, 1966

FROM: Ronald Moskowitz/jr

RE: Recommendations concerning the Commission's Public Relations program for the coming year.

In an organization which stresses communication and providing ideas for educational and political leaders, no department is more important than Public Relations. The Commission has many publics, each of which needs to be told different things at different times: its Executive Committee, its Steering Committee, its commissioners as a whole; the professional education organizations, the legislators, the governors, congress, the President, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the U.S. Office of Education, the various community action groups at a local state, regional and national level.

It is important that we reach each of these publics. In order to reach all of them, we must be doing something worthwhile; be skillful in telling about it.

Most of the ways in which we communicate with these publics will be through various written communications produced in our service center. (See accompanying memo.) It is recommended that:

1. Every written communication distributed in quantity outside the offices of the Commission shall be read for accuracy, content and style by the Assistant Director for Public Relations, and that his work shall be read by the Associate Director for State and Public Relations before going into production.

This is in keeping with our standard policy, perhaps the very first ever established for the Commission, that we should avoid pedaguese, and speak and write in plain English whenever and wherever possible.

2. A standard style be adopted for all printed materials coming out of the Commission and that that style follow the Associated Press Style Book, which emphasizes concise, clear sentences and short words familiar to all.

3. Special reports go out each Friday to the Steering Committee on a Staff Action form, reviewing the work of the staff for the previous week.

4. Special efforts be made to keep the Executive Committee informed by letter on almost a daily basis, if necessary, of any significant happening in the Commission offices.

5. The entire Commission receive each month, at the first of the month, a report summarizing significant action by the staff during the preceeding month.

6. Professional organizations receive special monthly reports from our Associate Directors, outlining our achievements and problems in their particular areas. The Associate Director for Higher Education would draft a report to professional organizations dealing with higher education; the Associate Director for Elementary-Secondary, for those organizations; ad infinitum for Junior Colleges, Research and Public Relations people.

7. State legislators and congressmen, and other governmental officials get no special reports at the end of the month, since the Compact Review of Education is designed to communicate specifically to them.

8. A new Hot Line memorandum form, for commissioners only, be used to announce very significant happenings, such as approval of a foundation grant.

9. Press releases be sent as often as there is something news worthy to report. Feature stories may be sent third class, but spot news, such as coverage from a Steering Committee meeting, should be mailed first class and air-mail to the Coast, so that it truly will be news worthy when it arrives. Along this line, it is further recommended that addressed, posted envelopes, ready for stuffing be taken with the staff to Steering Committee meetings and that a press release be written each afternoon of the two-day meeting and mailed out from the meeting site. It is further recommended that in order to facilitate the production of these press releases, one of the two production personnel attend every Steering Committee meeting. Although the decision has been made to use a court reporting service for an official transcript, a tape of the proceedings would still be very desirable. Sections of it could be made into radio broadcasts. It could also be used to refresh the memory of reporters who might have missed a portion of the meeting. One of the duties of the production man at these meetings would be to record the tape properly. A hundred other unforeseen details would keep him jumping the rest of the two days. The facilities of the A. B. Dick Company in each meeting city

could be used for the actual duplicating work. Besides press releases, the production man might also be called upon to duplicate speeches which are given at the meetings by guests, since most of them always only have one copy with them.

10. A tape recorder which has speeds from 1-7/8 to 7-1/2 should be purchased for use by the Commission. The rental on the machine we used to transcribe the Newport tapes ran more than $100. and that rental can be applied toward the purchase of a machine.

11. A small, two-color flier-type brochure, with plenty of illustrations should be published at once. It should very briefly state the history and summarize the aims and present activities of the Commission and include some detail on how the commissioners are appointed and how the Commission operates. It would also include the list of state members, a list of the Steering Committee and staff, with a notation that for further information they could write or call us. This would allow us to acquaint new people with the Commission without the expense of sending them a Green Book. We have an order now for 1600 Green Books from Illinois. A flier would have served equally as well, and cost us 2¢ a piece, instead of 24¢ a piece. Distribution of the Green Book would then be limited to legislators and governors in prospective member states.

11. The Commission should, and must, start charging for large quantities of brochures or Green Books or fliers when they are sent to anyone except persons or organizations that could help us recruit or keep state members.

The little guy in San Diego who wants 50 for his political science class should be charged, since California is already a member and one would probably do as well anyway. A standard form on a postcard should be printed up for these people, saying thank you for your request for information about the Commission. If you will please send us a check for $2, we will put you on our mailing list for a year. The same notice should be sent to everyone on our general mailing list, since it is limited to people who have written in for information. The $2 would include a subscription to the Compact Review of Education, and that fact should be stated on the card. This is in accordance with the policies outlined by WICHE, The Council of State Governments, and almost every other organization which is at all comparable to ours. A good time to impliment that policy would be January 1, at the beginning of a new subscription year.

12. All speeches should be written in speech blocks -- several paragraphs of information that can be pieced together, depending on the type of audience and length of speech.

13. Every time any professional staff member plans a business trip, a note should go immediately to the Assistant Director for Public Relations, so that he can make a publicity evaluation plan of the trip. News media in cities where speeches are to be given can get advance notice this way and provide coverage we may not otherwise get. Likewise, the speech-writing unit will have plenty of time to start planning ahead the piecing together of some speech blocks.

14. The Commission subscribe to a press clipping service which would limit its services to supplying us with clippings about the Commission itself. This will enable us to find out what kind of a public image we have, if any, and take steps to improve it. It costs about 20¢ per clipping.

ITEM B-5

PROGRESS REPORT ON STATE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

AND STATE-BY-STATE SUMMARY

An oral report will be given to Steering Committee members at the meeting on the Commission's campaign to adhere states to the Compact for Education by legislation.

ITEM C-1

SITE FOR DENVER HEADQUARTERS

The Site Procurement Sub-Committee of the Education Commission of the States met in Denver on Saturday, November 12, to review sites for the Denver headquarters.

Members of the Sub-Committee are Governor John Love of Colorado, Mrs. Richard B. Kading, Jr., and Senator Richard Webster.

The report of the sub-committee was made on November 16, 1966, to the Executive Committee by Senator Webster. The Executive Committee voted to recommend to the Steering Committee that it:

1. Authorize the establishment of the permanent headquarters of the Education Commission of the States in the Lincoln Towers Building in Denver, Colorado between January 15 and February 1, 1967; and authorize the Executive Director to negotiate a lease for two years with the building's management at the rate of $4.50 per square foot per annum; and that the lease contain options for additional one-year increments at the discretion of the lessee.

2. Specify that all new personnel hired by the Commission be officed in Denver, rather than requiring new personnel to make two moves; and specify that the entire operation would move to Denver no later than July 1, 1967.

3. Request the staff to be on the lookout for a site for a Commission Building which could be erected after several years when the Commission has a better idea of how much and what kind of space needs it would require.

A resolution is attached for your action.

RESOLUTION C-1

WHEREAS there is a need to establish a permanent office of the Education Commission of the States in accordance with the Commission's policy that it be in the Denver area, and

WHEREAS the Site Procurement Sub-Committee has made its recommendations to the Executive Committee and has secured the concurrance of the Executive Committee,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee of the Education Commission of the States herewith:

1. Authorizes the establishment of the permanent headquarters of the Education Commission of the States in the Lincoln Towers Building in Denver, Colorado between January 15 and February 1, 1967; and authorizes the Executive Director to negotiate a lease for two years with the building's management at the rate of $4.50 per square foot per annum, with options for additional one-year increments at the discretion of the lessee.
2. Specifies that all new personnel hired by the Commission be officed in Denver, rather than requiring new personnel to make two moves; and specifies that the entire operation move to Denver no later than July 1, 1967.
3. Requests the staff to be on the lookout for a site for a Commission Building which could be erected after several years when the Commission has a better idea of how much and what kind of space needs it would require.

ITEM C-2

BUDGET AND STAFFING

On October 7, a memorandum was sent to members of the Executive Committee, outlining our staffing and budgetary problems, and asking for permission to request additional funds from the Danforth and Carnegie foundations. Permission was granted.

On October 31, a letter was sent to each member of the Executive Committee, notifying him that letters had gone out to Alan Pifer and Merrimon Cuninggim requesting an additional $492,000 to carry the Commission's maintenance and operation budget until January 1, 1968.

Attached are copies of various financial reports, a letter from Ernst & Ernst to the Commission, and a forecast of cash flow for the 16-month period ending January 31, 1968.

An oral report will be given on the results of those communications with Messrs. Pifer and Cuninggim by the Executive Director. The treasurer will deliver the financial report. The Executive Director will then discuss staffing and new organizational concepts.

BALANCE SHEET
EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES
October 31, 1966

ASSETS

Current Assets		
Cash in the bank	$16,158.79	
Petty cash	25.00	
Accounts receivable - states	34,000.00	
Accounts receivable - foundations	75,000.00	
Investments - short term	77,689.62	$202,873.41
Deposits and Advances		425.00
Permanent Assets		
Furniture and fixtures	$ 9,452.43	
Leasehold improvements	1,707.94	
Equipment	19,652.78	30,813.15
Total Assets		$234,111.56

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Current Liabilities		
Federal income tax withheld	$ 1,656.50	
Other payroll taxes withheld	520.79	
T.I.A.A. withheld	420.84	
Accrued payroll taxes	490.87	$ 3,089.00
Deferred Income		109,000.00
Unexpended General Funds		
Balance July 1, 1966	$129,941.93	
Excess of expenses over income - four months ended October 31, 1966	7,919.37	
	$122,022.56	
Investment in equipment	30,813.15	
General fund balance		91,209.41
Property and Equipment Fund		30,813.15
		$234,111.56

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES - GENERAL FUND
EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES
October 31, 1966

	Month of October	Year to-date
Income		
State entrance fees	$ -0-	$16,000.00
Foundation grants	-0-	50,000.00
Registration fees	-0-	6,385.00
Interest on investments	-0-	208.21
Total Income	$ -0-	$72,593.21
Expenses		
Salaries	$ 9,999.80	$25,522.24
Staff procurement expenses	226.09	3,254.93
Payroll fringe	393.47	1,758.55
Employee benefits	-0-	289.80
Rent	1,279.04	3,134.08
Equipment rentals	133.09	301.61
Postage	155.65	1,296.63
Supplies	1,809.81	2,723.65
Printing and duplicating	660.98	2,965.42
Printing and duplicating - other	1,159.41	2,183.72
Travel - staff	1,168.67	4,614.12
Steering Committee meetings	2,438.92	14,278.52
Steering Committee travel	1,287.55	7,852.34
Other conferences	3,067.95	3,582.33
Telephone and telegraph	921.17	2,767.78
Consultation fees	712.65	712.65
Legal fees	826.01	1,151.01
Books and periodicals	142.00	270.77
Secretarial services	406.50	1,070.75
Shipping charges	-0-	218.50
Miscellaneous	525.20	563.18
	$27,313.96	$80,512.58
Excess of expenses over income	$27,313.96	$ 7,919.37

COMPARISON OF FORECAST AND ACTUAL EXPENSE
EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

4 Months Ended October 31, 1966

	July Expenses	Forecast Expenses August-October	Total	Actual Expenses July-October	Actual (Over) Under Forecast
Salaries	$ 3,008.45	$ 26,400.00	$ 29,408.45	$ 25,522.24	$ 3,886.21
Staff procurement expenses	26.60	-0-	26.60	3,254.93	(3,228.33)
Payroll fringe	-0-)	3,350.00	3,350.00	2,048.35	1,301.65
Employee benefits	-0-)				
Rent	75.00	3,150.00	3,225.00	3,134.08	90.92
Equipment rentals	69.47	-0-	69.47	301.61	(232.14)
Postage	1,000.00	500.00	1,500.00	1,296.63	203.37
Supplies	28.95	1,000.00	1,028.95	2,723.65	(1,694.70)
Printing & duplicating-magazine	-0-)				
Printing & duplicating-other	) 314.39)	-0-	314.39	5,149.14	(4,834.75)
Travel - staff	1,449.12	1,100.00	2,549.12	4,614.12	(2,065.00)
Steering committee meetings	9,224.95)	10,000.00	22,951.70	22,130.86	820.84
Steering committee travel	) 3,726.75)				
Other conferences	-0-	2,000.00	2,000.00	3,582.33	(1,582.33)
Telephone & telegraph	662.90	2,000.00	2,662.90	2,767.78	(104.88)
Consulting fees	-0-	1,500.00	1,500.00	712.65	787.35
Legal fees	-0-	-0-	-0-	1,151.01	(1,151.01)
Books and periodicals	20.00	-0-	20.00	270.77	(250.77)
Secretarial services	1,263.95	-0-	1,263.95	1,070.75	193.20
Shipping charges	218.50	-0-	218.50	218.50	-0-
Miscellaneous	-0-	-0-	-0-	563.18	(563.18)
	$21,089.03	$51,000.00	$72,089.03	$80,512.58	($8,423.95)

ITEM C-3

BONDING FOR COMMISSION EMPLOYEES

At the September meeting of the Steering Committee, the staff was asked to arrange bonds of $100,000 each for the Executive Director, the Treasurer, and the Office Manager.

Investigation of this matter showed that it would cost $1875 for three years to bond these three persons. However, a commercial blanket bond in the amount of $100,000 applicable to all employees would cost only $559 for three years.

The Executive Director requests that the Steering Committee change its authorization so that the blanket bond rather than the three bonds can be secured. In addition, it is also requested that authorization for comprehensive liability insurance and insurance on the office fixtures, furniture, and equipment should be given. The liability insurance would be in the minimum limits of $250,000-$500,000 bodily insurance liability and $100,000 property damage liability. This will include non-ownership auto liability. Its cost would be $57.00 per year. The other coverage on office furniture and equipment would cover us up to $25,000 for an annual cost of $68.00.

A resolution is attached for your action.

RESOLUTION C-3

WHEREAS, it is desirable for the employees of the Education Commission of the States to be bonded, and

WHEREAS, it is also desirable for the Commission to carry liability insurance and insurance on its office furniture, fixtures, and equipment,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee of the Education Commission of the States authorizes the Executive Director to arrange with the John J. Schiff and Co., Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio:

1. A commercial blanket bond in the amount of $100,000 applicable to all employees at a cost of $559 for three years.
2. Comprehensive liability insurance as follows: $250,000-$500,000 bodily liability and $100,000 property liability, at an annual cost of $57.00.
3. "All Risks" coverage in the amount of $25,000 on the office furniture, equipment and fixtures of the Commission at an annual cost of $68.00.

ITEM C-4

DATES AND SITES FOR NEXT THREE COMMISSION MEETINGS

The staff was asked to bring to the Steering Committee recommendations for the 1968, 1969 and 1970 Commission meeting dates and sites. Staff recommendations were made to the Executive Committee on November 16, 1966 in Washington, D. C. The Steering Committee, not the Commission itself, is charged with final responsibility for the selection. Following are the Executive Committee's recommendations:

1968, May 2 and 3, Thursday and Friday, East Coast, Miami Beach

1969, May 8 and 9, Thursday and Friday, West Coast, San Francisco

1970, May 7 and 8, Thursday and Friday, Central, Lake of the Ozarks.

The Thursday and Friday meeting days were chosen because although legislators are still in session, they usually only work the first three days of the week that late in Spring. This would allow legislators and governors to freely attend the session. We have chosen the first two weeks of May because it seems to be a good time for both educational and political leaders. It hits them before graduations and vacations begin and usually after the major portion of legislation has been attended to.

If these recommendations are adopted by you, arrangements can be made to secure definite commitments at major hotels for these conferences. Tentative commitments have already been made in Miami at the Fontainebleu, in San Francisco at the Fairmont, and at the Lake of the Ozarks, Missouri, at the Tan-Tar-A Resort Lodge.

You will note that the 1967 meeting is to be in Denver, in the central part of the country, on May 8 and 9, a Monday and Tuesday.

We anticipate, following these geographical precedents, that in 1971 the meeting would be on the East coast again, probably around New York City, and that the 1972 meeting would be on the West coast again, probably around Portland or Seattle, and that the 1973 meeting would again return to the central part of the United States.

A resolution for your action is attached.

RESOLUTION C-4

WHEREAS the staff and Executive Committee agree that it's useful to plan in advance the dates and sites of future commission meetings, and

WHEREAS the Steering Committee is charged with the responsibility of selecting dates and sites for Commission meetings, and

WHEREAS the Executive Committee has recommended that the Steering Committee choose the following dates and sites,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Steering Committee selects as the dates and sites for the next three meetings of the Education Commission of the States the following:

1968, May 2 and 3, Thursday and Friday, East Coast, Miami Beach

1969, May 8 and 9, Thursday and Friday, West Coast, San Francisco

1970, May 7 and 8, Thursday and Friday, Central, Lake of the Ozarks.

File

THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

ESTABLISHED BY THE COMPACT FOR EDUCATION

File

NEGROES ELECTED TO STATE OFFICES IN THE SOUTH

~~(1966 -)~~
As of Spring, 1967

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson	Sheriff Macon County
L. A. Locklair	Tax Collector Macon County
William C. Allen	Justice of the Peace Macon County
William C. Childs	Justice of the Peace Macon County
The Rev. V. A. Edwards	Board of Revenue Macon County
Harold Webb	Board of Revenue Macon County
Dr. Charles Gomillion	School Board Macon County
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Richardson	School Board Macon County
The Rev. K. L. Buford	City Council Tuskegee
Dr. Stanley H. Smith	City Council Tuskegee
Dr. T. S. Williams	City Council Tuskegee
The Rev. Peter Kirksey	School Board Greene County

ALABAMA CONTINUED

James R. Weatherly	County Coroner Sumter County
Clyde Foster	Mayor Triana
David Barnes	City Council Triana
Mrs. Jessie J. Bennie	City Council Triana
Joe L. Fletcher	City Council Triana
William Griffin	City Council Triana

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen	School Board Eudora District
Alex Brown	School Board Plum Bayou-Tucker
Mabon Gladney	School Board Lakeview District
DeArthur Grice	School Board Linwood District
Arthur H. Miller	School Board Collarway District
Maleada Thomas	School Board Jefferson County
Dr. Morris A. Jackson	School Board Little Rock
T. E. Patterson	School Board Little Rock
The Rev. James D. Alexander	City Council West Helena
Dr. R. Frank Bryant	City Council Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Walter M. Jackson	School Board Board of Trustees Vero Beach
William Blackshear	City Commission Vero Beach
F. Malcolm Cunningham	City Council West Palm Beach
Mrs. Athalie Range	City Commission Miami
Robert Scott	City Council Lawtey
Boisy Walters	City Commission Denis

GEORGIA

Leroy Johnson	State Senate Fulton County
Horace T. Ward	State Senate Fulton County
William H. Alexander	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Julian Bond	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Benjamin D. Brown	State House of Rep. Fulton County
J. C. Daugherty	State House of Rep. Fulton County
The Rev. J. D. Grier	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	State House of Rep. Fulton County
John Hood	State House of Rep. Fulton County
R. L. Dent	State House of Rep. Richmond County
Albert Thompson	State House of Rep. Muscogee County
Earl Beggs	County Commissioner Liberty County
Henry Curry	County Commissioner McIntosh County
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	School Board Atlanta
Dr. Horace E. Tate	School Board Atlanta

GEORGIA CONTINUED

O. V. Williamson	Board of Aldermen Atlanta
David C. Albert	City Council Augusta
B. L. Dent	City Council Augusta
The Rev. C. S. Hamilton	City Council Augusta

LOUISIANA

Peter Smith	MayoroPro Tem Grand Coteau
F. J. Atlas	School Board East Carroll Parish
J. W. Holmes	School Board Iberville Parish
Raymond Minor	School Board West Feliciana
Alvin White, Jr.	School Board West Feliciana

MISSISSIPPI

Robert Williams

School Board
Jefferson County

NORTH CAROLINA

Felton J. Chapel	City Council Southern Pines
C. C. Ross	City Council Winston-Salem
Carl H. Russell	City Council Winston-Salem
John S. Steward	City Council Durham
The Rev. E. B. Turner	City Council Lumberton
John W. Winters	City Council Raleigh
Howard Hunter	School Board Hertford County

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy Brown	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Dave Jones	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Booker Washington	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Paul Murray	Road Commission Williamsburg County
Mrs. Hattie Sims	Magistrate, Gadsden Precinct Richland County
Joseph Stroy	Magistrate, Hopkins Precinct Richland County

TENNESSEE

A. W. Willis	State House of Rep. Shelby
J. O. Patterson	State House of Rep. Shelby
Russell Sugarmon	State House of Rep. Shelby
M/.G. Blakemore	State House of Rep. Davidson
Mrs. Dorothy Brown	State House of Rep. Davidson
Robert J. Booker	State House of Rep. Knox
Blair T. Hunt	School Board Shelby County
Albert Lockard	School Board Lauderdale County
Dan Nixon	Magistrate, 9th District Haywood County
A. D. Powell	Magistrate, 9th District Haywood County
Gladys Allen	County Court Fayette County
Herbert Bonner	County Court Fayette County
William Hazlitt	County Court Fayette County
Sherman Perry	County Court Fayette County
Mrs. Geraldine Johnson	County Court Fayette County

TENNESSEE CONTINUED

Charlie Minor	County Court Fayette County
Cooper Parks	County Court Fayette County
H. T. Lockhard	County Court Shelby County
Jesses Turner	County Court Shelby County
The Rev. Robert Richards	County Court Hamilton County
Mansfield Douglas	City Council Nashville
John Driver	City Council Nashville
Robert Lilliard	City Council Nashville
Z. Alexander Looby	City Council Nashville
Harold M. Love	City Council Nashville
Robert Scales	City Council Nashville

TEXAS

Miss Barbara Jordan	State Senate Harris
Curtis Graves	State House of Rep. Harris
Joseph Lockridge	State House of Rep. Dallas
I. W. Brown	City Council Malakoff
Arthur Guiéry	City Council Port Arthur
The Rev. S. H. James	City Council San Antonio
Scott Johnson	City Council Huntsville
John Miles	City Council Hearne
Dr. G. H. Radford	City Council Waco
Asberry Butler	School Board Houston
Mrs. Hattie N. White	School Board Houston

VIRGINIA

William M. Cooper	School Board Hampton
Dr. Thomas H. Henderson	School Board Richmond
Charles B. Hutchenson	School Board Lynchburg
David L. Mackler	School Board Portsmouth
Dr. Waldo Scott	School Board Newport News
B. A. Cephas	City Council Richmond
Henry L. Marsh III	City Council Richmond
Winfred Mundle	City Council Richmond
Eubria Dynd	City Council Royal Port
Oliver Fortune	City Council Royal Port
H. E. Fountleroy	City Council Petersburg
Joseph Owens	City Council Petersburg
Ernest A. Gaines	City Council Tappahannock
The Rev. Lawrence A. Davies	City Council Fredericksburg
James W. Holley	City Council Portsmouth
John Wilmer Porter	City Council Dumfries

File

POWER-PLAY FOR CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Educator
vs.
Politician

Government
vs.
Government

May 8-9, 1967
Brown Palace Hotel
Denver, Colorado

Sponsored by the
Education Commission
of the States

WHO WON?
A SUMMARY REPORT

From: MW
To: PW
File

NEGOTIATION NOW! BULLETIN

Vol I — No. 1 184 A National Citizens' Campaign For New Initiatives To End The War in Vietnam June 21, 1967

KEEP PACE WITH THE ACTION

This is the first issue of NEGOTIATION NOW! BULLETIN, publication of the Negotiation Now! campaign. It will keep you informed on the progress of the campaign, and should provide a valuable tool for reaching tens of thousands of Americans with our message and program. The BULLETIN will also present coverage and analysis of political events and trends having a direct bearing on the prospects for negotiations in Vietnam.

At this moment the BULLETIN is scheduled to appear every two weeks, but it can come out more often. With your help, both financial contributions and articles and reports of progress and activities from your local area we can publish on a weekly basis.

We are working right now to insure sufficent staff and facilities to do this. The rest is up to you.

Urge New Peace Initiatives:

50 State Lobby For Negotiation

All state delegations of the Negotiation Now! campaign will converge on the nation's capital on Wednesday, June 28th to lobby with Senators, Congressmen, and administration officials. John Kenneth Galbraith, former Ambassador

Nationwide Campaign Underway; 700,000 Petitions Circulated — Goal of Over Million Signatures

The campaign for Negotiation Now! is mushrooming at a pace far beyond all expectations. In less than a month since the effort got under way, requests have been filled for over 700,000 petitions urging new steps to end the Vietnam war. These have been mailed out to individuals and organizations in every state in the nation. The staff has been so busy just processing these orders that they have fallen behind in tabulating the thousands of signed petitions that keep pouring in.

The petition which calls upon the United States to "take the first step and end the bombing of North Vietnam now," and asks the N.L.F. and North Vietnam "to respond affirmatively to any new U.S. initiatives and to join with the U.S. in a standstill ceasefire" to achieve peace, may well turn out to be the most effective popular effort towards a solution to the war that has ever been made.

New sponsors for the campaign — such as Norman Podhoretz, editor of **Commentary**, Monsignor Edward Murray, Boston, Massachusetts and Victor Reuthers, Director of International Affairs, Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO — are being recruited almost daily from among major figures in religious organizations, trade unions and the liberal community.

BROAD SUPPORT

Urge New Peace Initiatives:

50 State Lobby For Negotiation

All state delegations of the Negotiation Now! campaign will converge on the nation's capital on Wednesday, June 28th to lobby with Senators, Congressmen, and administration officials. John Kenneth Galbraith, former Ambassador to India and President of Americans for Democratic Action, will address a luncheon meeting of the combined delegations and plans will be mapped out to further national and local aspects of the campaign.

Also there are prospects that some of the Senators who have been most outspoken in support of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam will be on hand to consult with the delegations.

The June 28th effort will replace all previously scheduled delegation dates that were postponed during the Middle East crisis.

It will constitute a major thrust of the Negotiation Now! lobbying efforts, but by no means the only one. There has been lobbying begun already by some of the state groups especially the one in Maryland; follow-up work to the 28th activity will be carried on through the summer, by all state organizations.

This concentrated effort is particularly timely given the present climate in Washington in regard to Vietnam. In the Congress, as recent polls show, the hawks are flying higher than the doves. The John Birch Society is launching a massive campaign against Senator Frank Church of Idaho who is up for reelection in '68, and many other peace-concerned Senators and Congressmen will be facing uphill battles to retain their seats. Right wingers have had considerable success in their demagogic efforts to link, in the public mind, the doves with those who have demanded immediate withdrawal. To counter this, 16 of the dove Senators and a number of Representatives recently issued a statement directed to Hanoi, stating that they, as well as the overwhelming majority of Americans that have been critical of United States policy in Vietnam, support a negotiated settlement and not unilateral withdrawal.

Because of the continuation of the stalemate in Vietnam, the Administration is reported to be reviewing its strategy. As a result a new debate is being initiated that will be reflected in public concern throughout the nation. The hawks again are arguing that another round of military escalation "will do the trick."

(Continued on Page 2)

PETITIONS POUR IN: Staff members in the Negotiation Now! headquarters sorting petitions in the day's mail.

New Coalition of Conscience Seeking Vietnam Settlement

One of the major aims of Negotiation Now! is to mobilize the support of a broad coalition of organizations and concerned citizens behind new initiatives for a political settlement in Vietnam. This commitment to building a majority movement is similar in conception to the "Coalition of Conscience" that successfully pressed for passage of the major civil rights bills.

An impressive start has been made in this direction. The initial list of sponsors of the campaign include the following major leaders of the Labor, liberal, Negro, religious, academic and business communities:

John K. Galbraith will address Washington delegations.

Rt. Rev. George W. Barrett, Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Rochester; Robert S. Bilheimer, Director, International Affairs Programs, National Council of Churches; Norman Cousins, Editor, Saturday Review, New York; Marriner Eccles, Utah Mining and Construction, Salt Lake City; John Kenneth Galbraith, Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action, Cambridge; Harold K. Hochschild, Industrialist, New York; Dr. Martin Luther King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta; Philip M. Klutznick, former Ambassador to United Nations, Chicago; Reinhold Niebuhr, Theologian, New York; Prof. Louis Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven.

And Victor Reuther, Labor leader, Washington, D.C.; Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Attorney, Washington, D.C.; Msgr. John Scanlon, Archdiocese of San Francisco; Arthur Schlessinger, Jr., Author and Historian, New York; William L. Shirer, Author, Torring-

(Continued on Page 3)

behind an astounding the thousands of signed petitions that keep pouring in.

The petition which calls upon of North Vietnam now," and asks the N.L.F. and North Vietnam "to respond affirmatively to any new U.S. initiatives and to join

turn out to be the most effective popular effort towards a solution to the war that has ever been made.

New sponsors for the campaign — such as Norman Podhoretz, editor of **Commentary**, Monsignor Edward Murray, Boston, Massachusetts and Victor Reuthers, Director of International Affairs, Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO — are being recruited almost daily from among major figures in religious organizations, trade unions and the liberal community.

BROAD SUPPORT

The aim of Negotiation Now! is to mobilize a groundswell of support for new peace initiatives both on a grass-roots level and among major socially concerned organizations and institutions that cannot be ignored by the nation's political leaders.

First efforts indicate that this can be done. The full page Negotiation Now! ad that went into the New York Times on May 7th (reprinted on page 4) received a response almost unprecedented in the history of peace activities, including contributions that more than doubled the cost of the ad and won support from every area of the country. Other successful ads have been placed in newspapers around the country and more are planned.

The campaign is filling a tremendous need for meaningful

(Continued on Page 3)

Threats To Peace Corps Signers Meet Protest, Renewed Efforts

Ninety-two U. S. Peace Corps volunteers serving in Chile have been warned by Jack Vaughn, Peace Corps Director, to disassociate their Peace Corps affiliation from a Negotiation Now! statement urging the U.S. government to cease the bombing of North Vietnam and to begin initiatives to end the war. Negotiation Now! has issued a strong protest against Vaughn's action.

According to reports received by the American Civil Liberties Union, 57 of the signees have been threatened with dismissal if they refuse to withdraw their names from the petition. These reports reveal that volunteers were read a memorandum sent by Vaughn, and approved by Ambassador Ralph Dungan in Chile, asking for the withdrawal of signatures and advising volunteers who refused to co-operate to resign if they disagreed with the Peace Corps' view that government employees should not sign a petition of this nature. Most of the signers have refused to comply.

Negotiation Now! sent letters to Mr. Vaughn and President Johnson demanding that no reprisals be taken against Peace Corps volunteers and issued a public statement to that effect. The letter to Mr. Vaughn went

(Continued on Page 2)

Negotiation Now! Bulletin

official publication of Negotiation Now!

Vol. I — No. 1 June 21, 1967

Editorial and Business Offices: Room 819, 381 Park Ave. So., New York, N. Y. 10016.
Telephone: 212-889-4018 Free copies or bundles available.

A Better Choice

Negotiation Now! is gathering together a wide spectrum of Americans in public, religious and political life who agree that the United States must take new initiatives to bring an end to the war in Vietnam.

It is clear that neither side can win a meaningful military victory, and we believe it is immoral for either side to seek one.

The American people are being presented today with three bad choices in Vietnam — the present course of gradual escalation; an all-out military effort to win; or simply to pull out. We reject all these choices, and present in this campaign a program which we believe has some chances of success in bringing about negotiations and an end to the killing in this tragic conflict.

We believe America can lead the way to peace. Our purpose is to find solutions, not simply to condemn our government or lay blame on one side or the other for continuation of the war.

We believe, therefore, that deeds rather than words are now required to bring about needed changes in the response of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to peace proposals. By these actions we can restore the credibility of our declarations that we want a peaceful settlement.

In addition to seeking a million signatures to this statement, Negotiation Now! will bring to Washington delegations of community leaders from each of 50 states urging our Senators and Congressmen to support the effort.

We present this as a positive program which can be supported by all Americans and invite their participation in gathering signatures throughout the land to make visible their desire for an early, honorable end to this tragic war.

—Statement of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Vice-Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action announcing NEGOTIATION NOW!

Peace Corps

(Continued from Page 1)

on to request an immediate appointment to discuss the matter.

D.C. Lobby

(Continued from Page 1)

However, according to New York Times correspondant, William Beecher there are also voices

'Idea Whose Time Has Come'

MARY TEMPLE, National Director

The first public and official response to the crisis in the Middle East tended to downplay concern for the increasingly bloody and dangerous situation in Vietnam. But the swiftly changing events in that area appear to have opened new possibilities for bringing about consideration of international issues on a wider scale, which could include moves toward a settlement of the Vietnam war.

C. L. Sulzberger, **New York Times** columnist, whose views are far from "dovish," in his column on Sunday, June 10th, outlined a program for Vietnam. Some of the new peace initiatives he urged parallel those of Negotiation Now! It includes the proposal that there "be no quibbling [on the part of the U.S.] about credentials for other participants, including the Viet Cong" in negotiations, and that the President order "an immediate end to the bombing of North Vietnam." He added that this should be "accompanied by an expressed hope [that our] adversaries take note of these developments and perhaps make tangible moves of their own encouraging the prospects of talks."

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Sulzberger's column is in regard to the question of timing. He maintains that as a result of recent events in the Middle East "American prestige has risen." and that this is the moment "for decisive efforts to end the Vietnam war."

His column closed with a quote that should be encouraging to everyone connected with Negotiation Now! — "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come."

Senator Mike Mansfield underlined this view in an interview quoted in the **Christian Science Monitor,** saying he sees the "strong possibility of events in the Mideast presaging a de-escalation in Vietnam." He said the Mideast crisis has awakened the administration to the dangers of having more than one military commitment in the world at the same time.

"The elements are there now," said the Senator, "for a reassessment of the Vietnam situation and a renewed drive for negotiations."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Norman Cousins, speaking for Negotiation Now! at a meeting in

It is clear, from these and other observers, that the climate has changed again in our favor. With over 700,000 petitions, distributed across the United States, with coordinators named in nearly every state, and with 5 field staff members covering the country, we are in a good position now to move quickly into the Phase II of the Negotiation Now! Campaign:

1. bringing the best possible delegations into Washington on June 28, and
2. bringing in the petitions, **signed,** as fast as possible.

Experiences with signature gathering indicate that the best way to get petitions signed is at special tables set up at meetings, churches and synagogues, on campuses, and other community gathering places.

Street corner tables seem to be slower. We have no conclusive reports on door to door work as yet. We would expect this to be slow in terms of signatures, but valuable educationally.

New materials available to help you promote the Campaign are:

1. Negotiation Now! buttons, 5¢.
2. Campaign brochure explaining the entire program and its aims. Free.

Negotiation Now! Needs You!

Volunteer workers urgently needed to assist the campaign in a variety of ways:

— canvassers *— general office work*
— typists *— manning tables*
— and many other jobs

If you can volunteer to work in this interesting and important effort, call or come in to our New York office, or get in touch with the coordinator in your state. (See list on page 3 for address.)

3. Attractive Blow-ups of
   (a) the Petition alone, and
   (b) the New York Times ad text plus the petition.

These can be affixed to cardboard and set up at signature gathering tables in store windows, on

leaders from each of 50 states urging our Senators and Congressmen to support the effort.

We present this as a positive program which can be supported by all Americans and invite their participation in gathering signatures throughout the land to make visible their desire for an early, honorable end to this tragic war.

—Statement of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Vice-Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action announcing NEGOTIATION NOW!

Peace Corps

(Continued from Page 1)

on to request an immediate appointment to discuss the matter.

HEED VIEWS

The Negotiation Now! statement urged the Johnson Administration to "give careful and thoughtful consideration to the views of those volunteers who want to apply the constructive principles associated with the Peace Corps to the problems in Vietnam."

Mary Temple, Director of the campaign, stated: "Rather than punishing these young people, we would expect the Administration to welcome this effort to strengthen visible public support for the goals the President has stated repeatedly are his own — a negotiated settlement which will assure democratic self-determination for the people of South Vietnam."

Similar petitions to the Chilean ones are being circulated by Peace Corps volunteers in Ecuador and Venezuela, and already the national office of Negotiation Now! has received Peace Corpsmen's signatures from Peru, Mexico, and Ghana among others. The Chilean group as early as mid-May asked for enough petitions to secure 250 signatures.

This indicates that there is a considerable potential for large numbers of Peace Corps volunteers becoming involved in the Negotiation Now! effort which certain Peace Corps and State Department officials, hope to nip at the bud before strong sentiment among volunteers throughout the world for new peace initiatives can become organized and fully articulated.

The A.C.L.U. has agreed to represent peace corpsmen now in Chile should any dismissals or reprisals result from their refusal to withdraw their names from the petition.

In a telegram to Vaughn, the A.C.L.U. stated: "A long line of Supreme Court decisions makes perfectly clear that government employment cannot be made contingent upon the relinquishment of the First Amendment right to petition the government and to express opinions."

D.C. Lobby

(Continued from Page 1)

However, according to New York **Times** correspondant, William Beecher, there are also voices around the administration pressing for a move in the opposite direction; they are urging a scaling down of the bombing in a new effort to get Hanoi to the negotiating table. The weight of public opinion mobilized by Negotiation Now! can have a strong impact on the nature of Washington's decision.

Because of the importance of intervening effectively in this debate Mary Temple, National Coordinator of the Campaign, in a memo to all state and local coordinators, asked them to carefully "stress (to each prospective delegate) the major points of the campaign" which she enumerated as follows:

"1. the emphasis on a political settlement and rejection of unilateral withdrawal.

"2. the emphasis on initiatives by the U.S., but also asking an affirmative response from the other side.

"3. the need for visible and important support for this responsible approach to overcome the dangerous polarization of opinion around extreme solutions to the war."

LOBBYING SCHEDULE

The tentative schedule for the 28th is as follows:

9:30 — Registration, Mayflower Hotel.

10:00-12:00 — Briefing for delegates.

11:00 — Press conference (for Dr. Galbraith and sponsors).

12:15 — Luncheon, Mayflower Hotel.

2:00-6:00 — Lobbying.

6:30-10:00 — Dinner and workshop for co-ordinators and delegates. This will deal with the Petition Campaign and their Presentation and Community Action.

Note: Capital Hill Headquarters for rest, refreshment and information will be at the Methodist Bldg., 100 Maryland Ave. Delegates completing lobbying efforts before 5:00 are urged to participate in pre-dinner discussion of reports at Methodist Building.

If you are interested in being a delegate please notify your state co-ordinator immediately. A list of state co-ordinators is on page 3. If you have any difficulty in contacting the state co-ordinator, write the campaign's national office at 381 Park Ave. So. New York, N. Y. 10016, or call 212-889-4018.

'Heartened'

Gentlemen:

We are tremendously heartened by the Negotiations Now! ad in the **New York Times** Week in Review, May 7.

We have felt alone, and haven't known what steps to take, and we thank you for showing us the way.

Could we be named chairman of Negotiation Now! for our town, Altoona, Pa.? We would like to help, and enclose our personal contribution of $50, and ask that you please send us twenty copies of the whole page, or the statement, to start with.

We shall invite people over to discuss it, and ask them to circulate and contribute, also.

Sincerely,

Mr. & Mrs. Edward Petsonk

Altoona, Pennsylvania

His column closed with a quote that should be encouraging to everyone connected with Negotiation Now! — "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come."

Senator Mike Mansfield underlined this view in an interview quoted in the **Christian Science Monitor**, saying he sees the "strong possibility of events in the Mideast presaging a de-escalation in Vietnam." He said the Mideast crisis has awakened the administration to the dangers of having more than one military commitment in the world at the same time.

"The elements are there now," said the Senator, "for a reassessment of the Vietnam situation and a renewed drive for negotiations."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Norman Cousins, speaking for Negotiation Now! at a meeting in New York, emphasized the same point — that events have compelled "a fundamental reassessment of policy."

If the President begins this process, Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Cousins agreed, he may welcome manifestations of political support for a negotiated settlement such as the Negotiation Now! campaign.

"Our efforts," Mr. Schlesinger added, "can also strengthen and reinforce support for the campaign of those gallant United States Senators who have refused to be intimidated by the government or generals on the Vietnam issue."

"For these reasons," he concludes, "I am happy to associate myself with the Negotiation Now! campaign."

Negotiation Now! Needs You!

Volunteer workers urgently needed to assist the campaign in a variety of ways:

— canvassers *— general office work*
— typists *— manning tables*
— and many other jobs

If you can volunteer to work in this interesting and important effort, call or come in to our New York office, or get in touch with the co-ordinator in your state. (See list on page 3 for address.)

3. Attractive Blow-ups of
   (a) the Petition alone, and
   (b) the **New York Times** ad text plus the petition.

These can be affixed to cardboard and set up at signature gathering tables, in store windows, on bulletin boards, etc.

4. Bumper stickers: **"Support Our Boys—Negotiate Now!"**
5. Campaign Workers Guide-Tips on how to promote the Campaign in your community. Free.

* * * * *

Vital to the success of the Campaign, as you are very much aware, is **MONEY.**

Have you tried a mailing of the **New York Times** ad reprint as a fund-raiser? Send for the "How To" Bulletin, on **Raising Funds for a Local Ad.** The May 7th ad in the **Times** was an astonishing financial success, recovering two and a half times its original cost of $5,600, in contributions ranging from $1 to $100.

Newark Evening News

NEWARK, N.J., FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1967 31

New Viet Peace Group Plans Canvass of Every N.J. Home

Newark News Photo

WANT TALKS—Bishop Leland Stark of Episcopal Diocese of Newark, seated, center, goes over plans for "Negotiation Now!" movement at conference yesterday. Looking on are, standing, Rev. Daniel Kilfoyle of St. Peter's College; Joel Jacobson of N.J. AFL-CIO; Dean C. Willard Heckel of Rutgers Law School, and Mrs. Howard Levine of American Jewish Congress, and seated, Rev. Francis Keating of St. Peter's College and Mrs. Maxwell Barus of League of Women Voters in Hotel Military Park.

YOUTH JOIN CAMPAIGN

PENN KEMBLE, Youth Coordinator

A commonplace rejoinder to the dismay young people have shown toward our policy in Vietnam is that those who dissent are really an unrepresentative and tiny minority. While it is certainly true that not all forms of anti-war protest reflect the general sentiments of American students, the experience of Negotiation Now! bears out that there is a reservoir of support on campuses for a responsible campaign to press for a settlement of the war.

This can be said even though our efforts to reach the campuses began when most students were dizzy with final exams, and everyone was holding his breath over the crisis in the Middle East.

Early in the campaign we received the support of a number of key youth leaders and activists. Only a sampling of them can be listed here; they include Eugene Groves, President, and Ed Schwartz, Vice-President, of the National Student Association, President James Fowler and Vice-President David Rosenbloom of the United States Youth Council, Frank Horacek, Student Secretary of the United World Federalists, Nicholas Robinson, President, Collegiate Council for the United Nations, Meg Green of the National Student YWCA, and Joe Berlant, Policy Committee Chairman, College Young Democratic Clubs of America.

NEW SOURCES OF SUPPORT

The Campus Coordinating Office, a new student organization, is planning a summer project in cooperation with Negotiation Now!, and a number of the group's members have volunteered to work directly in the campaign.

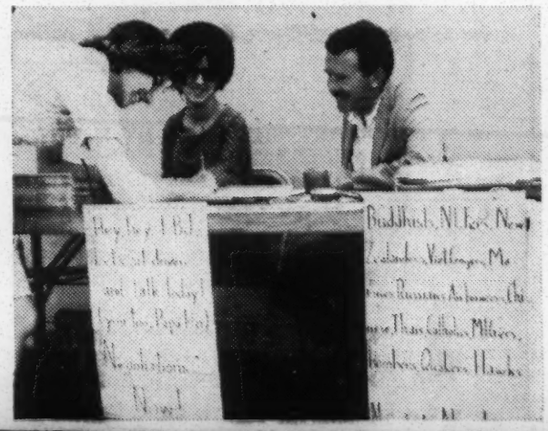
The involvement of the C.C.O. bears out the thesis that this kind of campaign reaches into a large and, for the most part, untapped vein of student support for a new policy in Vietnam. The C.C.O.'s constituency includes the more than 200 student body presidents who sent the widely publicised letter on Vietnam to the Administration last winter, 800 returned Peace Corps volunteers who sent a similar letter, a committee of Rhodes Scholars, and 1000 seminarians who are concerned with extending the limits of conscientious objection.

[illegible] by the C.C.O. outlined beginning. Thousands of signatures have been collected at tables manned by YPSL members at various campuses: at both Harvard and City College of New York well over a thousand signatures were gathered. A student who collected signatures at Sacramento State College (see photo) writes:

"While some people refused to approach the table we found that those who we were able to stop and talk to did accept the Negotiation Now! perspective. Of those we talked to the only ones who refused to sign were adamant about either annihilating North Vietnam or unilateral withdrawal. The signers represented a much wider cross-section of the public than signers of previous "peace" petitions. Conservative young students, faculty members who normally stay clear, and apolitical young and adult students praised this program. Some took petition forms to gather more signers."

The Campus Americans for Democratic Action has formally endorsed Negotiation Now, and has begun a petition drive among its members and contacts. The Independent Student Union, whose membership now includes what was formerly the Student Peace Union, is also cooperating in this way.

As young people get settled in jobs or in summer school we expect that they will come to play



[illegible] State College

A Moral Alternative

The following statement was issued by the Very Reverend Victor Yanitelli, S.J., President of Saint Peters College, Jersey City, N.J. as he added his name to the long and growing list of prominent public leaders who have endorsed Negotiation Now!

"I am happy to give my entire prayerful and moral support to any initiatives that will lead to negotiation now. It is my hope that this effort will produce an action which at one and the same time, begins talks without crippling pre-conditions and preserves the dignity of all the involved parties. Such action has been called for already by Pope Paul VI and U Thant.

"It is my hope that good faith will prevail and that the contending parties will see negotiation now as the only moral alternative to war and the only sure step to a lasting, just peace.

"I endorse Negotiation Now! because this movement calls for a response from both sides. Such bi-lateral action is essential in a quest for peace in Vietnam."

State Coordinators

These are the regional coordinators for NEGOTIATION NOW!

EASTERN STATES:
Thomas Ritt
60 Branford Place
Newark, New Jersey
201-623-2346

MIDDLE STATES
Edward Doty
22 West Monroe
Chicago, Illinois
312-263-4274

WESTERN STATES
George Mitrovich
5612 Carley Avenue (home)
Whittier, Calif.
948 Market St., Rm. 519
San Francisco, California
(Western Headquarters)
415-392-0614

The following are the state coordinators for NEGOTIATION NOW! as of June 15, 1967.

ALABAMA
P. R. Bailey
9149 9th Ave. West
Birmingham, Ala. 35204
(205) 328-7194

ARIZONA
Walter McClenaghan
8512 E. Virginia Ave.
Scottsdale, Arizona 85257
(602) 946-1000

ARKANSAS
Rev. Linwood Coleman
Pulaski Heights
Christian Church
4724 Hillcrest Street
Little Rock, Ark. 72205
Office: (501) MO 3-8149
Residence: (501) MO 6-5710

CALIFORNIA
Jane Burnett
548 Market Street
Apt. 519
San Francisco, California
George Mitrovich
5612 Carley Ave.
Whittier, California
(213) 695-6804
Robert Freeman
1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, California

John Howells
P.O. Box 276
Kittery, Maine 03904
(207) 439-1755
or 439-1785

MARYLAND
Prof. Charles Barker
4210 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(301) 467-5041

MASSACHUSETTS
Rev. Richard Harding
Lexington Methodist Church
2600 Massachusetts Avenue
Lexington, Mass. 02173
Office: (617) 861-9301
Residence: (617) 862-3952

MICHIGAN
Rev. Harold Mondol
Mich. Council of Churches
205 W. Saginaw Street
Lansing, Mich. 48901
Mrs. Russell Fuller
403 Iroquois
Ann Arbor, Michigan
(313) NO 3-0473
John Fillion
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Mich. 48230
(313) TE 5-8804

OREGON
Rev. Ira Blaloch
3001 S.W. Dosh Rd.
Portland, Oregon
Church: (503) 246-7000
or: 228-6389
Home: 228-3046
Mary Anne Buchanan
1624 S.W. Upland Dr.
Portland, Oregon
(503) 223-9782
Monty Marshall
1642 Alder Street
Apt. 5
Eugene, Oregon
(503) 345-8077
Mrs. Hilda Welch
1795 Moss Street
Eugene Ore.
(503) 345-6619

PENNSYLVANIA
Peter Ainslie
2029 E. Homestead Street
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15212
(412) 322-6375
Jean Dole
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
Norville Reece
ADA
20 South 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW SOURCES OF SUPPORT

The Campus Coordinating Office, a new student organization, is planning a summer project in cooperation with Negotiation Now!, and a number of the group's members have volunteered to work directly in the campaign.

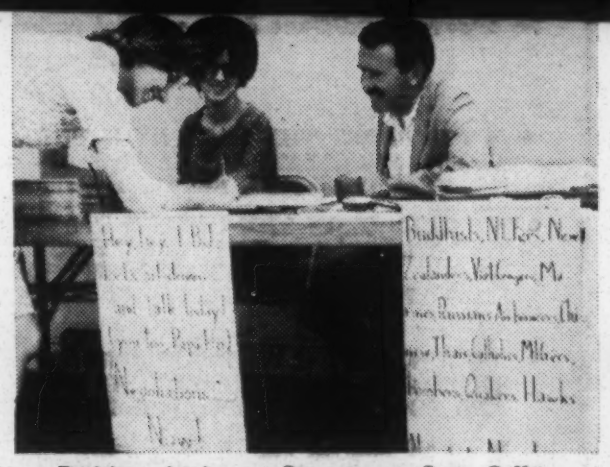
The involvement of the C.C.O. bears out the thesis that this kind of campaign reaches into a large and, for the most part, untapped vein of student support for a new policy in Vietnam. The C.C.O.'s constituency includes the more than 200 student body presidents who sent the widely publicised letter on Vietnam to the Administration last winter, 800 returned Peace Corps volunteers who sent a similar letter, a committee of Rhodes Scholars, and 1000 seminarians who are concerned with extending the limits of conscientious objection.

A statement drawn up by the C.C.O. outlined the following purpose for the group's Vietnam activity:

"Alternatives to the Administration's policy have not been formulated and presented in a fashion designed to appeal to the broad middle sector of the American political spectrum. We propose to develop projects which in tactics and philosophy will provide an attractive alternative to the current policy."

The statement went on to call for an end to the bombing and deescalation of the war.

The Young People's Socialist League has been active in Negotiation Now! since the campaign's



Petition signing at Sacramento State College

an extremely important role in Negotiation Now!, especially if the now-contemplated grass roots activities get underway. It is a most hopeful sign that a new and far larger constituency for foreign policy change is emerging on the campus. The policy and programs of Negotiation Now! have shown great potential for rallying these young people around an effective and responsible campaign for the shift in our Vietnam policy that is so desperately needed, and we look forward enthusiastically to greater student involvement.

Campaign...

(Continued from Page 1)

grass-roots activity offering specific alternatives to both the policy of military escalation in Vietnam and the proposal for immediate withdrawal.

This is true not only in areas of traditional liberal strength but also in myriad sections of the country where heretofore there had been little or no organized activities.

In Lawrence, Kansas, for example, a chapter of the Women's Internat'l League for Peace and Freedom writes that their original petition campaign met a "tremendous response" and asks for additional petitions.

A woman from Ashland, Kentucky writes that $55 has been collected for the campaign in her area and asks for more petitions. A high school student from Byram, Conn. is one of the many young people who have expressed interest in working for the campaign this summer.

The Board of Christian Social Concerns of Northern New Jersey has ordered 2000 petitions. And on the west coast, the Bay District Joint Council of Bldg. Service Employees requested 500 petitions.

The goal of the petition drive is one million signatures and this kind of response is making the prospect of achieving that figure by the end of the summer (or even earlier) extremely good.

If the enormous spontaneous response to the campaign can be sustained by solid, organizational work the likelihood of a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam will be immeasurably enhanced. This, however, will only be accomplished through the continued devoted work of thousands of cencerned citizens.

Coalition...

(Continued from Page 1)

ton, Conn.; Earl P. Stevenson, former President and Chairman of the Board, Arthur D. Little Co., Boston; Allan Geyer, International Relations Director, United Church of Christ; and Philip Scharper, Senior Editor, Sheed and Ward.

Efforts are now underway to get the constituency organizations of the liberal community to place major institutional resources and manpower behind the campaign. Already a large number and variety of groups are participating and circulating Negotiation Now! petitions.

The number of different communities which have responded as well as the identities of the various sponsors, serve well in outlining the broad nature of interest in the project. Religious groups circulating the petition include the Unitarian Universalists, the Church of the Brethren, Disciples of Christ, American Jewish Congress, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Christian Missionary Society, the National Council of Churches, the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, and the American Friends Services Committee.

Also circulating petitions are a number of mainstream political and social action groups including Americans for Democratic Action, The Committee for Democratic Voters in California, The California Democratic Council, The Independent Voters League of Illinois, National Committee For A Sane Nuclear Policy, the Socialist Party, Women's International League For Peace And Freedom and the New York Democratic Council.

There is also a large contingent of student groups participating in the petition drive. These include: The United States Youth Council, The Young Women's Christian Association, The National Student Association, Campus ADA, The Young People's Socialist League, the Independent Student Union and the Campus Coordinating Office.

The effort to build a broad coalition of conscience for negotiations in Vietnam is only in its initial stage. But the first signs are hopeful that such a broad coalition, stronger than any previous movement for peace, can be built.

8512 E. Virginia Ave.
Scottsdale, Arizona 85257
(602) 946-1000

ARKANSAS
Rev. Linwood Coleman
Pulaski Heights
Christian Church
4724 Hillcrest Street
Little Rock, Ark. 72205
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548 Market Street
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San Francisco, California
George Mitrovich
5612 Carley Ave.
Whittier, California
(213) 695-6804
Robert Freeman
1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, California

COLORADO
Jack Gore
4200 Hanover
Boulder, Colorado
Residence: (303) 443-554

CONNECTICUT
Rev. Joseph Duffy
175 Ridgefield Street
Hartford, Conn.
(203) 522-4068
Mrs. J. W. (Stephanie) May
113 Duncaster Rd.
Bloomfield, Conn.
(203) 242-4771

DELAWARE
Rev. J. Clenent
505 Eastlawn Ave.
Wilmington, Delaware
(302) 762-9176
Mrs. Henry Hall
1900 No. Van Buren
Wilmington, Delaware
(302) 655-0429
Rev. Howell O. Wilkins
St. Johns Methodist Church
Seaford, Delaware
(302) 629-9466

FLORIDA
Rabbi Ben Kronish
Temple Beth Shalom
4144 Chase Avenue
Miami Beach, Florida
(305) 538-7231

GEORGIA
Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast
1700 W. Paces Ferry Rd., NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30327
(404) 355-0927

HAWAII
Mrs. Anita Truhitt
2703 Terrace Drive
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

IDAHO
Rev. Orville Coates
P.O. Box 1692
Boise, Idaho 83701
Office: (208) 375-3430
Residence: (208) 375-3430

ILLINOIS
Ed. Doty
22 West Monroe
Chicago, Ill.
(312) 263-4274
Florence Field
22 West Monroe
Chicago, Ill.
(312) 642-8891
John Kearney
22 West Monroe
Chicago, Ill.

INDIANA
Dr. Barton Hunter
United Christian
Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Ind. 46207
(317) 353-1491

MAINE
Dr. Allan Broyles

24 Oak Street
Orono, Maine 04473
(207) 866-2309

4210 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Md. 21218
(301) 467-5041

MASSACHUSETTS
Rev. Richard Harding
Lexington Methodist Church
2600 Massachusetts Avenue
Lexington, Mass. 02173
Office: (617) 861-9301
Residence: (617) 862-3852

MICHIGAN
Rev. Harold Mondol
Mich. Council of Churches
205 W. Saginaw Street
Lansing, Mich. 48901
Mrs. Russell Fuller
403 Iroquois
Ann Arbor, Michigan
(313) NO 3-0473
John Fillion
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Mich. 48230
(313) TE 5-8804

MINNESOTA
Rev. Willis Merriman
Minn. Council of Churches
122 West Franklin Street
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404
Office: (612) 332-2571
Residence: (612) 823-1650

MISSOURI
W. E. Faucett
6505 Harvard
Raytown 33, Mo.
(816) FL 6-4535
Mrs. Lee Rainwater
2 Ladue Hills
St. Louis, Mo.
(314) WY 3-5222

MONTANA
Rev. George Harper
P.O. Box 1080
Helena, Montana
(406) 442-5644

NEVADA
Arthur Johnson
961 Wilkinson
Reno, Nevada 89502
Residence: (702) 323-4738

NEW JERSEY
Miss Mary Kelly
N. J. ADA, Exec. Secy.
60 Franford Place
Newark, N. J. 07102
(201) 623-2346

NEW MEXICO
Elizabeth Thurston
SANE, 1427 Princeton
Albuquerque, N. M.
(505) 255-7032

NEW YORK
Sally Milstein
Rm. 819
381 Park Ave. So.
New York, N. Y. 10016
(212) 889-4018
Bert Weinert
ADA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.
675-7020

NORTH CAROLINA
Rev. Jack Crum
N. C. Council of Churches
Raleigh, N. C. 27607
Office: (919) 828-3273
Residence: (919) 787-3116

NORTH DAKOTA
Rev. Robert Branconnier
Box 8233
University Station
Grand Forks, N. D.
(701) 774-7129

OHIO
Mrs. Irvin Lev
ADA
Youngstown, Ohio 44504
(216) 747-8479

OKLAHOMA
Rev. William King
Church of Madelaine
2233 South Gary Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma
(918) WE 6-6773

1624 S.W. Upland Dr.
Portland, Oregon
(503) 223-9782
Monty Marshall
1642 Alder Street
Apt. 5
Eugene, Oregon
(503) 345-8077
Mrs. Hilda Welch
1795 Moss Street
Eugene Ore.
(503) 345-6619

PENNSYLVANIA
Peter Ainslie
2029 E. Homestead Street
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15212
(412) 322-6375
Jean Dole
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
Norville Reece
ADA
20 South 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
Sandy Weinrib
1524 Locust Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
(215) KI 6-4366

RHODE ISLAND
Rev. Richard Peck
Rhode Island College
148 Erastus Avenue
Providence, R. I. 02908
Office: (401) 831-6600
Residence: (401) 521-9733

SOUTH CAROLINA
Hayes Mizell
American Friends
Service Committee
704 Columbia Bldg.
Columbia, S. C. 29201
(803) 253-7159

SOUTH DAKOTA
Rev. Claire Mitchell
802 11th Ave.
Brookings, S. D.
Douglas Perkins
1102 3rd Street
Brookings, S. D. 57006
(605) 692-4255

TEXAS
Dr. George Crawford
9440 Brentgate
Dallas, Texas 75238
Residence: (214) 348-1335
Office: (214) 363-5611 Ext. 215

UTAH
Dr. Robert Wolbach
University of
Utah Medical Center
Salt Lake City, Utah
Office: (801) 322-6354
Residence: (801) 364-6008
Dr. Sterling McMurran,
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah
Residence: (801) 484-0223

VERMONT
Stewart A. Meacham
Vt. Council of Churches
Burlington, Vt. 05401
(802) 863-2222

VIRGINIA
Ruth Mirolli
317 So. Royal Street
Alexandria, Va. 22314
Temple 6-9048

WASHINGTON
Derek Mills
4235 Roosevelt Way N.E.
Seattle, Washington
(206) ME 2-8282
Linda Pope
4235 Roosevelt Way N.E.
Seattle, Washington
(206) ME 2-8282
Ann Statler
4235 Roosevelt Way, N.E.
Seattle, Wash.
(206) ME 2-8282

WISCONSIN
Rev. Richard Larson
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(608) 257-3578

You can't do a thing about the war in VIETNAM ... alone.
You and millions of AMERICANS together can help to end it. You can join in:

NEGOTIATION NOW!

A NATIONAL CITIZENS' CAMPAIGN FOR NEW INITIATIVES TO END WAR IN VIETNAM

This is America's chance to speak. Our names can save the lives of American soldiers and innocent Vietnamese. Our names can change history.

Right now, in every city in every state thousands of us are going into the homes of our friends, neighbors and families, into our churches and organizations, into our businesses, offices and factories — getting the signatures of all Americans who want this war ended honorably through negotiations, and who are ready to say so.

Put your name on President Johnson's desk. Sign the statement at the right. Ask others to sign. Support Negotiation Now!

WHY SIGN THIS CALL FOR THESE FIRST STEPS BY THE UNITED STATES?

Because it rejects our present tragic entrapment in a war we do not want;

Because it rejects the untenable choices of either unleasing our full military strength in an all-out war or "pulling out" and abandoning responsibility for establish-

"The present impasse can be broken and a halt put to the increasingly horrible slaughter and destruction of the Vietnam war only if one side or the other shows the wisdom and the courage and the compassion for humanity to take the initiative on a first step."

"A cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam is an imperative necessity to create conditions for peaceful talks."

U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations
March 28, 1967

- WE SUPPORT THE CALL BY U THANT FOR NEW INITIATIVES TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, LEADING TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE VIETNAM WAR.
- WE CALL UPON THE UNITED STATES, THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD, TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP AND END THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM NOW AND WITHOUT CONDITIONS. WE ASK OUR GOVERNMENT TO TAKE FURTHER INITIATIVES LEADING TO A STANDSTILL TRUCE.
- WE ASK NORTH VIETNAM AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY TO ANY NEW UNITED STATES INITIATIVES AND TO JOIN WITH THE U. S. IN A STANDSTILL CEASE-FIRE.
- WE ASK SOUTH VIETNAM TO RESPECT AND JOIN IN THESE STEPS.

THIS COURSE OF ACTION PRESENTS TO THE UNITED STATES A MORAL AL-

tories — getting the signatures of all Americans who want this war ended honorably through negotiations, and who are ready to say so.

Put your name on President Johnson's desk. Sign the statement at the right. Ask others to sign. Support Negotiation Now!

WHY SIGN THIS CALL FOR THESE FIRST STEPS BY THE UNITED STATES?

Because it rejects our present tragic entrapment in a war we do not want;

Because it rejects the untenable choices of either unleasing our full military strength in an all-out war or "pulling out" and abandoning responsibility for establishing conditions for a stable peace;

Because this call asks both sides to act responsibly to end the war;

Because U Thant's efforts must be supported and sustained, thus strengthening international instituions which can help prevent future Vietnams.

BUT WE'VE STOPPED THE BOMBING BEFORE AND IT DIDN'T WORK. WHY SHOULD IT WORK NOW?

Previous U.S. bombing halts have not made clear our willingness to negotiate with all of those actually fighting, including the National Liberation Front. We have maintained preconditions to negotiations which are unacceptable, as have North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front in the past.

Now the political situation appears to have changed, with North Vietnam indicating as recently as June 1 that an end to the bombing could lead to negotiations.

ISN'T IT UNPATRIOTIC NOT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY IN VIETNAM?

The President has stated many times that his policy is to bring about a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam and assure the right of South Vietnam to a free choice of its own government. It is evident that the present course has failed. Taking the President at his word, we urge a new course of action which offers hope of success.

DOESN'T THIS KIND OF CAMPAIGN UNDERMINE OUR FIGHTING MEN AND GIVE COMFORT TO THE ENEMY, ENCOURAGING THEM TO FIGHT ON?

These American peace initiatives could provide assurances of our good faith and are more likely than our present policy to persuade the other side to join in negotiations. If our government adopts this policy it could be the first step to an honorable peace and bringing our soldiers home.

WHAT ABOUT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE? DO THEY REALLY WANT TO NEGOTIATE?

There are those in the leadership on both sides who prefer to continue the war. These actions by the U.S. could put the pressure of Vietnamese and world opinion on these leaders to join in the cease-fire and begin negotiations. If they do not, it becomes clear who wants to continue the war.

BUT IF WE STOP BOMBING, WON'T THE OTHER SIDE JUST BUILD UP ITS FORCES AND INCREASE THE DANGER TO THE LIVES OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS?

The great danger is continued escalation to a full-scale land war in Asia, or an all-out nuclear war.

For the sake of those young men who are now fighting and those who will be called upon to fight, we ought to try a new policy. Many more lives are endangered by prolonged fighting or by escalation to all-out war.

to create conditions for peaceful talks."

U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations
March 28, 1967

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- WE ASK SOUTH VIETNAM TO RESPECT AND JOIN IN THESE STEPS.

THIS COURSE OF ACTION PRESENTS TO THE UNITED STATES A MORAL ALTERNATIVE TO OUR STATED POLICY OF BRINGING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS BY FORCE, OR TO THE DEVASTATION OF ALL-OUT WAR, AND A MORE REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE THAN UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL.

WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH INITIATIVES NOW CAN BREAK THE IMPASSE AND LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT PROVIDING FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS AND FOR GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL SOUTH VIETNAMESE CAN PARTICIPATE FREELY

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	ZIP
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

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Send me —— copies of citizens' signature statement for circulation in my community.

Name _____ Address _____

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Cut out the statement — Get others to sign — Return statement and contributions to Negotiation Now! 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016 **N.A.**

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ulletin 1967

VIETNAM

A VOICE FROM THE VILLAGES

by

Katsuichi Honda

To Mrs Bernice Morrison
Mr. Pat Watter
Mr. Bob Anderson
Mr. John Lewis
Mr. Jim Wood
and anybody in the Council who are interested in Japanese viewpoint on Viet nam War.

Mr. Hand, writer of the paughter and 1st class reporter for the Asahi Newspaper, will visit the council to ask your assistance very soon. For his is intending to write on the negroes in the South.

Committee for the English Publication of

《Vietnam—A Voice from the Villages》 (*Senjo no Mura*)

VIETNAM — A VOICE FROM THE VILLAGES

(*Senjo no Mura*)

by

Katsuichi Honda

Translated from Japanese

by Fujiko Isono

Third printing, 1968

VIETNAM — A VOICE FROM THE VILLAGES

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Contents

To our Readers 4
Introduction 5
I Bases on the front 6
II Scorched earth tactics 8
III "Rice robbery" operation 10
IV With the APC tank company 12
V Anger of peasants 14
VI Tanks and ripe ears of rice 16
VII Search of houses 18
VIII Grief of the women 20
IX Arrest 22
X *KHO QUA!* 24
XI Reaping rice amid showers of bullets 26
XII In the fighting 28
XIII In the fighting (continued) 30
XIV A testimony 32
XV The secret of a boy 34
XVI Orphans 36
XVII Refugees 38
XVIII A letter for home 40
XIX Souvenirs of the battle 42
XX An old woman in the ruins 44
Postscript 46
Map 48

TO OUR READERS

We publish this booklet to share with you a report on what is going on in the villages of Vietnam, because everyone has the right to know the truth however painful it may be. And we feel that we have a duty to let the truth be known. In Japan, the report of Mr. Honda has made a very wide appeal, and there is a growing doubt about the attitude of our Government in supporting the U. S. policies in Vietnam.

It is not our intention to bring any special accusation against the individual soldiers who come out in the following pages. We know very well, from our own experiences, that we cannot expect young men always to remain sane in the brutal atmosphere of war, whether they be Americans, or Japanese, or of any other nations.

We want to share this report with you, because, it may not be very often that you will find in English a report from Vietnam written from an Asian point of view, by a correspondent who can directly talk and feel with the people living in villages on the battlefield of Vietnam.

January 1968

Committee for the English Publication of
"Vietnam—A Voice from the Villages"
(Senjo no Mura)

INTRODUCTION

From December 1966 to October 1967, I was in South Vietnam as a special correspondent of the Asahi Shimbun. During my stay there I sent back 100 serial articles, entitled "*The War and People in Vietnam*". The translation you find in this booklet is Part Five (20 articles) of this series. (Part Six is the report on the one month I stayed among the people of Mekong Delta in the area under the rule of the National Front for Liberation. What I saw there was, on the whole, not contradictory to the report of Mr. Roger Pic published in the *Figaro* of December 1, 1967.)

As to myself, I am a very ordinary reporter of the largest independent newspaper in Japan which belongs to the Free World. By training and inclination I am interested in "reporting the facts as accurately as possible." I am not committed to any "ism", nor am I subjected to pressures from any authorities. Therefore, in covering the situations in Vietnam, I did my best to be free from all prejudgements, and to see the facts as they were. I reported exclusively what I ascertained with my own eyes and ears, strictly refraining from inserting any information which I could not verify or which I heard as rumour.

What impression did I get from my experiences in Vietnam? It may be enough to say that I felt what you will probably feel on reading my report. It was a great regret to me that I had to write these things about the United States, the country which I hold in very high esteem. The American people who have created their glorious history—have they ceased to be great? I do not believe so. I believe that the American people are now making mistakes only because they are not told the truth. As a sincere Asian friend of the United States, I heartily hope, and believe, that the United States will regain her greatness, by withdrawing from this most dishonorable war in her history.

This English translation of my report is an outcome of the concerted efforts of several groups of citizens working voluntarily for peace. I am very happy to add that a number of the U. S. citizens now living in Japan kindly offered to help materialize this project. I am very grateful to all who have made my report available now to people to whom my original report in Japanese was inaccessible.

Katsuichi Honda

The U. S. base at night, guarded by flare bombs against attacks.

I BASES ON THE FRONT

Quang-Ngai Province in the central part of South Vietnam is one of the regions where the influence of the Liberation Forces has been very strong since the days when the Viet Minh were fighting against the French. Near the western border of this province rises Mt. Ngoc-Linh, the highest mountain in South Vietnam (8,500 feet). We had hoped to find time to climb to its top, but had to give up the idea. Not only the fighting, but also tigers and other savage beasts made it too dangerous for just two persons to attempt the ascent.*

In May, this year (1967), the Third Brigade of the 25th Infantry Division of the U. S. Forces launched an offensive called "Operation Baker" in the flat land, dotted with agricultural villages, lying along the coast of this mountainous province. As the first step to carry out this operation, a front base was established at Duc-Pho. From this base, they were to go up northward, through the coastal plain, "mopping up" and devastating the villages found on their way. We flew from Saigon on a C-130 (four-engined large military transport) to the U. S. base in Plei-Ku, in order to follow the U. S. troops on this Operation.

Four U.S. bases—in Saigon, Da-nang, and Cam Ranh Bay in addition to Plei-Ku—are serving as gateways at which the U.S. soldiers, leaving for home upon completion of the term of their service, are replaced by newly arrived troops. Besides these four, in Bien-Hoa, An-Khe, Chu-Lai and in other places, there are numerous U. S. military bases, which surpass all imagination of those who have not actually seen a U. S. base, in their enormous scale and formidable construction. Most of them are occupying vast tracts of land once cultivated by peasants.

The next day, we arrived at the front base of Duc-Pho (where the Brigade

had its headquarters) on board a two-engined small transport called a "Caribou"(a reindeer living in the northern part of Canada and Alaska). There are hundreds of front bases of this type in South Vietnam. To reach the fighting front, one has to use a helicopter to the "front outposts" placed around each front base. Many thousands of such "front outposts" are scattered all over South Vietnam. From these bases, front bases and front outposts, amounting to an enormous number in all, large and small cannons keep showering tons and tons of shells day and night.

At the front base of Duc-Pho, an officer of the Public Information Office (PIO) took us to visit a refugee camp nearby, in a jeep made in Japan. The peasants who had their houses burnt in the Operation were crowded densely in an elementary school building. The huts which were being built to accommodate these refugees were mere long shanties with tin-plate roofs, looking almost like pigsties. What a difference from the quiet country side where they had been living in their cool thatched cottages surrounded by coconut and other fruit trees. I asked a few questions of some aged persons and children who were keeping their vacant eyes on us. Nothing but stereotyped "safe" answers came back. I realized the futility of trying to get true stories out of their mouths in the presence of a U. S. soldier accompanying us.

An officer of the Government troops showed us the "rice seized from the Viet Cong." The warehouse was packed with piles of sacks containing unhulled rice. But, in every refugee camp I had visited, the peasants complained to us,"That is really *our* rice," referring to the rice stored as "booty". On the following day, I accompanied a troop in action, and had an occasion to witness that the situation here was just the same as everywhere else.

Colonel S., Commander of the Brigade, invited us to the evening meal in the tent used as the officers' mess. He asked us whether relations between Japan and Republic of Korea (South Korea) had been improved. To my answer, "Perhaps, one ought to say that there has been some improvement", he commented, "I am very glad to hear that." Then, turning to the Vietnamese cameraman who was sitting at the same table, the Colonel asked, "By the way, what is your religion?" Finding out that he was a Catholic, he nodded, saying "Good!". If Fujiki, my cameraman, said he was a Buddhist, and if I answered I was an Islamite, would he have also exclaimed "Good"? I wondered in my mind, but he did not ask us the same question.

As it grew dark, a great number of flare bombs were sent up around the bases, and the bombardment from the artillery position, which had been heard all through the day, increased its intensity. A gun-ship (armed helicopter) was shooting rockets into the thicket quite close to the base. A captain of the PIO showed us a shelter reinforced with sandbags, saying, "If the Viet Cong troops start attacking us with mortars, take shelter here." Then, we entered our tent and lay down. Our sleep was broken from time to time by roaring bombardments. (See map on page 48)

* The author and the cameraman are veterans of mountaineering as well. They have taken part in expeditions to climb the Himalayas, the Andes etc.

Smoke shells to smoke out persons who may be hiding inside.

II SCORCHED EARTH TACTICS

At about 8:00 a.m. a helicopter took us from the front base of Duc-Pho to a front outpost named "Liz", situated on the top of a hill approximately four miles away. We were told that it was named after the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel G., the Commander of the Battalion stationed here. Most of the front line outposts are called by such arbitrary names, without paying regard to their original place names.

On the previous day, the U. S. Forces discovered a NFL (Viet Cong) unit of the size estimated at over one company, to the northeast of "Liz" nearer to the coast line. A tactical operation of encirclement commenced with two infantry companies and an APC tank* company, supported by ships and boats off the shore. That day, we decided to go with A-Company, one of the infantry companies which took part in the operation, led by Captain B., and immediately boarded a helicopter leaving Liz. The helicopter flew extremely low—less than 30 feet above the rice paddies—to evade sniping.

About 70% of the fields were now ready for harvest, 20% were in the course of plowing, and 10% were just beginning to be planted with rice for the next crop. It was said that one of the aims of starting this Operation at that time was to "achieve the mopping-up, before the Viet Cong should get hold of the rice" harvested by the villagers. The company had bivouacked near a village called Van-Ha, and had just finished preparations for deployment when we arrived.

Shortly after 9:00 a.m. the company started marching on the first hamlet of the Van-Ha village. The usual procedure of the U. S. attacks is to pound the place with bombs and shells with unreserved thoroughness before infantry men move in. Therefore, by the time the ground troops arrive at the spot, hamlets are almost wiped out. It was the case with this hamlet also. Nearly

70% of the houses were burnt down, and some of them were still sending up smoke.

Here and there along the road, there were pitfalls. Sharpened bamboo sticks were planted in the bottom of the holes. Most of these pitfalls were not covered. It may be that the suddenness of the attack did not allow them time to do so. All of the peasants seemed to have evacuated, and there was not a figure to be seen. Judging from the yards surrounded by trimmed hedges and amply planted with fruit trees, it seemed that the hamlet had been comparatively well-to-do. Every house had a huge shelter against air raid and bombardment. An unexploded 155-mm shell was lying beside one of these shelters. How many peasants must have been killed and wounded in this hamlet also! American soldiers went round throwing hand grenades or smoke shells into one shelter after another.

One thing struck me as unusual. In spite of the 30% of the houses still left unburnt, these American soldiers did not set fire to them. In all cases I had witnessed, hamlets considered as belonging to liberated districts had been burnt down 100%, without an exception. I then remembered the complaints of commanders of brigades and battalions, saying, "Cameramen always take pictures highlighting only the burning of villages." The question was given an answer, when, some time later, I had an opportunity of talking with an NBC-TV cameraman, who had followed an operation in the same region, about a week ahead of us. The scenes in the film he made were as follows:

Heavy tanks and APC tanks enter a hamlet, marching in columns. American soldiers file out of the tanks, and approach farmhouses. The inhabitants come out of their shelters. All are women, children and old people. They plead with the soldiers in a language which the latter do not understand. Brushing aside all their entreaties, the soldiers set fire to the houses with their lighters. In the central part of Vietnam, where the rainy season arrives later than in other parts of Vietnam, they still have a long spell of fine weather. In the mid-day, the houses, which have been completely dried up, are instantly turned into pillars of fire. Wailing women and children. An old man about to run into a flaming house, trying to save what little he can. A housewife clinging to him in frantic efforts to keep him from the danger —. Villages were turned into hell wherever the American soldiers arrived.

These scenes were telecast, particularly emphasizing the details of incineration. The reaction of people who saw the film in Washington was, "That is too merciless." As a result, the U. S. soldiers refrained from setting fire to the houses, at least in our presence. Over other hamlets attacked by the other companies, we saw thick clouds of smoke rising continuously.

All of a sudden, deafening sounds of machine-guns, and automatic-rifles broke out from among the infantry ranks advancing in silence; then, explosions of hand grenades. We threw ourselves down behind a levee, and watched. (See map on page 48)

* APC tank: Armored Personnel Carrier. Light, aluminum-armored, full-tracked vehicle. It has no cannon, but is equipped only with a machine-gun of high effectiveness as the main weapon.

「戦場の村」を世界に知らせましょう

――英訳本が出来ました――

「戦場の村」は、一九六七年十月、二十回にわたって朝日新聞に連載されたベトナム・ルポです。連載が終るころ、日本全国に大きな反響が起こり、投書も朝日新聞はじまって以来の多数を記録しました。それは本多勝一記者によるこのルポが、ベトナム最前線の一局点を、一人の〈人間〉としての眼と心でとらえ、事実とその事実の底にあるものを鮮明に描き出しているからです。

私たちは、自分たちがこのルポからベトナム戦争の裸の姿を知ると共に、さらにこの真実を、アメリカをはじめ全世界の多くの人たちに知ってもらいたいと考えました。今までにも世界に報道されたベトナム・ルポはいくつかありました、しかしアジア人の眼を通してとらえられたルポは、まだ無かったと思います。

たまたま同じ計画をあたためていたいくつかのグループ（平和のために手をつなぐ会、婦人国際平和自由連盟、思想の科学研究会、草の実会、ベトナムに平和を！市民連合、ベトナム反戦市民の声）のメンバーが協力しあって、運動を推進する機関へ「戦場の村」を世界に知らせる会〉が生まれ、このたび英文「戦場の村」が出来上りました。筆者に同行した藤木高嶺カメラマンによる写真二十枚も収められたA5版四十八頁の小冊子で、翻訳は磯野富士子が担当しています。

ベトナムに平和を求める世界世論をより大きな声とするために、この小冊子をアメリカをはじめ世界各国の人々に送りましょう！

英文「戦場の村」は、実費（六十五円）で頒布されます。あなたが買って海外の友人や知人に送るなり、この本の存在を広く知らせるなりしてください。とくにアメリカ本国のさまざまな層に、このルポが一日も早く届けられるよう、あなたにできることをしてください。

＊

〈筆者のことば〉より――私自身は、ごく普通の新聞記者として、「事実を正確に伝える」こと以外にすべての先入観を排して、白紙の目で見るように努力しました。また、自分の目と耳で確認したことだけを報道するようにし、確認できない情報や噂はいっさい報道しませんでした。その結果、私が何を感じたか。それはこのルポの中にあります。

私は、現在アメリカがおかしている誤りはアメリカ国民が、ベトナムの真実を知らされていないことから来ていると思います。一日も早く、アメリカにとって史上もっとも不名誉なこの戦争を中止し、本来の偉大なアメリカにもどってくれることを念願しています。

―賛助会員募集―

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III "RICE ROBBERY" OPERATION

The attack continued with cracking shots of guns and grenade-launchers. All of them were from the side of the American troop. We were told that it was because a figure was perceived. No time nor patience was allowed to certify whether it was really a NFL (V. C.) soldier. Arriving at the place where the figure had been seen, I found in front of a farmhouse, which was completely burnt down and was still smoldering, a pair of black trousers washed and hung up to dry. Perhaps, it was the "figure" who had put them up there.

Around 10:00 a. m., in the debris of a burnt farmhouse that seemed to have been a *comparatively* handsome one, they discovered five paper bags of the size of a cement bag. The content was salt. The bags piled on the concrete floor were badly scorched by the fire. No time was lost to report by radio about this "booty". But the "salt" was not salt. When they turned over one of them, the unburnt part of the bag revealed letters UREA (for fertilizer). Moreover, it was "Made in Japan". The American soldiers winked at us and started laughing.

Side by side with the shelter with mud walls as thick as six feet, a cowshed and a henhouse remained spared by fire. A hen was sitting on her eggs and squawked angrily when a soldier held out his hand. A notebook was found on the ground nearby. It must have belonged to an elementary school child. "I suppose the child is 10 years old or so," said the Vietnamese cameraman. Exercises in arithmetic, dictation, verses of songs—the contents showed clearly that the child was receiving the education of the liberated zone. For example, among the dictation, there was "The Story of a Brave Girl Carrying Messages".

—Little Buoi dearly loves her homeland, and hates foreign enemies who devastate her homeland. Little Buoi has a very important task of carrying messages for the National Front for Liberation. Little Buoi was never late in taking messages to their destinations, and she has never let the enemies find out what she was doing. Nor has she let a letter of message fall in the hands of the enemies.—

As is always the case, the families of the burnt houses had made most pathetic efforts to invent all sorts of devices to preserve their precious rice (in the husk) from fire, storing it in the shelter, burying big jars of rice in the field, and so on. The American soldiers dug up the jars, and broke the covers with kicks of their military shoes, saying, "The Viet Cong are very cunning in hiding things." This company did not burn the rice, as did other companies I had accompanied. Instead, they called by radio for a helicopter, in order to transport the rice as "booty".

One helicopter arrived with a large number of sacks to carry off the unhulled rice. When it was about to land in the hamlet, two rifle shots were fired very near to the place. The NFL trying to hit the helicopter, no doubt. The helicopter, in consternation, soared up in the air again. Instantly,

The helicopter is loaded with sacks of seized rice.

M-16 automatic rifles and hand grenades madly attacked the spot from where the shots had come. As these villages have pits everywhere, which are connected with underground tunnels, the NFL soldier (very probably a militia-guerilla) who had just fired must have gone already underground and slipped away. Nevertheless, when the helicopter attempted the second landing, there was another shot. Once again, the bullets of the American troop fell on the vicinity like a cataract. As every farmhouse is surrounded by coconut and fruit trees, with hedges here and there, the view is generally not open.

The helicopter was obliged to move farther away, and threw down large bunches of cloth sacks. The American soldiers took the sacks into the farmhouses where rice had been discovered, to stuff them with rice and carry them away—all the rice that belonged to just ordinary peasant families. A wide vegetable field was chosen for landing the helicopter, and the sacks of unhulled rice were piled up there. Smoke candles were lighted. With American soldiers standing around guarding the helicopter, the sacks containing the *rice of the peasants* were taken one by one into the landed helicopter. Such an operation cannot but be called "Rice Robbery" equipped with helicopters, automatic rifles and machine-guns.

The rice carried off in this way may be rationed out to refugee peasants as "relief" rice. And the peasants are obliged to receive "gratefully" the rice that they cultivated with their own labor. This, however, happens only when the thing works out at its best. In worse cases, the rice is diverted into illegal channels by the Government troops or petty officials, to be transformed into their pocket money. Such is the commonly known fate of peasants' rice. Even so, one has to say that it is "less bad" than when the rice is destroyed with fire.

* NFL: The correct translation of the original Vietnamese name (Mat Tran Dan Toc Giai Phong Mien Nam Viet Nam) is "The National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam." The word "Viet Cong" denotes the Communist Party of Vietnam, and is used by Americans and supporters of the American policy in Vietnam, as a name of contempt. But, there is no such group as the Communist Party of Vietnam. Its equivalent is called the People's Revolutionary Party, consisting only of a part of the NFL. The NFL forces are divided into Regular Army, Local Troops and Militias. The NFL, on their part, call the Government troops "Puppet Troops" (of the Americans).

IV WITH THE APC TANK COMPANY

Having terminated the "Rice Robbery" Operation, A-Company began to leave the hamlet and go back toward the bivouac site of the previous night. Over the heads of the American soldiers walking leisurely in a stream along the road through the hamlet, tin-plate placards were seen, some hung up horizontally across the road, and some nailed on tree trunks.

"Heroes of Vietnam challenge American invaders to a decisive battle manifesting the might of our long tradition. We are convinced of our Victory."

"Nothing is more precious than Freedom and Independence. We will never live as slaves of foreign powers."

"Young men! Join the Liberation Army. Let us point our guns at American Imperialists!"

On the same day, A-Company was ordered to return to the front line outpost "Liz", and the soldiers waited for helicopters at the bivouac site. It was a place not far away from the seashore, and commanded a wide view, only with bushes here and there on sandy ground. B-Company appeared to have encountered the NFL in the village they had attacked, and sounds of fierce fighting were heard all through the day to the evening.

Suddenly, a gun was fired at the back of the soldiers of A-Company gathered together waiting for helicopters. An attack of a sniper from behind a tree in the hamlet. Immediately, a shower of bullets was discharged in that direction. The moment the attack ceased, there was another shot. Once again, a counter-attack with a downpour of bullets and hand grenades shook the air. Before long, about a dozen helicopters arrived, and carried us away from the bivouac site with the soldiers of the Company.

On that day, the APC tank company of the same battalion lost one tank, hit by rockets of NFL. Three American soldiers were killed and wounded. We were told that four NFL soldiers were also killed in the fighting. We chose this tank company for our next troop to follow, and returned to Camp Duc-Pho for the night.

The next morning, we were again on a helicopter to fly to "Liz", and around 8:00 a.m. started on the march with the company consisting of five APC tanks. We were given our place in a tank in which Lieutenant-Colonel G., commander of this tank company, was also in charge of a machine-gun. Each tank carried five or six infantrymen, in addition to the regular crew consisting of the driver, gunners etc.

The five APC tanks slowly went down the steep slope of the hill topped with the base. The caterpillars transmitted unreduced the ups and downs of the ground, and the tank rolled and pitched more violently than a ship out on a stormy sea. Containers of drinking water and various other articles in the vehicle rattled down over us. From time to time, we were thrown on or under other co-passengers in the tank. The inside was unbearably hot. They opened the flap on the top, to put their heads out, or to sit on

U. S. bombardment has left huge craters, reminding one of the damage done. (In Quang-ngai)

the edge of the hatch.

At the foot of the hill spread fields of sugar-cane, sesame, tapioca and other crops, with huge craters dug here and there by bombing and bombardment. The tanks made their way as they chose, without paying a particle of attention to the crops in the fields. Needless to say, the ten wide caterpillars left in their wake all the crops miserably torn and crushed.

There was a farmhouse. The tanks passed through the field in front of the house at a distance of about 20 yards. An old man in black clothes, and a boy of ten years or so, stood looking on astounded. Two or three American soldiers sitting on the tank waved at the boy. But the expression on the boy's face was not changed at all. In the case of children in Saigon and in the vicinity of large bases, however, they would at once run up to the American soldiers, shouting "O. K.", or "Number One!", begging things from them as did the poor children in Japanese cities shortly after the surrender. At an American base in Binh-Dinh Province, I saw soldiers throwing canned foods and candies to the crowds of children they had called to come on the other side of the wire-net partition. They were amusing themselves by intentionally throwing the canned foods and candies as far away as possible to see the children run after them like dogs to get them first.

If, in slums of the United States, a Vietnamese should do a similar thing, scattering dimes to children, how would these soldiers feel about it? A Japanese cameraman, who is a personal friend of mine, saw an American soldier open a can of food and show the contents to children. When the children begged for it he emptied the can into the ditch, before the longing eyes of these children. Wherever American soldiers arrive, children are degraded to beggars. In this village, children had not yet been turned into beggars, so they did not run up to the Americans.

The herd of cows being driven by a boy ran away in all directions, frightened by the tanks. In the meantime, the tanks headed toward a paddy field region.

The peasant woman runs away, pleading "Do not enter my field."

V ANGER OF PEASANTS

The tank company left the vegetable fields and marched into a rice paddy region. In this area two crops a year can be raised and it was the busiest season for the peasants, reaping the first crop while planting the second. About 50 yards away from the tanks advancing through rice paddies, which had just been plowed, five women were planting rice. They were working in a row facing this way; but they never lifted their faces, looking as if they had not noticed the tanks that passed right in front of them. They intently bent over their work, pushing young rice plants into mud under the water. It was not that they did not notice the tanks, of course. They knew too well that it was safest to *pretend* not to see anything. Sorrow and anger must have been seething in their hearts.

The tanks broke through a levee and entered a rice-paddy which was being plowed. A man and his wife, aged around 50, were working with a plow drawn by an ox. They, too, *pretended* not to see anything at all. But they were obliged to stop working, as the tanks cut across their way at a distance of only 15–20 feet. The man lighted his pipe while waiting. He took a puff, and then, turned his face to us. The face I saw! I thought: I have never seen eyes burning with rage so furious as this. There are endless varieties in the expressions of men's faces when they laugh or smile; and

these laughs and smiles have all sorts of meanings. But, the expression of anger is the same, and means the same thing, regardless of race and stock. The expression of anger can communicate its meaning directly to all different peoples on the earth. Without a word, he glared at the foreigners' tanks that broke through levees and packed hard the ground they had just finished plowing. His face testified that all U. S. "Pacification Programs" would be utterly futile.

The tank company advanced another three hundred feet, and approached a stream about 16 feet wide. A woman in black clothes, who was also plowing with an ox, rushed up at full speed to the foremost tank. As there was another tank between that tank and ours, I could not catch the words she was shouting, but only saw her shaking her fists at the American soldiers on the tank, her whole frame trembling with rage. She must have been telling them to go away. This tank company had no interpreter. That means that, right from the beginning, they did not care to listen to what the peasants had to say.

Two American soldiers descended from the first tank to examine the wading point with mine detectors. In the meantime, three soldiers went over to the three or four farmhouses on the other side of the stream, for investigation. They came back after a while, bringing two transistor radio sets. They had plundered them. "Booty", they said, and explained to us, "We should take these things away from them. For they listen to broadcasts from Hanoi and the Viet-Cong." Both of the radio sets were "Made in Japan". If this be a plausible reason to plunder radio sets, all Vietnamese homes in Saigon are in danger of being plundered.

"Anyway, American soldiers are still not too bad, one has to say," observed the Vietnamese cameraman by the name of W., who had been with the army six years already. "As for soldiers of the Government troops, they pocket most of the things they plundered in that way. But American soldiers generally hand them over to the Vietnamese Government."

Nevertheless, there is no guarantee as to how the Government officials will deal with them.

The work of detecting mines was over, and the tank company crossed the stream. Three children were standing side by side on a levee, watching the tanks moving away. They were the children who had seen the radio sets plundered from their own houses. Strangely enough, the soldiers who had robbed the family of the radio sets waved their hands to these children. Were they fools, or were they too naive? If not, their attitude showed that in the eyes of these Americans, Vietnamese people did not count as human beings. Naturally, the children stood looking at them coldly, without making the slightest move to respond.

The tank company once again entered an area of vegetable fields. Peanuts, sweet potatoes, red beans, water melons—the tanks crushed all these, and increased their speed. After a while, we came out on a vast plain covered with large sections of rice-paddies. Golden waves of ripe rice rolled over most of the paddies; and here and there, peasants were already reaping their harvest.

VI TANKS AND RIPE EARS OF RICE

The five APC tanks drove right into the golden waves of rice paddies. The ripe ears of rice, now ready to be harvested, were mercilessly trodden and kneaded in the muddy field under the caterpillars as they took their capricious ways all over the paddies. They did not even have the kindness to make each tank follow the wake of the preceding one. The seed beds of rice plants, and the newly planted paddies—all these were nothing in their eyes. The tanks chose their own respective routes, as sports cars driven for fun, each of them leaving new deep ruts in the rice paddies. In the heart of American soldiers, there was a hopeless lack of an element common to rice cultivating peoples. This lack makes it impossible for them to understand the mind of these peasants. The gulf lying between the two makes one despair.

Most of the peasants reaping rice were old people, women and children. As was always the case, they never turned their eyes toward the tanks. They continued their work, without uttering a word.

Near a small town on National Route I, one of the tanks got stuck in the mud which clogged the treads. To pull it out with ropes, another tank went round to one side of the bogged tank. On its way to the position, the tank hit a big fruit tree standing in a corner of a farm yard and broke it near the root. The children came from the town and stood in a wide circle around the tanks to watch what was going on. Infantrymen left the tanks, and holding automatic rifles in one hand, guarded the tanks, walking inside the circle traced by the crowd standing at a cautious distance. The soldiers on guard reminded me of the red and blue demons of a festival in a Japanese village, as they keep off the spectators of the lion dance with their thick *hexangular* staves.

The tank company resumed its march, and having driven through farmhouses situated in the form of the "dispersed settlements", arrived in the area which was designated for operation on that day. It had been reported that the NFL seemed to have CP (Command Post, local headquarters) in the vicinity. Around here, we found no hamlets where many farmhouses stood huddled together, as the one cleared by A-Company the previous day. Farmhouses were standing in threes and fours, scattered in rice fields, looking like a group of isolated islands floating on the sea.

The infantrymen who were taken here in the tanks now left the tanks, and walked towards a group of five or six farmhouses, composing one of these islands. The five tanks, in the mean time, marched on three houses about 600 yards away. We went with the tanks. Coming near to the houses, the tank company encircled the place and halted with machine-guns pointed at them. Soldiers with automatic rifles advanced slowly to the houses.

Two women came out. One of them was an old woman, and another was middle-aged. Each was holding up reverently a slip of paper with both her hands, and joined her palms in prayer facing the gun muzzles of the

The field of ripe rice ready for harvest becomes wide muddy roads.

approaching American soldiers. The old woman had her head completely shaven. The legs of the old woman, who squatted down on the ground, were shaking with terror. The slips of paper they came holding out were their identification cards. All Vietnamese—strictly speaking, "all Vietnamese under the rule of the Government side" are supposed to have such Identification Cards (ID cards). These women were trying to make the soldiers understand that they were just ordinary, innocent peasants, who had nothing to do with the NFL, as the ID cards testified. It is true, however, that ID cards are being sold and bought at the rate of some 2,000 dongs (a little less than 15 U. S. dollars). They are particularly coveted by deserters from the Government troops and by those who are trying to escape from conscription. Therefore, when a robber breaks into a house, and cannot find anything of value, he sometimes robs the family of their ID cards. It often happens in the Government troops that a commander of a platoon does not report to superior officers desertions of his soldiers. For, in this way, he can put into his own pocket the salaries for the soldiers who deserted. So, the deserters are not tracked down. As they know that they will not be tracked down, there are more and more deserters. I heard the story directly from the mouth of one of these deserters.

According to the ID cards, the old woman was 64, and the middle-aged one was 43. They were mother and daughter. In addition to their work in the field, "We keep ducks, and are earning our living by selling the eggs. We are just innocent people," said the daughter in a trembling voice. But the tank company with no interpreter was deaf to all their supplication.

The soldiers started searching these houses.

VII SEARCH OF HOUSES

Another housewife, holding a baby, came walking up to the old woman and her daughter. She said she was 26 years old. First-Lieutenant G., commander of the tank company, asked, "What is your husband doing?" in English, though it was evident that she did not understand a word. The Vietnamese cameraman, Mr. W., was obliged to translate the question into Vietnamese.

"He is working near the National Route," she answered, and, like the other two women, she also joined her palms as in prayer, with her baby held against the right side of her waist. While she was making petition for mercy in front of the rifle muzzle pointed at her by the First-Lieutenant, her desperate face at last gave way to weeping. Her hands were still joined in supplication.

In the arms of the mother, the baby, a girl barely one year old, was looking up innocently at the huge figure of the American soldier holding the automatic rifle. Probably provoked by the weeping of the young housewife, the old woman, too, wept with tears streaming down the furrows of her wrinkled cheeks.

Two of the three buildings standing in a row were dwellings and the other was a granary of the godown style. The house next to the granary was the dwelling of the old woman and her daughter, and the other belonged to the young housewife. Next to her house, there was a bomb shelter common to the two families. It was covered with piles of rice straw.

The American soldiers searched all these buildings with unsparing thoroughness. In the granary were stored harvests of tobacco leaves, glutinous rice, unhulled rice and so on. The baskets of unhulled rice were overthrown, and the contents of gunny bags for clothes were scattered all around as when a ragman is sorting out his rags. The bunches of tobacco leaves, tied and piled up neatly, were kicked and torn to pieces. As the family was raising lots of ducks, in the granary they had made a device with piles of straw to hatch the eggs. Of course, all this was completely destroyed, and the straw was thrown out of doors.

" Don't break that, please!" cried the daughter of the old woman—"We cannot make a living without it!"

It was *useless* to shout no matter what. A soldier coming out of the house of the old woman brought a vinyl bag and handed it over to the Commander. The bag contained some medicines and 4,000 dongs (about 30 U. S. dollars) in cash.

"It is the money we earned by selling eggs," explained the daughter, and said that she was in the midst of boiling eggs to take them to the market. At that very moment, soldiers came out again, this time bringing two rain-cloaks, a mosquito net, and a pair of men's blue trousers. It was unfortunate for the women that the rain-cloaks were made out of air mattresses of the U. S. Forces.

The old woman joins her palms to us, pleading, "Please help us," while American soldiers are searching her house.

As most of the equipment of the U. S. Forces, except for rifles, guns and ammunition, can be bought at "markets of stolen goods" even by ordinary people, the presence of these rain-cloaks itself could not be something to be particularly suspected. But, in the eyes of the American soldiers, who were convinced, right from the beginning, that this was a "hiding place of Viet Congs", the rain-cloaks were important articles of evidence.

"Where did they come from?" The First-Lieutenant demanded an explanation. Without an interpreter, the meaning of this severe question was immediately understood. The daughter of the old woman answered, "I picked them up at a far off place a long time ago." The young housewife repeated "Khong biet" (I don't know). The old woman replied, "It is possible that someone left them here, while we were away selling eggs." The First-Lieutenant grew more suspicious, and, pointing to the ground, ordered, "Sit here and wait!" The search was continued.

Mr. W. and we went up to speak to the women. Finding out that we could understand their language, they began to tell us of their plight, as if catching at a straw in their despair. The daughter of the old woman had four children. As they were still very young, she had sent them to a safer place near the village office. Two days before, American soldiers came here for the first time. So, she let the children evacuate, intending to join them later. Those soldiers who came two days before had no interpreters with them either, and they could not understand what they said. At that time also, the American soldiers made the women sit out in the sun just like this. "In this heat, and with the baby! What a way to treat people!", the stout-hearted mother said angrily, and added that there were no rain-cloaks at that time.

"*Kinh men* (dear sirs)", the old woman now joined her palms at us, and implored, "Please tell the American soldiers. We have done nothing."

VIII GRIEF OF WOMEN

About 1.2 miles nearer to the coast on the east of the position where the tank company had arrived, at the farther end of the rice-paddy area, there was a long strip of thin copse. The shooting that had been going on under the trees increased its intensity. According to a radio communication, it seemed that C-Company had encountered a regular troop of the NFL there. Gun-ships (armed helicopters) were circulating over the place, incessantly firing rockets. White mushrooms of smoke went up one after another.

There was the debris of a burnt farmhouse, some 100 yards to the west of the three houses now subjected to search. The daughter of the old woman told us that the tank company that had come two days before opened fire, and a number of men took refuge in that farmhouse. The soldiers of the tank company took them out and carried them away in a helicopter. After that the soldiers set fire to the house. The owner of the farmhouse, who was about 50 to 60, and his son aged around 30, were also among those who were arrested.

One of the three women, ordered to remain sitting in the scorching sun —the young housewife—turned to us with a serious expression on her face, "Do tell this to the American soldier, please." So, we assured her we would do our best. Then she said, "I want to relieve myself." As it was really an urgent problem, we immediately transmitted her request to First Lieutenant G., the commander. He replied, "Do not let her go too far." She walked into a paddy field some 15 yards away. The old woman, having somewhat regained her presence of mind, said to us, "There are boiled eggs in the house. Would you like to eat them?" The young wife also had boiled eggs and cooked rice at home. Coming back from the field, the young housewife said that she had been about to take them for lunch to her husband and the eldest son (aged 5) who were out in the paddies reaping rice.

When the daughter of the old woman saw a soldier coming out of her house with a piece of paper, she cried, "That is the deed to our land. Don't take it away!"

What she said was true, and as this was also a very serious matter, we translated her pleading to the American soldier. If we had not been there with the company, all such pleadings must have been completely ignored. One Negro soldier captured five or six ducklings from among nearly one hundred ducks kept in a pond. He put the little fowl in a basket and petted them. He gave them unhulled rice, but the ducklings did not eat the grains. "They will eat if you let the grains float on water", the old woman told the Negro soldier. As far as I can judge from the experience I have had with the U. S. troops, generally speaking, Negro soldiers are often more sympathetic with local inhabitants than white soldiers.

A white soldier who was in the granary overturned a basket of rice in husks set aside for seeds; and in a rough manner he threw all the contents down

from the high floor of the granary. The daughter of the old woman was infuriated. "Let them do as they like, until they have had enough of it!" she said, boiling with rage. Another white soldier came carrying a thick log and pushed it down into the well. Another brought out an oil can holding about 0.8 gallons, and emptied the oil in the rice-paddy. "Oh, that is the oil for lamps!" The daughter of the old woman looked on stunned. "Oil can be used to make fire bombs to attack tanks," said the soldier to us.

Four batteries were discovered in the house of the young housewife. First-Lieutenant G. demanded, "Are they not for radio communication?" Mr. W., the Vietnamese cameraman, translated the question for her. The housewife answered, "They are for an ordinary radio set." "What have you done with the radio set?" "I have sold it to my mother. If you do not believe me, I can take you to her to see it for yourself." "Where is she?" "There, in the hamlet with the palm trees, at the foot of that hill."

To sell things to one's mother is a practice not at all extraordinary in Vietnam. First-Lieutenant G. said, "Well, we will find out later on." Then, in a decided manner, he declared, "This woman is VC (Viet Cong)."

The radio apparatus for communication inside the tank reported, "C-Company has killed five Viet Cong men." The fighting in the western wood grew more and more fierce, and bombardment from warships now took part in the attack. The tropical sun, the blue sky, and the white clouds standing out dazzlingly against the blue—it gave me a queer feeling to see them over the village engulfed in the turbulent atmosphere of war.

At a distance of 300 yards or so to the west, a few farmhouses were seen standing together. Two buffaloes jumped out from among the houses, and ran away across the rice paddies. Three tanks of the company had been sent in advance, and they must have already started searching the houses.

It was decided that the three women were to be taken away. The waddling old woman was ruthlessly dragged into a tank by American soldiers. The baby in the arms of the housewife suddenly began screaming.

The two tanks started moving with a roaring sound.

The things found in the suspected "VC" supply base are examined.

IX ARREST

The two tanks with the three women arrived at the group of seven or eight houses, which had been searched by soldiers of the tanks sent in advance. The infantrymen who had been in other operations separately rejoined the tank company here. All the villagers were made to assemble at one place, and ordered to wait until the search of their houses was over. They were all women and children.

The three women were taken out of the tank. When soldiers made them sit down on a levee nearby, the young housewife holding the baby gave a loud choking shriek, half shouting and half crying.

A helicopter came over the spot. The tank company had asked for it to carry off the suspects (?). It landed in a rice-paddy. The women, now realizing that they were really to be taken away, broke down in tears, having no idea of what would become of them, and lamenting their unlucky fate in despair. The old woman still continued appealing in fragmentary words, in a voice strangled with tears, "We are—nothing.—Please—be patient—be patient—with us." Her daughter, who had so far held back her tears, clung to her mother, holding her in her arms. In spite of her strong character, all she could utter was, "Me oi, me oi!" (Oh, my mother, my mother!)

As the helicopter kept its propellers turning, violent winds blew up straw and dust all over the place. American soldiers took the screaming women one by one to the helicopter, three soldiers pulling and pushing them on both sides. The old woman, already in a state of terror and sorrow, was being forced to travel in a flying vehicle evidently for the first time in her life. She could hardly breathe due to the strong pressure of the wind, and was almost unable to stand on her legs. But, two soldiers dragged her to the helicopter, and pushed her up into it. Behind her back, the free ends of her costume flapped almost being torn off.

When the helicopter flew away, leaving a whirlwind more stormy than ever, we could hear again the sounds of fierce fighting between C-Company and the NFL troop, from the wood about 1.2 miles away to the east. Rockets, 105-mm shells and 155-mm shells of the U. S. Forces covered the actions of C-Company. It was really unbelievable that any human beings could be alive under the incessant downpour of all these explosives concentrated on that small space.

Just about noon, most of the soldiers of the tank company began to eat their lunch. They opened canned food called "C-ration" specially prepared for eating in action. Some of them were sitting on the tanks, some in the shadow of them.

A soldier came up to us hurriedly, and said, "Will you please come

Realization of being taken away.

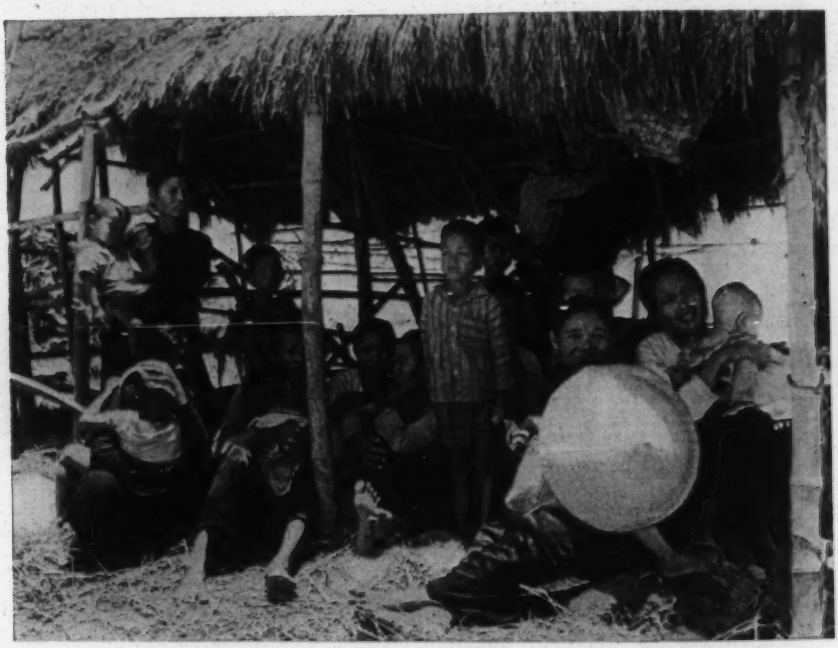
along with me? There is an old person, but we cannot understand what he is saying. At any rate, he is indeed astonishingly old."

There was a small room built under the eaves of a farmhouse. It was dark inside. A figure was wriggling slowly in the shed of less than six feet square, looking like a cattle fold. A faint shaky voice came from the shed, "*Nuoc* (water)....*nuoc*...."

When my eyes got accustomed to the darkness of the inside, it was really an extraordinarily old woman. She was so emaciated that one almost wondered whether she was not a ghost. She could not walk. The wooden bed was made with narrow planks nailed with open spaces between them, so that excrements would fall into a basin placed under the bed on the floor. I brought her water in an empty can which I found close to her head. The water from the shallow well was white with mud. To hold it in her hand seemed to be the maximum movement her strength was capable of. She drank the water at a draught. I brought her another can full. She drank it up again, and thanked me with a gesture.

"She is ninety years old," said a housewife of about 30 who was among the villagers packed into a hut with only a roof and poles. "As our house was burnt by bombardment, we moved to this place as refugees. It was about one month ago. Since then, grandmother has become unable to move, and vomits blood from time to time."

The old woman was her grandmother.



Twenty women and children were frightened at being herded together.

X *KHO QUA!*

About twenty women and children were there, made to sit together at the designated place. The granddaughter of the 90-year-old woman, a housewife of about 30, was a woman of character and had more presence of mind than the rest. Seeing that Mr. W. and we could understand their language, she addressed herself to us in a resolute manner, as if she was speaking as the representative of all the others, who were frightened and drowned in tears.

"We are just ordinary peasants. As they had burnt our houses, we had to come here as refugees. We have just managed to build our houses. Now, they come again to ravage and destroy everything. See what they have done. Where do they want us to go?!"

But, while she was talking her determined expression rapidly faded into distorted features.

"Why are we so unfortunate, so very unfortunate?" she continued with

quivering lips. "Nothing is left...." She choked, and then burst into tears. The women sitting around and even the children started crying all at once. There were five or six mothers holding babies. Tears of a mother fell on the cheeks of her new-born child. A boy of elementary school age. A girl in her low teens. All cried. Another boy who had been eating rice with his hand cried with one of his hands still sticking in the pot. The voices of women and children crying streamed from the shed with only a thatched roof, and spread over the rice paddies. Even a dog looked desolate hanging his head beside the group in despair. The word "*Kho qua!*" (extremity of agony) was heard mingled with crying and deep moans. A gun-ship (armed helicopter) continued firing rockets in the battlefield nearby. The tearing sound of jet propulsions blended with the sobbing of the children.

The brave housewife suddenly went into the house standing opposite to the shed, as if something had occurred to her. Then, she hurried out of the house and came up to us. We were talking with an American soldier. She shouted:

"They threw away the rice soaked in water to make *bun*. What has the rice to do with the Viet Cong!"

Bun is a kind of noodle made from rice. The American soldier was watching intently the face of the woman who was pleading desperately half crying. Abruptly, he exclaimed:

"A PRETTY GIRL!"

The soldiers of the tank company ransacked every house in the hamlet, but could not find anything suspicious. So, the tanks took in the infantrymen and left the village of Tu-Son. Once again, the march was resumed, leaving in their wake ruthlessly trampled and crushed ears of rice. The amount of rice thus destroyed by U. S. tank companies per day must be enormous; and this is being done day after day.

The tank company was to drive into the battlefield about 1.2 miles away to the east, in order to cover C-Company fighting against the regular troop of the NFL. First-Lieutenant G. in command of the tank company was making contacts by radio. Listening to his words, I had an impression that he was full of enthusiasm to launch a battle of revenge for the tank hit by NFL rockets the day before. He was eager to dash in, without waiting for the order of the battalion commander.

C-Company was attacking the NFL troop from its northern side, in the wood along the coast. The tank company was to make a circuit to the south, and push into the NFL troop to stage a pincer attack.

As the tank company approached the place where the fighting was going on, artillery attacks were suspended, and four gun-ships covered C-Company from above with rockets and machine-guns. To outmanoeuver the enemies, the tank company traced a large semi-circle, and, leaving the rice paddy area, first entered one of the hamlets of Thach-Tru village, where houses were seen huddled together. (See map on page 48)

XI REAPING RICE AMID SHOWERS OF BULLETS

The tank company drove into the hamlet with houses built close together. The tanks passed through the hamlet, knocking down fruit trees, trampling down fences, almost scraping against the walls of houses, crushing the altars of incense sticks dedicated to "*Ban Tho-Ong-Thien*".*

Leaving the hamlet, the tanks shifted their direction and headed directly eastward toward the coast, once again marching across an area of rice paddies. They came up to a high bank, probably constructed to prevent floods. There the five tanks halted hidden behind the bank, and infantrymen made a reconnaissance of the vicinity. One gun-ship was just above our heads shooting rockets in front of us.

Taking into the tanks the soldiers who had been on the bank for scouting, the tank company suddenly rushed out from behind the bank, and charged at full speed, now all abreast. Peasants were engaged in reaping and threshing rice. The tank of the commander, in which we were riding, was in the middle of the row. Two of the other tanks were driving a little in advance of ours. All of a sudden, these two opened fire with machine-guns. "That's VC (Viet Cong)," said a PIO officer of the 3rd Brigade of the 25th Infantry Division. I watched carefully to the front, but could not find anything that might be the figures perceived. They must have slipped out of sight.

Instead, I saw an amazing scene before me. Around the charging tanks firing machine-guns, the peasants never ceased working, and resolutely refused to look up at the tanks. They continued moving their reaping hooks or threshing sheaves of reaped rice on the threshing-table, as if they had not noticed at all the bullets of heavy machine-guns flying about them, though it was evident that any of the bullets might kill them at any time. What does all this mean?

It is not that the peasants are ignoring the danger. This is the safest possible attitude for them to take. They know too well that if they should give way to terror and run away, they would very probably expose themselves to the greater danger of being shot at. In order not to get involved in the fighting that has broken out suddenly, there is no better way than to continue to do what they have been doing. Anger must be raging in their hearts; but to endure is the utmost resistance they can make under the circumstances.

Firing was suspended. The tank company advanced a few hundred yards and stopped in the paddies. Behind a levee on the right hand side, lay a body. Coming out of the tank, I found a dead soldier in a greyish-blue uniform, with the trousers rolled up to the knees. This uniform was very similar to that of the North Vietnamese troops I had seen in other battlefields. There was no gun with him. As he had been killed only a short

The body of a boy soldier shot dead while running away along a levee.

time before, the intestines protruding out of his belly had not yet attracted flies. The pinkish-blue bowels looked like a long toy balloon wet with water, reflecting the brilliant sun of the South. His face was turned upward, tanned and copper-brown. He must be under twenty. The dilated pupils stared vacantly, a little downward, at nothing. Only about 50 yards away, five or six women and old people, all clad in black, were seen still bent on threshing as before.

The tank company, having left the rice paddy area, now entered the thin wood spread over sandy ground, continuously keeping contacts with C-Company and with the helicopter. It seemed that we were very close to the place where the NFL was holding on. The gun-ship above was desperately firing its machine-gun. The wood consisted mainly of trees called *duong lieu* in Vietnamese (*Casuarina equistifolia*), seemingly a species of needleleaf trees. There were also trees with thick, broad leaves as *Theaceae*, standing conspicuously here and there.

We were already fairly deep in the central arena of combat. But, due to the deafening roar produced by the tanks, sounds of shooting reached us but faintly.

A rapid succession of automatic rifle shots was heard on our right. At the same instant, bullets rebounded on the armor of the tank, and sprang back with a distorted sound. The PIO officer, who was sitting on the tank, jumped inside, his huge body bouncing like a rubber ball. An attack of the NFL. We, too, tumbled into the tank. It seemed that the marksman was hiding in a tree. First-Lieutenant G., the commander of the company, took to firing the machine-gun as if in frenzy. Hot cartridges fell scattering inside the tank.

* In Vietnamese houses, they have altars for Buddha and for their own ancestors; they also erect altars outside the houses dedicated to "The gods of heaven".

XII IN THE FIGHTING

After having been shot at by the NFL sniper hiding in the tree, we had to be more cautious in putting our heads out of the tank. On the other hand, if the tank should be attacked with rocket guns, as the one destroyed on the previous day, the possibility of being killed would be greater when one was inside the tank. From time to time, I peeped out to see what was going on outside.

Each tank of the company drove forward, firing its machine-gun, and came out on an edge of the wood, where there were fewer trees and more fields. Farmhouses dotted the scenery. The one close to our left was a very simple hut, almost a mere shed. A woman, apparently the housewife, stood looking placidly at the tanks passing in front of her house. On the battlefield where fighting had become a melee and a clear line between the two sides existed no longer, her placidity struck me as something strangely alien to the scene around her. The five tanks were now engaged in action separately, keeping contacts by radio. The gun-ship* circled around over the battlefield, and dropped smoke candles that emit colored smoke on the spots where NFL soldiers were discovered.

The tank, in which we were following the operation, was that of the commander of the company. It charged headlong, with the commander himself at the machine-gun, firing furiously. Only the seat of the gunner is constructed outside the body of the tank; but, naturally, it is protected with thick iron plates on all sides. To be inside is like being shut up in an iron box heated by the scorching sun. We were dripping with sweat more than when one is in a steam-bath. For this reason, tanks carry ample provision of water and salt.

"I've got them. Capture their arms," shouted First-Lieutenant G., the commander, and the tank came to a sudden halt. The soldiers jumped out. I climbed out on the tank. About 15 feet ahead, in a ditch between a field and a small lane, two bodies of NFL soldiers were lying one over the other. No, they were still living. They had thrown themselves down in the ditch. When the American soldiers went up, pointing M-16 automatic rifles at them, one of them staggered up to his feet. His head and face were all covered with blood, as if he had a bucket of vermillion paint poured on him. The American soldiers lost no time to grab his arms from both sides, and snatched away his gun. The other was seized by the collar and pulled up on his legs. He was also steeped in blood from the top of his head to the neck. His clothes were all stained with blood. The moment when he was made to stand up, he seemed to heave a long gasp. But the next moment, he fell limp. The American soldiers, perceiving that he was dead, threw him down again in the ditch where he had been lying. No gun was found on him.

The captured gun was an automatic rifle of 56-type made in China (1966). First-Lieutenant G. held it up high with both hands, and shouted

A seriously wounded NFL soldier is dragged out by American servicemen. (In Hoi-An village, Quang-Ngai Province.)

to another tank that was coming nearer, "I've got them!"

The only Negro soldier in our tank brought along the NFL soldier who was still alive, half holding him in his arms. The Negro soldier wiped the blood roughly off the wounded man, and was about to take him into the tank. The PIO officer, however, refused to allow it, and ordered him to be put on the flat edge of the tank. The Negro soldier obeyed the instruction. The edge was about 25 inches wide, but the outer end was bordered with sandbags serving also as the support of rifles while shooting. The NFL soldier was laid beside the sand bags. His lifeless face was turned on one side. Blood kept streaming from the wound in his head. The pale face, vacant eyes. Watching him close at hand, I found that he was just an innocent-looking boy of around 15. It was communicated by radio that another NFL troop of even stronger force had been found in the neighborhood. The tank set out rushing across sugar cane fields, with the seriously wounded boy soldier lying on the edge.

The Negro soldier took one of the arms of the boy and felt the pulse. "Still alive," he said, and took bandages out of the first aid kit. The flowing blood trickled down inside the tank. As I happened to be sitting right below him, my cap was rapidly dyed all red. The blood then streamed down my left arm. The blood of the boy soldier spread over my left arm, mingled with sweat; and my wrist watch turned crimson.

* Gun-ship: A HU-1 helicopter (popularly called "Hui" and most extensively used in Vietnam) equipped with various arms, mostly with rocket guns or a considerable number of machine-guns, but it is also capable of carrying missiles. As it can be loaded with a large quantity of ammunition, it is playing an important role in covering the ground army in an operation within a limited area.

XIII IN THE FIGHTING (CONTINUED)

The infantrymen in the APC tanks also left the tanks to take part in the fighting. It seems that the NFL forces made a grave tactical blunder in this engagement. Probably, for them it was an unexpected encounter. It is possible that they were discovered while moving from one position to another. In principle, hand-to-hand fighting should be advantageous to the NFL. But, in this case, the U. S. forces could gain the lead, in the battlefield where they could make full use of the tank company, while it proved to be fatal for the NFL that they were forced into an engagement in a place where they were unable to resort to the guerilla type fighting with their tunnels.

The tank jolted and jostled violently; and from time to time the captive boy, lying on the edge bleeding all the time, was about to be thrown off. The Negro soldier, who had been taking care of him with evident sympathy, took the boy inside, disregarding the order of the white officer. Having placed the boy propped up against the iron wall, the Negro soldier felt his pulse again. He shook his head, and told us with his eyes, "Little hope." The boy seemed almost unconscious, while the bandage was wound around his head. His eyes were open, but he showed no response to what we said to him. He was wounded not only on the head, but also on the right side of the belly, and at the tip of the left hand. The wound in the head was most serious. Foamy blood came out from his nostrils, as well as from his mouth. His face was deadly pale. There seemed to be almost no chance for this boy soldier to live. The Negro soldier bound bandages all around the head of the boy, and laid him down with a sandbag as a pillow.

The battle turned the sugar cane fields into a hell. The heavy machine-guns of the tanks, automatic rifles of the infantrymen, rockets from helicopters—all were worked up to their utmost to lay down barrages. Now, jet fighter-bombers arrived to take part in the battle with Vulcan guns. The smoke bombs dropped to designate the targets of attack and the dust raised by the tanks screened the view. It was difficult to find out what was taking place where. Though I did not see it myself, we were told that one of the helicopters was shot down by ground fire of the NFL.

Once again, I caught a glimpse of an astonishing scene, through the clouds of dust. Only 50 yards away, in the middle of the confused fighting, six or seven women were walking hurriedly along the path in the fields, carrying things suspended from the poles on their shoulders. These figures, walking in a quick pace swinging their free arms to keep balance, were beyond anything I could imagine concerning the behavior of common people in a battlefield. It must be that, for these peasants, to "evacuate" in the showering shells and bullets, carrying their personal belongings, is far safer — no, "less dangerous" — than to be hiding in their houses, or to run away for their lives. If they run, they will be shot at as Viet Cong. It is a fact that the rate of casualties in the civilian population is lower in the middle of such operations, than under other circumstances. I will explain the reason for

The Negro soldier nurses the NFL boy soldier fatally wounded. (Inside a tank engaged in fighting.)

this peculiar phenomena in one of the following pages.

The fields around here are mostly of sugar cane, with those of red beans, peanuts, sweet-potatoes, etc. in patches. Here and there the fields were partitioned by thin belts of trees standing as wind breaks. There were also many trees planted along dividing lines between two fields. Therefore, the view was not open. Suddenly, a NFL soldier dashed out of a strip of wood, right in front of the tank. He was alone. His face was distorted with surprise and terror at finding the tank there. Probably, he had not heard the approaching tanks, in the great confusion of roaring and explosive sounds that filled the battlefield. He made a desperate effort to escape. The tank chased after him at full speed, shooting the machine-gun at him. He fell tumbling over in a field. One of the soldiers got out of the tank to examine him. His head was smashed. A French light machine-gun, Chinese hand grenades, and an American ammunition belt—these were his equipment. In one of his pockets was found a photograph of the soldier himself standing side by side with a comrade.

Then, the tank company charged on the spot where a helicopter had dropped a "smoke bomb to indicate presence of enemies", the machine-guns furiously spitting fire. After a few minutes of fierce gun fighting, the battle came to an end. Four dead bodies of the NFL soldiers were lying around. First-Lieutenant G., the commander, said, "Our tank company alone has killed twelve." One apparatus of radio communication, and two heavy machine-guns were also captured. A report came from C-Company that they had killed 30, and captured a rocket gun on top of it. The casualties of the U. S. side were said to be "small", though there was no exact number given.

About 4:00 p.m. a helicopter arrived from the headquarters of the brigade, with a major sent for inspection. We left the battlefield taking advantage of the returning helicopter. Looking down from the air, we could see bodies lying scattered over the field. The earth around the bodies was dyed red with blood. At a short distance away, the National Highway was busy with people coming and going as usual.

XIV A TESTIMONY

Each large U. S. base has a huge field hospital. The only things that fit the name of a "field' hospital are tents and folding beds. All facilities necessary for treatment are there, with equipment of the newest type that compares well even with hospitals in big cities. The patients can watch TV programs of the U. S. Forces broadcasting station.

We visited the hospital of the base in Bien-Hoa, in order to cover how the soldiers, who had faced death and survived, were thinking and feeling about this war.

We were given permission to interview the patients of the ward for light cases for whom conversation would have no unfavorable effect. From among 30 odd soldiers, nearly 80% were draftees, and the rest were volunteers. Some were sleeping, and some were reading . To avoid disturbing them, we talked with four soldiers who seemed ready for conversation. Partly due to the boredom in the hospital life, they all willingly gave frank answers to my questions, for a considerably long time.

Two of the four were draftees, one a volunteer, and the other said, "Formally I am a draftee. But, as I was thinking of volunteering, in fact, I may be counted as a volunteer." What was common to all of them was that they had a very strong sense of duty, and were of the opinion that it was right and proper for citizens to accept the war policies being taken by statesmen elected by themselves. They had very little of the so-called "Holy War" consciousness, and said that they wanted to go home as soon as the obligatory term of one year would be over. As those who have completed the military service are entitled to receive college education practically *free*, these two told us, "When we get back, we want to study in college."

The conversation I had with one of them, G. T. C. (18), a volunteer from Detroit, is as follows:

—When, and from what motive, did you volunteer?

"I joined the army ten months ago, and have been in Vietnam for five months now. Before I volunteered, I had been working as a painter. As one has to finish military service anyway, I thought that I might as well get through the business as soon as possible. That was my motive. My parents supported my decision."

—How was it that you were wounded?

"On July 26th, we were four in a M48-A3-tank (a large tank) driving along National Highway No. 13. Then, our tank struck a Viet Cong mine. None was killed, but the two sitting on the tank were blown off. I was one of the two, and was hurt in the knee. The other got deaf."

—What do you think about this war?

"I believe in our Government. I think they cannot be wrong. I only

hope they will put an end to it very soon."

—What do you think about those Americans who are taking part in the movements to refuse the draft, protesting against the Vietnam war?

"As military service is a duty of Americans, if they refuse it, they deserve to be put in jail, or expelled from the United States. I think such fellows aren't fit for American citizens."

—Some say that American soldiers indiscriminately kill and injure ordinary civilians. How was it in your unit?

"Concerning a tank company, for example, when one of the tanks struck a mine, those who are around the place may be all civilians. But, they had seen the Viet Cong lay the mine and should have known that it was there. As they did not report about the mine, knowing that it was there, it is their own fault if they are all shot."

—I have heard a rumor that if a mine explodes, you sometimes retaliate by killing all the peasants within sight. Is that true?

"It is true. But, in our unit, it depends on the situation. Tanks generally move in a unit of three or more. When a tank following the same track as the first one was blown up with a mine, we consider that there are Viet Cong men within 50 yards who pushed the ignition device with an induction wire. If it is the first tank that has struck a mine, we consider it to be an 'ordinary mine', exploded by the tank itself driving on the ignition device. So, in this case, we do not adopt an extermination policy. But, orders on this kind of thing depend very much on the commander of the unit. Some commanders order a wholesale slaughter, even in the case of an 'ordinary mine'."

C. tells us about the wholesale slaughter without hesitation.

XV THE SECRET OF A BOY

We visited a national hospital in My-Tho City, situated in the Mekong Delta. Six months before, I had been to this hospital with Shibata, also a special correspondent of the Asahi Newspaper. My purpose in visiting the same hospital again was to find out what differences had taken place there during the period of a half-year. I also wanted to make a fuller survey of the patients being treated there.

The ward for surgical cases was as full as it had been six months before, but there was no face that I had seen at that time. This means that the patients are rapidly replaced by new ones. This, again, indicates that war victims are incessantly being produced . This time, I spent a full half-day making a "thorough investigation" on each one of them.

The result showed that among the total number of 87 surgical patients, 21 had no connection with the war. The remaining 66 were war victims, wounded by bullets, shells, bombs etc. As this was a civilian hospital, naturally, there were no military men.

When these 66 are classified according to "the causes of injury", and listed with the most numerous item first, the result is as follows:

Shells (including mortar shells)	22
Machine-gun bullets or rockets from helicopters	19
Rifle bullets	12
Bombs dropped by planes	4
Launcher grenades*	4
Bombardment from warships	2
Hand grenades	2
Land mine	1

Another classification results in:

Those injured by the U. S. Forces or the Government troops	57
Those injured by the NFL	7
Do not know by which	2

All of the victims of the NFL listed above had been wounded by rifle bullets, launcher grenades, or mines. It happened that there was only one among them who had been wounded by a mine. But among the causes of injury in the case of victims of the NFL, probably mines produce the most numerous casualties. From time to time, civilian buses or light tricycle omnibuses strike mines laid for transports and tanks of the U. S. Forces and the Government troops. As these civilian public means of transportation are generally overcrowded, a great number of poeple are killed and wounded at a time.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the overwhelming majority of war

Hit by rockets from a U. S. helicopter, farmhouses are in white smoke.

victims are injured by gun-shots from helicopters of the U. S. Forces, and by bombardment of the Government troops. Besides, there were two cases in which hooligan type soldiers in the Government troops got drunk and made human beings their targets for shooting. One such victim was a girl of 14, and the other was a boy of 15.

The case of the boy was—

Le-Van-Dinh. Born in the hamlet of Hoa-Phu, of Hoa-Thinh Village in Dinh-Tuong Province, the province in which My-Tho City is found. He was preparing a rice nursery about 80 yards away from his home. It was around ten o'clock in the morning. Two drunken soldiers of the Government troops came along the road nearby. They said in gruff voices, "You come here!" to the boy who was working all alone in the rice paddy. The boy remained standing there, frozen with fright, then, was shot. The rifle bullet entered from his navel and went out at the right side of the belly. The boy did not report the matter to the village office; for, if he had done so, those soldiers might have done something in retaliation. So, the boy had not told anybody about it—

The father of the boy had been killed four years ago, by sweeping fire from an airplane.

* Launcher grenade: One of the series of trick bombs called "booby traps" by the U.S.Forces. Mainly used by the NFL, and there are a large number of varieties of devices. For the explosive body itself, a hand grenade is used most frequently.

XVI ORPHANS

One example of the victims hit by shells, who were most numerous among those who were in the hospital:

There were three young patients, two sisters and one brother, from the hamlet of Long-Ti, of Bang-Long Village in Dinh-Tuong Province (My-Tho City is also in this province). The eldest sister Do-Thi-Hai was sixteen; then, ten-year-old Nam was the third daughter, and Sau, aged eight, was the eldest son. Hai told us how it happened that the three children became orphans within a few seconds:

About one month ago, around 11 o'clock at night, all of a sudden mortar shells came showering down. As there was no operation going on at that time, their family, as well as other families in the neighborhood, were sleeping in the house, without taking the trouble to go into the shelter. They were thrown into a hell before they could know what had happened. In the confusion, she had no idea how many shells fell on them. Out of the six children of the family, the second daughter (13), the second son (6) and the third son (3) were killed on the spot. The parents, fatally wounded, died before the next morning. The house was burnt to the ground.

Ten persons or so were killed in all, counting also the victims in the neighboring peasant families. As for the wounded, six of the most serious cases were brought to this hospital. The villagers in the neighborhood said that the mortar shells had been fired from a camp of the Government troops, at a distance of some 600 yards from these farmhouses.

During the night, the Government troops fire shells at random, in fear of the NFL. Sometimes, they continue bombardment for the purpose similar to when Japanese farmers explode carbide to scare away sparrows in the season of harvest. These harassing fires are producing this kind of tragedies all over Vietnam.

What were these orphans going to do after they left the hospital?

"Our only relatives still living are the grandfather on my father's side and a younger brother of my father. I have heard that there is an aunt in Chau-Doc, but I have never seen her," said Hai. Though the girl had been talking in a firm voice, tears came into her eyes when she told me this.

"Probably, we shall go to live with our grandfather."

Hai was wounded on the right ankle, little Nam on the left calf, on the head and the right buttock. The boy Sau was injured on the right instep and the left knee.

An example of the victims of machine-gun fire from helicopters, who were also as numerous as those of shells:

Gian, a boy aged 13, from the hamlet of My-Hoa of My-Long Village in the same province. As a bullet pierced him from the navel to the right

The three orphans share one bed in the hospital: Nam, Sau and Hai (from left)

thigh, it made him unable to urinate. So, a vinyl pipe was inserted in the hole made in his bladder, to conduct urine directly out of the body. Besides, his right arm had been virtually smashed, and had to be amputated just below the shoulder after he had been brought to this hospital. He was wounded also on the right chest, though lightly.

Nearly two months before, around noon, they were going to have lunch. Gian was playing in the house. There was no operation or anything taking place. They heard a helicopter. That was all. Then bullets of a machine-gun shot through the roof. There were then three in the house, the mother, a housewife who lived near their home, and Gian. Only Gian was wounded. At least two bullets hit him.

This was the story told by his mother who was there to take care of the boy. Gian is the second of her three sons. While talking, she, too, began to shed tears.

"Piddling was painful. But, now, it is all right." Gian said, with his big eyes wide open. "He has got very thin." The mother's face was wry, trying to smile to hide her tears.

Later, we were to have a personal experience of how U. S. helicopters take to indiscriminate strafings. Indeed, we had a narrow escape then.

After having listened to the testimonies of these victims, we came to the conclusion that there were very few people who had been injured getting involved in actual fighting, but most of them were those who were hit or shot "quite suddenly, when nothing was going on."

XVII REFUGEES

This spring, we followed the Tiger Division of the ROK Forces during their O-chak-kyo Operation, in Phu-Yen Province which is in the central part of Vietnam. Tiger Division, with its headquarters in Qui-Nhon, was to move down southward from Cu-Mong Pass and join with the White Horse Division of the ROK Forces, coming up northward from Tuy-Hoa. By the time we arrived to accompany them, the operation headquarters had advanced already to Song-Cau, and the foremost front line was in the neighborhood of Chi-Thanh, where the railway from Saigon (now cut off) leaves the coast and enters a mountainous region. When infantrymen push into a liberated district, before the commencement of the operation, they put up groups of tents, not far removed from the main roads, to receive refugees; and they launch clearing operations, driving villagers out of their homes into these tents. Having interned all ordinary peasants in these tents, they will be able to fight without scruples, for, those who remain must be the NFL. Such is their tactic.

There were two groups of these tents pitched along the Provincial Road No. 6, which runs parallel with the railway turning inland from Chi-Thanh. As an operation had been started in this area only a few days before our arrival, the refugees were still quite new to the place. There were about 7,000 of them received in these two groups of tents, and the number was increasing all the time. What I called a "tent" was nothing more than a row of bamboo poles propping up canvas sheets. It may be better described as a long shed without any walls. There were seven or eight rows of such tents about 60 feet long. Several thousands of people were living crammed into accommodations no more than these. The place was teaming with all phases of human life.

For example, most of the 3 to 4 thousand refugees, assembled at one camp, were women, children, and old people. Naturally, there was a considerable number of pregnant women. In the camp nearer to Chi-Thanh, there took place one or two childbirths everyday. A straw hut, built next to the ruins of a church destroyed by bombardment, was used as one of the "maternity wards" for these women. I tried a conversation with one of them.

She gave birth to her baby on the roadside, while they were moving to this camp, having been driven out of their hamlet two days before. She was 22 years old, but was careworn. Her voice was so faint that it was difficult to hear what she was saying. When the baby was delivered, an old woman, who was also among the refugees passing by at that time, kindly helped her and cut the navel cord. As her father and mother were with her, she was carried to this camp. Her family had been tenants cultivating a patch of some 0.4 hectares. After the arrival of the NFL, the landlord was gone, and they became the owner of the land. All their cattle were killed by the bombardment.

While I was talking with her, a housewife of around 40 came and pleaded to us saying, "The baby is coming. But, I don't know whom I should tell."

The "refugee camp", where huts are made of waste carton boxes.

Indeed, her figure showed that she had come to her time. The woman was all flurried, with her face distorted in pain. I made haste to find a ROK serviceman and tell him of her situation.

Two old women, a woman aged about 50, and a young housewife were watching us with evident interest. When we rose to leave, the four women came to us pleading, "Please listen to our stories about the cruel doings of the American troops." One of the old women was weeping. They began to tell us their stories by turns.

Before this operation by the ROK troops started, an American troop came to the village for five days, counting from March 20th. Infantrymen arrived after they had hammered the village by bombardment. On March 20th, when one of the old women was about to return home from the early morning market, the infantrymen entered the village. Whenever American soldiers found a young woman, they threatened her saying, "Take off your trousers." Then, they clapped their hands and rolled with laughter. Most of the young girls fled into the mountains; but those housewives and girls who had failed to escape in time were violated. The old women witnessed these scenes. The women who had fled never came back from the mountains. A blind man in their hamlet was killed at that time. The woman of about 50 also said, "My daughter aged eighteen and my son who is fourteen were out with cattle when the American soldiers arrived. They have not come home since then. I am worrying over what has become of them."

American newspapers themselves have reported rapes and murders committed by U. S. servicemen.

*

In middle July, I visited the same place once more, to ascertain what had become of those refugees. The tents were no longer there. Instead, the refugees had been transferred into shacks made of waste carton boxes. As the NFL still continue to infest the area, the ROK troops had just re-opened another operation called Hong-Gil-Ton. The village was once again turned into a battlefield. (See map on page 48)

XVIII A LETTER FOR HOME

It was the time when the sun had just come out of the mountain range (about 2,000 feet above sea level) on the east side of the valley that our helicopter landed on the highest point of the An-Lao Valley. We had flown there from the front base "English" (the headquarters of the battalion) in Binh-Dinh Province, together with cameramen of UPI and PANA, in order to follow B-Company of the First Battalion of the Third Brigade of the First Cavalry Division of the U. S. Forces.

The helicopter landed by the side of a bivouac site where B-Company had spent the previous night. There were not a small number of dead NFL soldiers lying here and there on the turf at a distance of about 30 yards from the bivouac site. Beyond the turf, several white columns of smoke were seen rising from the burnt down farmhouses of the hamlet of Hung-Nhon, situated in the innermost part of the valley,—the aftermath of the fighting that had taken place the night before. One of the nine dead bodies was that of a young woman guerilla.

Putting together what we heard from a NFL boy soldier, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and what the commander of the company (a captain) told us, it appeared that a North Vietnam regular troop*of the size of a company came down this way during the night. They did not know that the U. S. company was bivouacking there; and a battle, which was unexpected to both sides, took place. The woman guerilla was a member of the local militia of the NFL, and was guiding the troop to its destination. The boy prisoner must have been suffering from malaria or undernourishment. He was lean and his face was abnormally yellow. He told us that ever since they had left Thanh-Hoa in North Vietnam ten months before, they had kept on walking all the way through jungles.

Ants were beginning to swarm on the bodies of the NFL soldiers which had been left scattered over the ground for several hours. Most of the dead soldiers were victims of grenade launchers rather than of rifles or machine-guns. The woman guerilla was clad in black, but the others were in greenish-blue uniforms, with the trousers rolled up to the knees, and wore Ho Chi-Minh sandals. The belongings found common to all of them were little more than their respective spare clothing and water-flasks. It seemed that they carried things allotting a different item to each one of them. There were quinine tablets, shovels, mosquito nets, tents that serve also as rain-cloaks, hand-made electric torches—. The 10-clip rifle bullets in magazine and the hand grenades were made in China. A big rice-ball was found thrown out among these things.

On the road traversing the village, a body was lying on its face. The back part of the skull was torn off, and the pinkish colored brains blown out of the head were smeared with mud on the ground. This young soldier, who was probably in his teens, had with him a letter for home. The letter, left unfinished, read as follows:

An American soldier examining the belongings of a NFL soldier shot dead.

My dearest Father and Mother,

How fast the time has flown since I left you and my brothers and sisters. Already three seasons have passed. I am now in a jungle in one of the theaters of battle in the Central Region. It is early afternoon now, and I am writing this letter in a very family-like atmosphere, which is at the same time full of high morale of revolutionary spirit.

Though I am so far away from you, and from all dear ones in the family, my heart is always with you. You know how dearly I am longing for you, and how anxiously I am thinking about you. But, if you should get ill, by worrying too much over me, that would be the most painful thing for me. I know very well that you and others of the same blood are anxious about me who am so far away from you. But, there are thousands and tens of thousands of people besides myself, who, having left their parents and brothers, having parted with their wives and children, are leading the life in which the love for kinsmen is transformed into the love of our homeland, so that the future of our beautiful homeland will be secure.

I always regret that I have done so little to repay my parents for the kind care and affection with which you have brought me up. Now that I am old enough to understand things, and to feel gratitude for your affection from the bottom of my heart, I am many thousands of miles away from you. All I can do now is to devote myself to my duty, and to fight to the best of my ability in order to distinguish myself in battle, and to bring about the unification of our homeland Vietnam as early as possible. This is the only way I can serve you instead of being near you and attending you with filial devotion.

My dear brothers and sisters. You, too, must be thinking of me all the time. I am also feeling for you. As I am now thousands of miles away, I cannot serve our parents, nor can I do anything to help you, but.... (the rest was blank.) (See map on page 48)

* Unless stated otherwise, the word "NFL" now includes North Vietnamese Forces also.

Every house evacuated by the peasants is set on fire. Notice the cans of rice on the roof and sweet potatoes scattered on the ground.

XIX SOUVENIRS OF THE BATTLE

Around 8:00 a.m., B-Company commenced a mopping-up of the hamlet of Hung-Nhon. The American soldiers advanced slowly, breaking up into platoons. Most of the coconut trees and betel palms (*Areca catechu*), which had been standing around each farmhouse casting cool shadows, were pitifully scorched by the bombardment.

Hand grenades were thrown into all air-raid shelters, one by one. Nearly half of the farmhouses remained unburnt, but fire was set to all of them, without an exception. The thatched roofs, parched by the hot sun of the South, immediately sent up pillars of flame, leaving only mud walls in the debris.

Usually, when peasants evacuate, they store un-hulled rice in their shelters, hoping that even though the houses may be burnt, at least their food will be spared. Generally, the rice is kept in oil cans (a can contains about 4 gallons). The American soldiers threw these cans of rice up on the roofs, and burned the grain together with the houses. Sweet potatoes were scattered all over the yards, and crockery was broken into pieces under the military shoes. The big jars of drinking water were, of course, overthrown and smashed.

Those things most precious to peasants were not worth a straw in the eyes of these soldiers. But, there was one thing which one of them put into his pocket. It was a pack of playing cards found in a shelter. Strangely

enough, however, all the cards of the pack were aces.

After having done with the rough handling, the soldiers now returned to the bivouac site, in order to make preparations for going southward down the valley. Probably because they had ascertained that there were no signs of the NFL hiding around the place, there was an atmosphere of relaxation pervading the troop.

One of the American soldiers approached the corpse of the young woman guerilla, lying prone in a narrow depression of land like a ditch. Her head was turned on one side, but the flowing black hair covered her face. An ear-ring was seen on her ear. In Vietnam, almost 100% of the women wear ear-rings.

While I was looking on, standing only about 9 feet away, the American soldier snatched the ear-ring off her ear. Then, kicking her head to turn it over on the other side, he tore off the other one of the pair, and put the ear-rings in his pocket. Robbing corpses, however, was nothing compared with what I saw next.

Another soldier, stripped to the waist, walked up to another dead body lying on the turf, about 25 feet from the body of the woman. Holding a knife in one hand, he grabbed one of the ears of the NFL soldier. He deftly used his knife and cut off the ear, exactly in the same way as Eskimoes used their knives to cut off the tips of the horns of reindeer, to eat the tips.*

As the action was performed so casually, at first I could not make out why the soldier did such a thing. Feeling queer and puzzled, I walked to a bank where the cameramen were standing. While walking, I began to see the meaning of his action. At that very moment, Mr. P., a Vietnamese cameraman, said, "Mr. Honda, look at that!", calling my attention in a low voice. It was evident that he had seen the same thing. The American soldier was putting the ear into a vinyl bag.

Another cameraman, standing next to Mr. P. had also noticed the soldier. He turned to the American soldier with whom he had been talking and asked, "What is that boy going to do with the ear?" The soldier to whom the question was put answered bluntly, with a bitter scowl,—"For a souvenir."

"The Japanese correspondent has seen it. He is going to write about it, you know." The cameraman pressed the subject further. The American soldier, who was in charge of operating a tape-recorder with microphone for publicity use, looked extremely annoyed and tried hard to find some excuse. —"He is a neurotic. A very serious case, too."

Mr. P. added, "He is going to dry the ear, and take it home as a souvenir. This sort of thing is nothing special. I even saw a soldier cutting the liver out of a dead body."

*

The U. S. Forces Special Troops are saying to the mountain tribes in Vietnam, "We will give you money, if you kill Viet Congs and bring their ears to prove that you have done it." American soldiers themselves have testified to this fact, and this is reported also in the United States.

* In 1963, the author spent two months living in an Eskimo community in Arctic Canada, and published the report of his life among the Eskimoes.

XX AN OLD WOMAN IN THE RUINS

The valley of An-Lao has been turned into the arena of fierce battles several times in the past. It was not for the first time that the hamlets were reduced to ashes. Very often, the farmhouses to which American soldiers set fire showed clearly that the houses had been rebuilt with thatched roofs put on the mud walls left unburnt. No matter how many times they have their houses burnt, the peasants always come back to their own land. Whatever amount of "relief goods" the United States may pour into the refugee camps, she will never succeed in gaining the hearts of the Asian peasants.

In the hamlet of Hung-Nhon, all the inhabitants were supposed to have evacuated by the day before. Therefore, the U. S. Forces could regard all who remained as belonging to the NFL. Grenades were thrown into all shelters and any kind of holes. The houses flaming up by incendiaries; the dust blown up by exploding grenades; stinking smell of the buffaloes killed by shells; dead bodies of the NFL soldiers lying around....

In the ghastly scene of the last moment of the hamlet now burning down to the ground, an old woman came out like an apparition. Where did she come from? It was a wonder that she had survived all that. Emaciated, with her hair dishevelled, her figure emerged out of the hell-like background. It made one shiver with its weirdness.

This company was accompanied by a soldier of the Government troops, to serve as interpreter. The old woman was delivered to this interpreter. He pulled her toward the bivouac site of the U. S. troop. Wandering along over the turf dotted with corpses, the old woman, at least over 70 years, talked to white and Negro soldiers, when she passed by their side. It may be that she was talking to herself.

"I am going home, I tell you."

"Where is my stick, don't you know?"

"Oh, these are plates. I will pick one up."

It was one of the paper plates which the American soldiers threw away after meals.

"Do any of you have *Cao*? I haven't tasted it for the whole week."

Cao is a nut of the betel palm, which women of South-East Asia like to chew, to enjoy the flavor.

"Here is an empty can on the ground."

It was an empty fruit juice can also thrown away by American soldiers. The interpreter did not take any trouble to translate the words of the old woman to the American soldiers to whom she spoke. He just ignored her talking. Her hearing seemed to be weak. Even when we asked her age, and in a loud voice shouted into her ear, she said, "I don't understand." Her deafness might have been due to the terrible bombardment.

"Now, I am really going home."

The old woman continued in a hoarse voice her one-sided conversation

without waiting for an answer.

"My legs are feeble. I go home, and when I get stronger, I will go with you."

Was she talking like this, fearing that the soldiers were going to take her away?

"I can't go, because I have children at home, and grandchildren, too."

Probably, she had gone out of her mind. There was not a single house left in the hamlet, where children and grandchildren could be found.

"I'm so hungry. I cannot stay here any longer."

With the paper plate and the empty can in her hand, she started walking in the direction of the hamlet. The interpreter took her back.

"Where do you want me to sit? You tell me."

"What do you think a woman of seventy or eighty like myself can do? Don't you understand?"

"I am hungry."

She began to walk again. Once again, the interpreter harshly pulled her back, almost dragging her on the ground. Most of the Vietnamese soldiers serving as interpreters treat ordinary civilians more cruelly than American soldiers. Wherever you go, you find this kind of men, who feel themselves superior to their own people, by identifying themselves with foreign powers....

"My bottom is all smeared. What are you going to do with it for me?" Probably due to the shock she had undergone, she had soiled her trousers.

"I want to go home, only to get my things."

"I promise you to come back. I leave this plate and the can here. So, you know I will be back."

She left the paper plate and the empty can on the turf, and started walking once again. As the interpreter was about to drag her back, an American soldier who was nearby stopped him, and said, "Let her alone." The interpreter shouted at her back, "If you want to die, get away quick!"

Toward her hamlet, still smouldering, the old woman went back, holding on her stick, walking very, very slowly.

The old woman on her way back to her hamlet.

Postscript

This reportage entitled, "Vietnam—A Voice from the Villages" (Japanese title: *Senjo no Mura*) was serialized in the Asahi Shimbun from September through October, 1967, as the fifth part of a more comprehensive on-scene report on Vietnam written by the newspaper's special correspondent to Vietnam, Mr. Honda. The whole report consists of the following parts:

Part 1	Vietnamese in Saigon
Part 2	The Montagnards
Part 3	Farmers in the Mekong Delta
Part 4	Fishermen in Central Vietnam
Part 5	(This reportage)
Part 6	People in the Liberated Area

The Asahi Shimbun, with a circulation of 9,150,000 (5,500,000 for the morning edition and 3,650,000 for the evening edition), is the most influential of the three major daily newspapers in Japan. It is in fact the largest newspaper in the world in respect to the number of readers. The Asahi Shimbun is known for its complete political independence, and as such it plays the role of an important opinion leader in Japan.

Mr. Honda's reportage, as soon as it began to be printed in the Asahi Shimbun, caused tremendous public repercussions. The readers' column of the newspaper was flooded with thousands of letters from readers impressed deeply by Mr. Honda's vivid description of the Vietnamese realities. In fact, the Asahi Shimbun had never received so many readers' letters on a single reportage as it did during that period. At a university in Tokyo, students composed a song of "*Senjo no Mura*" to express their feeling over war victims in Vietnam.

It must be mentioned in this context that Mr. Tadanoshin Yui (73), an old pacifist Esperantist had translated this reportage into Esperanto before he burned himself to death on Nov. 12, 1967 in protest against the war in Vietnam.

Those who read this reportage strongly felt that all people in the world must be given an opportunity to read this factual and prejudice-free report. Thus, an Committee for the English Publication of "Vietnam—A Voice from the Villages" was organized by volunteers from different peace groups to translate and publish this report in English. Prof. Sam H. Franklin of Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, who has lived in Japan for a long time, offered his cooperation in the work of translation although the English text was prepared on the responsibility of Japanese translator.

The Committee consists of the following persons:

Yayoi Aoki	(Citizens against the War in Vietnam)
Michio Azegami	(Society of Science of Thought)
Reiko Ishida	(Joining Hands for Peace)
Fujiko Isono	(Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)
Yasuteru Minemura	(Citizens against the War in Vietnam)
Ichiyo Muto	(Beheiren: Japan "Peace for Vietnam!" Committee)
Tsuruko Saito	(Kusanomikai: Seeds of Weed Group)

All the photos printed in this booklet, excepting those in the 19th and 20th sections, were taken by Mr. Fujiki Takane, a photographer who accompanied Mr. Honda to Vietnam. The two photos in the 19th and 20th sections were taken by Mr. Honda himself.

The reporter and the photographer, forming a team, have covered Eskimoes in Arctic Canada, highlanders in New Guinea and Bedouins in Saudi Arabia. They have been to the United States, too. They are both Alpinists. Mr. Honda climbed the Himalayas and Mr.Fujiki the Andes in their university days.

January 1968

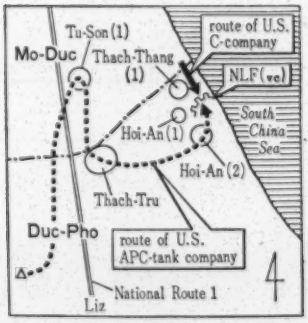
Committee for the English Publication of
《Vietnam—A Voice from the Villages》

Map

I

II

X



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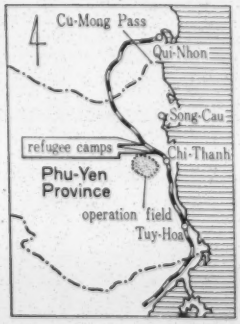

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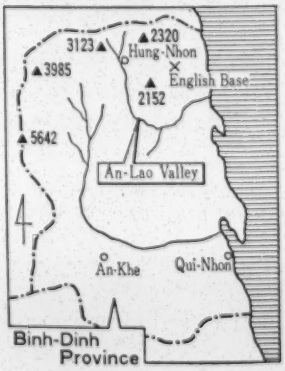

Pulse of the Public

Descendant of 300 Years of Southerners Asks the South Not To Degrade Itself

Atlanta—I have recently had a heart attack and I doubt if I will get to see you and talk to you in person. I am therefore writing to you on the subject of segregation.

I do not wish to waste your valuable time by writing to you to "brag" of my ancestors. But my people on both sides of my family, both father's and mother's sides, have been Southerners for nearly 300 years. My father fought in the Confederate Army at the Battle of Gettysburg when he was a boy of 15½. My grandfather was wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg. My grandfather Early's brother was Confederate Gen. Jubal A. Early who attacked through the town of Gettysburg with his Confederate division the first day of the battle. I had five Cabell cousins killed in the one little Civil War battle of New Market where the V.M.I. cadet batallion won the victory for the South.

My ancestors and kinsmen, Cabells and Earlys, have been governors of Southern states, including Gov. Peter Early of Georgia. John Cabell Breckinridge of Kentucky was the presidential candidate for the Southern Democrats in 1860. He was a near cousin of my mother's.

So if I am not a Southerner and a son of the Confederacy, who is?

Being a Southerner I do not wish to see the South do anything that degrades the South.

The wrongs and injustices perpetrated by Southern whites on Negroes in the past have injured the white South even more than they injured the helpless Negroes. Mark Twain said that the worst thing that could be said about a being was that he belonged to the human race. The actions of Negro - haters confirm Mark Twain's dictum.

I am now in my 81st year and have seen segregation longer and further back than you. As a native-born Southerner all my life I have heard the same thing from Southerners: "We like the Negro but like him in his place." That meant the white Southerner wished to see Negro slavery continued in a slightly different form. Instead of individual ownership of Negro slaves, which the end of the Civil War stopped, it was to be a community ownership of Negro slaves. Negroes were to serve in the lowest paid group of illiterate personal servants and nothing else.

My mother was a deeply religious person who before our Civil War ended, taught the family slaves something about the Christian religion. She taught her father's slaves the alphabet so they could read the Bible. Under the Virginia laws of those days my mother could have been put in the penitentiary for five years for teaching Negroes the alphabet.

I believe that segregation is morally indefensible.

A Southerner who is proud to be on your team,

CLIFFORD CABELL EARLY.

* * *

'Let's Be Faithful To Our Heritage'

Atlanta—One of the saddest days that came to Christian and godly people of the United States was the Supreme Court's outlawing Bible reading and prayer in the public schools.

The great majority of our citizens are against the decision. How can we teach our pupils moral and spiritual values without the Bible principles? The Bible and the Lord have not hurt America. They have rather built her into the greatest nation of the world. Let us be faithful to our heritage and hold it fast.

B. M. SHARIAN.

Turn to Page 5, Col 1

Turn to Page 5,

HUSKY NEGRO ATTACKS WOMAN AS SHE KNEELS FOR PRAYERS

WASHINGTON — "We have reached the point where a human being can't even go to church and pray with safety," a Congressman declared on the floor of the House of Representatives Monday afternoon.

Rep. Frank Becker (R. N.Y.) referred to an atack on his 45 - year - old secretary, Mary Lou Kosterlitzky, by a husky young Negro as she knelt to pray in a church just two blocks from the Capitol.

Miss Kosterlitzky was in solitary prayer at the altar of St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church when suddenly there was a 6-foot Negro, 20 to 25 years old, behind her.

"Keep quiet," he said, "and you won't get hurt."

The secretary said the Negro grabbed her by the arm and forced her to walk to the confessional, where he choked her, stabbed her nine times in the back and hand, and took $7. She had pleaded with him not to hurt her, offering the assailant what money she had.

"It is a disgrace to the nation that this should happen in our capital city," Rep. Becker told his fellow members of Congress.

The victim was taken to Casualty Hospital, where her condition was described as serious.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Judge Tuttle Rules With Negro Leaders

By VIC SMITH
Herald City Editor

Tension mounted in this strife-torn center of activity along racial lines today, as national integrationist organizations threw their full weight into a political power battle designed to beat Albany to its knees.

The balance tilted toward the outside agitators with a ruling at noon today by Federal Judge Elbert Tuttle of Atlanta, who overthrew an injunction delivered by Judge Robert Elliott of Columbus Saturday.

Judge Elliott had decreed that agitators cease mass demonstrations, economic boycotts and other activities which City authorities, who beseeched the Federal judge for relief, said would get out of control—so far as law enforcement was concerned.

Elliott Agrees

Judge Elliott evidently agreed with Mayor Asa Kelley, City Manager Steve Roos and Police Chief Laurie Pritchett of Albany that unless something was done, the situation would deteriorate to a point where anything could happen.

Negro leaders, headed by Martin Luther King Jr., immediately applied for "relief" from Judge Elliott's injunction to Judge W. A. Bootle in Macon.

Meanwhile, more than 160 Negroes marched and demonstrated here Saturday night, in open defiance of Judge Elliott's ruling. They were arrested, and Mayor Kelley has said that actions for contempt of court will be brought against them and their leaders before Judge Elliott at a hearing Monday.

Judge Elliott set July 30, at 2 p. m. as the time for a hearing before him to determine whether his injunction should or should not be made permanent.

Judge Bootle, appealed to by the Negroes, said, in effect, that he had nothing to do with the matter and that any "relief" should be sought from Judge Elliott. The Negroes, through an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union and such other organizations, then went to Judge Tuttle.

In announcing his decision, Tuttle said he was acting as a member of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Tuttle announced he will stay an injunction issued against demonstrations and boycotts by Negroes at Albany.

Formal Order

He said he would issue the formal order this afternoon, and that it will not prevent Judge Elliott of Columbus from proceeding with a hearing at Albany next Monday on making permanent the injunction he granted Friday night.

Tuttle said he is acting as a member of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, overruling objections by the state that he had no power to act.

Before announcing what his rul-

Turn to Page 5, Col. 4

MAYOR SAYS JUDGE'S RULE ON ORDER IS 'INCREDIBLE'

Mayor Asa Kelley Jr. of Albany, after the hearing, said "the City of Albany for many, many months has been striving all-out to maintain the peace and tranquility of our community against the mass demonstrations of Negroes whipped into a frenzy by the outside agitators.

"To me Judge Tuttle's ruling staying the injunction is incredible. On his shoulders now rests the responsibilities of overt events that could happen in a normally law-abiding community. Our record of peace-making is a matter of national record.

"We will continue, with all our resources to keep the peace, dignity and quiet of our city."

The Mayor continued, after Judge Tuttle's decision to stay the injunction, "no matter what happens in our city, no matter what the legal opinion of Judge Tuttle, we will continue to enforce our laws for the safety of all our citizens, Negroes or whites."

BIG CITIES GETTING MORE NON-WHITES

Those of Vote Age Make Up 17.6% in Top 25

By WILL LISSNER

Non-whites now account for 17.6 per cent of the voting-age population in the twenty-five largest cities, the Census Bureau has found.

In the 1960 census the bureau classified as non-whites Negroes, Indians, Orientals and 10 per cent of Puerto Ricans.

The classification is mainly Negro, however, as it contains only a relatively few members of the other races. Of the 18,871,831 Negroes in the United States, 6,025,193 live in the twenty-five largest cities and make up 19.7 per cent of the total population in those cities.

In only two of the five largest cities, the non-white, voting-age groups total less than 20 per cent of the population.

13.2% in New York

In New York this group constitutes 13.2 per cent of the total of citizen residents in the 21-and-over bracket. The Los Angeles figure is 15.4 per cent.

Of citizens qualified by age to vote in Chicago, 20.2 per cent are non-white. In Philadelphia the figure is 23.9 per cent and in Detroit 25.7 per cent.

In Baltimore, the sixth largest city, potential voters among non-whites amount to 30.5 per cent of the total.

Only seven of the largest cities have non-white, voting-age populations below 10 per cent.

Non-whites among citizens qualified by age to vote make up 15 per cent or more in sixteen of the largest cities, and 20 per cent or more in ten.

The Census Bureau's tabulation follows:

	Non-whites of Voting Age	P.C. of Total
New York	[illegible]	13.2
Chicago	471,[illegible]	20.2
Los Angeles	252,[illegible]	15.4
Philadelphia	313,551	23.9
Detroit	273,[illegible]	25.7
Baltimore	179,[illegible]	30.5
Houston	119,[illegible]	21.7
Cleveland	143,[illegible]	30.0
St. Louis	120,[illegible]	34.7
Milwaukee	32,[illegible]	6.9
San Francisco	88,[illegible]	15.2
Boston	39,[illegible]	8.4
Dallas	72,[illegible]	17.3
New Orleans	125,[illegible]	32.8
Pittsburgh	40,[illegible]	15.3
San Antonio	33,[illegible]	7.7
San Diego	23,[illegible]	7.0
Seattle	27,[illegible]	7.4
Buffalo	40,[illegible]	11.7
Cincinnati	43,[illegible]	19.8
Memphis	[illegible]	33.7
Denver	[illegible]	6.4
Atlanta	[illegible]	34.9
Minneapolis	[illegible]	2.7
Indianapolis	34,[illegible]	19.0
Total, 25 cities	2,473,[illegible]	17.6
United States	10,973,337	10.1

*Voting age in Atlanta is 18, not 21 as in all other cities listed.

These figures indicate that the minority groups, and candidates from among them, will play a greater role in politics in the next few decades.

Moreover, the percentages may be expected to grow significantly in the next decade. Americans have been moving from the country to metropolitan areas. This is a world-wide movement. Negroes, who account for most non-whites, have been moving to the central cities.

Migration among Negroes in the South has accelerated. Of those who have remained in the region, many have moved from the country to the big city.

Hundreds of thousands of Negroes have moved from the South to Northeast, North Central and Western regions. Most of these are from the cities, but many are from rural areas of the South.

During the last decade the South lost 1,457,000 non-white residents by migration to the three northern regions. This is a net figure; additional losses were offset by a movement of non-whites into the region.

Should the South fail to attract non-white migrants, its losses will rise sharply, for the out-migration has accelerated in recent years.

The South's net losses show [illegible] net gains to the three regions in the Census Bureau's [illegible] Northeast had a gain of 541,000 non-whites, and [illegible] North Central region 558,000.

The West, which had a negligible non-white population up to the turn of the century, gained 232,000.

These movements have raised the spectre of declining populations for some Southern states, a situation that may seriously handicap their efforts to develop industrially.

The loss of non-whites by migration offset the natural increase in the non-white population in two states, Mississippi and Arkansas. As a result, Mississippi's non-white population declined by 70,000, that of Arkansas by 37,000.

The excess of non-white births over deaths was substantially offset by a loss by migration in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.

Florida gained 182,000 non-whites by natural increase, 101,000 by migration.

MISC.

Pulse of t[illegible]tic

These Murderers Shared a Motivation But It's Love That Makes Man Human

Forsyth — We have read much of the forces of hate that struck down a civil rights leader in Mississippi, Negro children in Birmingham and, in the most recent act of incredible horror, the President of the United States, a man who had dedicated his life to the defense of liberty for all. And even as the world shrieked in dismay at the death of Mr. Kennedy, his suspected assassin was slain.

The political leanings of the murderers differed, but they shared a motivation of hatred that so blinded their vision and dulled their sensitivity that they knew not what they did.

Other people hate; Oswald and Booth killed presidents. We are a kind and peaceful people. We do not hate. Or do we? Continually, the seeds of doubt and suspicion are planted in our souls and minds. The soil in which they fall varies: in faith in God and belief in the worth of His individual creatures, these seeds are examined and they wither; in ignorance and selfishness they find a fertile bed.

Most of us represent neither extreme: we are neither strong enough to resist the Prince of Darkness entirely, nor weak enough to turn ourselves over to him. Part of our weakness lies in failing to recognize the extent of the invasion of hatred in our lives. We encounter it thinly disguised as prejudice, snobbery, and resentment. In fact, we have let the poison seep down to our children: some high school students applauded; and their classmates wept, their grief compounded with shame.

We, the silent ones, share that shame. But grief and shame are not enough. We have been too polite, fearing to offend a friend who has made a derogatory remark. We have remained silent while those in the barbershop or other public gathering places have cursed those whose opinions were different from their own. We have said little or nothing when public officials have openly defied the Constitution of the United States, claiming that its assurances of liberty and equality for all would threaten their particular empire.

were privileged to have serve us even for so brief a time, has given me the courage to outwardly express what I feel. I shall no longer hold back in silence — displaying the same cowardice I have observed when our illustrious white citizens are backed down with the moral knowledge that they honestly know themselves wrong.

I shall, from this day, fight every vestige of evil and hate I see or hear — in the classroom, the faculty room, in every area with which I may come in contact — and I shall give to the America I believe in and to the memory of our great President John F. Kennedy every ounce of my being to help you children to understand what is happening around us and to love all people as he did.

A TEACHER.

Leo Aikman

The Face Was Familiar

O[illegible]When Bill Bowdoin and War[illegible] Joseph Ragen, the Illinois [illegible]al expert, were inspecting [illegible] prisons of [illegible]gia in [illegible]ring the [illegible]s Ra[illegible] Report, [illegible]ked in[illegible]kitchen [illegible] county [illegible] camp. [illegible]g nition [illegible] the face [illegible] fat con[illegible] cook and [illegible]aid, "Why, good mornin', [illegible]den Ragen, how are you?" [illegible]ainly the convict had the ad[illegible]ntage of the penologist.

"How do you know me?" the [illegible]tter wanted to know.

The cook smiled. "Oh, I know you," he said, "I used to be with you in Joliet."

Joliet is the Illinois state prison.

When the investigative group visited the Pulaski County camp, they found it in good order, one of the best.

They sat down in the office of

On Mental Health

Atlanta — Now after the sad death of The President of the United States, maybe something will now be done about the mental illness program in the United States.

F. A. JOHNS.

Truly a Leader

Milledgeville—President Kennedy was a straightforward, morally honest and sincere individual who carried these attributes with him when he dealt with the leaders and peoples of the world. I believe friend and foe alike respected him for this —whether they agreed with his policies or not. His strength lay in a personality which radiated integrity and forcefulness of purpose. He was truly a leader among leaders.

Let us hope that President Johnson and future presidents will be able to muster the dy-

Joliet is the Illinois state prison.

When the investigative group visited the Pulaski County camp, they found it in good order, one of the best.

They sat down in the office of Pulaski Warden Head to commend him on the camp.

"By the way," Bill Bowdoin asked, "how many prisoners do you have?"

"We have 84," the Pulaski warden answered.

Right then the phone rang. He picked it up, engaged in short conversation and said in embarrassment, "I'm sorry, gentlemen, we have only 83 prisoners. One of them has just escaped."

* * *

JEST FOR TODAY: The charge was assault and battery and the first witness, an old farmer, had taken the stand.

The defense attorney, notorious for the way he browbeat witnesses, fired the first question: "Now just how far were you from the parties when this alleged assault took place?"

"Exactly 15 feet 10 inches and a half," the farmer answered.

The defense attorney bristled. "Do you mean to sit here under oath and tell this court that you were exactly 15 feet 10 inches and a half away?"

"Yes, sir, I certainly do."

"How can you be so sure?"

"Because I expected some fool would ask me," the farmer said, "so I jest took out my rule and measured it."

* * *

HINT: Here's advice for the season overheard in a department store in the shopping rush: "If you don't know what you're looking for, you usually find it quicker than if you do."

* * *

HIGHLINES: Relatives are people whose shortcomings sometimes include long stayings. — Kate's Korner, Dawson Co. Advertiser.

or nothing when public officials have openly defied the Constitution of the United States, claiming that its assurances of liberty and equality for all would threaten their particular empire.

If it is true — that hate destroys the hater — then what is it that makes man human? The answer, of course, is love. It is the love of which Paul speaks when he reminds us that of faith, hope, and charity (love), "the greatest of these is charity." We find that this love makes lovely the loveless and unlovable. But it is not easy. For every action there is a reaction, and for a love this deep, there emerges a hate of terrible dimensions. We must be prepared to fight this hatred, not with hate itself but with love that transcends the limits of time and space and existence here on this earth. This is not an alternative: it is an imperative.

MRS. SAM H. FRANK.

A Teacher Speaks

Atlanta — As a school teacher in the Atlanta area who feels very strongly about the ignominious Nov. 22 assassination, I would like to say a few words to my school children which, I can only wish now, had been stated previous to that tragic day.

My dear children:

Being a somewhat recent newcomer to your lovely city I remained silent while listening to murmurings, jokes and parodies on our country, its laws and our President. May I say now that from the moment of my arrival here I have encountered more bigotry, more ignorance, more hatred—religious and racial—than I had ever thought possible.

However, this horrendous deed which took the life of a good, kind, honest, most intelligent and devoted man whom we in a personality which radiated integrity and forcefulness of purpose. He was truly a leader among leaders.

Let us hope that President Johnson and future presidents will be able to muster the dynamic resourcefulness to deal with world leaders as well as their predecessor. Perhaps the people of the United States should assess the qualities mentioned above in candidates they may vote for in the years to come.

ARTHUR E. ALPER, PH.D.

He Was Murdered

Atlanta—It is almost impossible to reconcile oneself to the death of a rare human being as President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was. It is more painful when all of the man's potentialities have not been realized because of his youth. And most horrible is the fact that his death was an assassination—this brilliant, visionary, compassionate, courageous man was murdered.

His death can be endued only when one realizes it is only the body of the man that is gone. His great spirit of humanitarian craving for freedom, peace, justice is among us, if we want it to be. I think a tangible proof of real grief for our great President would be to shower our senators and congressmen with mail asking them to pass the President's programs that he fought so hard for.

It would seem to me a particularly important bill to be passed is the Youth Conservation Bill. Perhaps that and the education bill and all of Kennedy's legislation might, and I believe would, prevent the maturing of misfits and unadaptable people such as Lee Oswald. They might have more opportunities for growth in the right direction.

ELIZABETH BOWERS.

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Look Magazine

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Carolina Times

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Washington Post

Baird, Joseph H.
Dekalb New Era

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Associated Negro Press

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Beach, Clarke
U. S. News & World Report

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Boone , Buford
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Briney, Russell
Louisville Courier Journal

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Congressional Quarterly News Feature

Brown, Robert W.
St. Petersburg Times

Carter, Hodding
Delta Democrat-Times

Cater, Douglass
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Clayton, Charles C.
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The Charleston Gazette

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Christian Science Monitor

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Defender

Stern, Phillip M.
Northern Virginia Sun

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Macon Telegraph

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Wesley, Carter
Houston Informer

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Violence

FOR MORNING PAPERS, MON. JUNE 15

In the past four years, the South has experienced widespread erosion of individual liberties, a report released today asserted.

It listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from Jan. 1., 1955, to Jan. 1, 1959.

The report was issued jointly by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council.

The cases were drawn from the general press of the nation and in large part from Southern newspapers. The list was confined to occurrences attributable to the increased racial tensions of the past few years. Crimes which are part of other continuing social and legal problems were not used.

The sponsoring agencies emphasized that while the report dealt only with the angry, violent reactions to the desegregation decisions, another account could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both whites and Negroes.

However, it was added, "We feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record--dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility."

The record, cited as evidence of the deterioriation of law and order in the South since the 1954-55 school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, includes:

6 Negroes killed.

29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents.

44 persons beaten.

5 stabbed.

1 Negro emasculated.

30 bombings of houses (in one of these incidents, at Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast); attempted blasting of 5 other homes.

15 homes struck by gunfire and 7 homes stoned.

4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tenn.

2 conspiracies to bomb schools, in Charlotte and Clinton.

7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another church.

1 church burned, in Memphis, and another church stoned.

4 synagogues or JEWISH centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta.

3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N.C., Birmingham and Charlotte.

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited.

2 schools burned.

Also, at least 20 towns and cities in the South were threatened in varying degree by mob action.

In all, the violence section of the report listed 225 acts against individual liberties and public peace. Included were the widely publicized incidents involving the appearance of Negroes at formerly white schools and colleges--the stories of Little Rock; the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas. Here, too, the Klan-Indian fight at Maxton, N.C., and the multiple attacks on Koinonia Farm in Georgia were recounted.

The section dealing with reprisals covered 95 cases. It was pointed out that this figure, as well as the overall total of 530 cases, could not tell the whole story, for some of the instances counted as a single item involved hundreds of men and women. For example, listed as one item were the voting purges of Louisiana, where names of thousands of Negroes were removed from registration lists.

Also, city-wide protest movements were counted as units. These include the stories of the bus boycott in Montgomery; economic protest movements in Tallahassee, Tuskegee, Ala., and Orangeburg and Rock Hill, S.C.

On a more widespread practice, the report commented:

"Some Southerners since 1954 have elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has deprived Negroes

and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses."

The 210 instances of intimidation include mail and telephone threats, and at least some of the rash of bomb scares, Klan meetings and cross burnings. They range also from the arrest of Negro ministers in Alabama to police detention of a white Methodist minister who lectured on peaceful means to attain civil rights. Negroes seeking their rights under law and some white persons who have voiced their support of this ~~Negro~~ move for legal equality; churches; ministers, priests and rabbis; Negroes who have bought homes in predominantly white neighborhoods--all were among the victims.

The report said that while there have been men and women a cross the South who have expressed anger and disapproval over the intimidation, "too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced."

#

Maggie
Paul
Vernon
Mattie - please file

FACT SHEET

COMMONWEALTH v. THOMAS C. WANSLEY

On December 8, 1962, Thomas C. Wansley, then 17 years of age, was arrested without a warrant and charged with the rapes of Mrs. Kyoko Fleshman, a Japanese resident of Lynchburg, Virginia, and Miss Annie Carter, a white resident of the same city. Despite his youth and mental immaturity, Thomas was held for five days without an opportunity to consult a lawyer although he asked for permission to do so. It was during this period that he was supposed to have admitted the crimes to a Juvenile Officer and the police, although no written confessions were ever introduced in evidence against him at his trials.

Although Thomas was, in view of his youth, under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court at the time of his arrest, the judge of that court declared, before Thomas' hearing, that he would be tried as an adult. In addition, pleas by Reuben Lawson, Thomas' trial attorney, to obtain a complete mental examination of his client in order to determine if he was capable of standing trial, were denied.

Thomas was first tried for the rape of Miss Carter, the white woman, although the rape of Mrs. Fleshman took place considerably earlier. At the Carter hearing, despite the efforts of Mr. Lawson to obtain a reasonable postponement in order to obtain a stenographer, Thomas was forced to stand trial for his life without a court reporter. Miss Carter could not identify her attacker and the sole evidence against Thomas was the recitation by police officers of his supposed confession. Nevertheless, after only 90 minutes deliberation, the all-white jury returned a verdict of guilty.

Thomas was then immediately tried for the alleged rape of Mrs. Fleshman. Although Thomas admitted to having sexual intercourse with Mrs. Fleshman, he took the stand in his own behalf to state that she had fully consented to such relations. The evidence at the trial completely sustained Thomas' version. In the first place, Mrs. Fleshman maintained that the alleged rape took place in her bedroom but that two of her children, who were sleeping beside her, never awoke during the "attack". In addition, after the supposed rape, Thomas fixed a broken slat in the bed and then spent an hour or so with her smoking in the kitchen. Moreover, he promised to return in a few days with a pack of her favorite cigarettes.

He was convicted of the second rape by another all-white jury and then sentenced to death in both cases by the same judge who was to sentence a white man, who had been caught in the act of raping an eleven-year old Negro girl, to only five years in the State Penitentiary.

The appeal from both convictions was recently argued before the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia and a decision is expected momentarily. If the convictions are reversed, Thomas will have to stand trial again for both crimes and funds will be urgently needed to pay the costs of an extensive investigation and the trials. If the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia affirms Thomas' convictions, then it will be necessary to appeal to the United States Supreme Court, which entails heavy legal expenses. The problem is complicated by the fact that Mr. Lawson, Thomas' original attorney, died shortly after the trials and it has been difficult for his present counsel to assemble the material necessary to prosecute these appeals.

Thomas' case has already had one very significant result. On March 31, 1964, Virginia enacted legislation making it impossible for a person to be tried for a felony without a court reporter. This case may well be the last one in the state in which a defendant may be deprived of his life or liberty without a stenographic record of his trial.

Recently one of Thomas' attorneys received a letter from him written from the death house of the Virginia State Penitentiary at Richmond. He writes:

> "Under the circumstances, I am truly in fairly good spirits. I completed my Bible course in March. Some times it is hard to be patient, but I know that with the help of God, I will be able to comprehend the problem. I know that all of you is doing everything in you all's power to help me and I am really grateful, truly I am."

Please help us save Thomas' life. A special account has been established known as the THOMAS C. WANSLEY DEFENSE FUND, and all contributions, large and small, will be greatly appreciated.

WANSLEY DEFENSE FUND

Helen Stein
Coordinator

1005 Fifth Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

July, 1964

Who Is My Brother?

by SAM MASSELL, JR.

Vice Mayor, City of Atlanta

The accompanying material has been adapted from a talk made by this dynamic Atlantan during the annual Brotherhood Observance of Savannah's historic Temple Mickve Israel. (See page 15 for article on Vice Mayor Massell)

Brotherhood is something I've thought about . . . many times, for I truly believe it is just as important to our well-being as is our economy, our defense, and all of the other problems with which we constantly struggle. I'm afraid, however, that in this day and time the word—brotherhood—has come to be considered, in some cases, a corny word. Brotherhood and patriotism and love and fellowship . . . these are words which don't seem to be often used any more. Patriotism — some say — is for crackpots . . . and brotherhood for do-gooders.

The word is much more meaningful than that to me, and it is **far** from being corny.

When I sat down one Saturday not long ago to assemble my thoughts for this material, I turned first to the dictionary, hoping there to find a definition of the word which would give me a starting point, and perhaps a new idea.

But the dictionary was of little help, as Webster's definition of 'brotherhood' is simply—"the condition of being brothers." I thought on that for awhile and realized that this is much less than what the word means to me.

I turned then to the little brochure put out by the National Conference of Christians and Jews . . . and there I found the real definition of this word. Here, it becomes a word which touches the human heart.

Brotherhood, it says, is "giving to others the rights and respect we want for ourselves."

Isn't that beautifully said? It brings the word into focus, so that you and I can have a feeling for it . . . so that it means something to us, personally.

The same thing has been said before, in another way . . . with other words . . . in another book. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." That's the kind of brotherhood I want to consider.

As I go along it may appear that I'm mistaking the word for prejudice . . . and hatred . . . and bigotry. It may seem, in the beginning, that I don't see any signs of a true spirit of brotherhood in this world in which we live.

But that's not so. I do see love and compassion and brotherhood around me every day. Nevertheless, my eyes never close to the inhumanity which also surrounds us.

We are talking about brotherhood . . . but before I finish this speech and sit down tonight, men will go to bed on a small island off the coast of Florida with fear in their hearts for what may happen tomorrow. It is fear of their own countrymen, fear of their Cuban brothers.

As you read this, an elderly German couple, carrying all their worldly possessions in a paper bag, may steal through the night toward a high wall in Berlin, seeking freedom. If they are caught, they will die at the hands of their German brothers.

Tonight, in Mississippi, an American youth will go to bed in a college dormitory with guards standing at the door to protect him from his fellow Americans. He is not a criminal, nor a maniac dangerous to society . . . but an American Negro pursuing his God-given rights.

Tonight, here in Savannah or over in Macon, or somewhere — two young boys may attack an old man in a service station and beat him unmercifully for the two dollars in his billfold.

Tonight, in Birmingham or Denver or Kansas City, a respected—but Jewish—citizen will discover that he can't buy the home of his choice because the neighborhood is "restricted."

Tonight, somewhere in this great land of ours, a man will check his fallout shelter before going to bed. He checks it every night, fearing that **this** might be the date when the brotherhood of man comes to an end forever. He will grumble at the prospect of such inhumanity, and righteously so. But in his own fallout shelter there is a rifle . . . put there to keep out the uninvited neighbor in case of disaster. This, my friends, is the state of brotherhood in the world today.

Yet, man has come a long way in recent years. Today, the mind of man has created a machine which can answer almost any question. Man has built missiles which can travel the breadth of

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the globe in a matter of minutes, and has created warheads which can destroy whole nations in the time required to fix a flat tire. Man has found a cure for polio, and doctors in research laboratories around the nation are rapidly closing in on other dread diseases.

Very definitely, man has demonstrated that there is no **limit** to what the **mind** can achieve.

As I reflect on the accomplishments of mankind, I realize—as you must—that the mind has far outraced the heart. We can put a man in orbit, but we cannot yet guarantee every man his rights. We can solve the mathematical problems confronting the mind . . . but we still let prejudice and discrimination into our hearts.

We have, in Atlanta, a saying that I believe in very firmly. In the face of racial problems we say, and rightly, that we are too busy to hate. And we are. I think the feeling in Atlanta is that too much hard work has gone into building a great city to see it all destroyed or hindered at the hands of violence born of hatred.

I'd like to think there is more to it than that; to think it is more than just being too busy to hate. I'd like to believe that we simply have more love in our hearts than hate. And I hope that we never get so busy that we are too busy to love.

Perhaps I'm being overly optimistic about it, but I believe there is still hope for brotherhood in the South . . . and, for that matter, throughout the world.

As Vice Mayor of the city of Atlanta, I am in a position to see more prejudice than I care to see . . . but I also see progress. I see discrimination often . . . but I also see men of good will working together to get rid of it.

When a group of citizens, **however small,** work hand-in-hand to assure the rights of even a **single person** . . . then that, in itself, is brotherhood and—with time—will foster further brotherhood.

We know that the seeds of prejudice are sown deeply in the South and cannot be uprooted overnight. It is extremely difficult to change a belief that one has held for all of one's life . . . beliefs held by one's parents and grandparents and their parents before them.

There are in the South today honest, earnest, hard-working men and women who believe with all their hearts that integration is morally wrong. There are men—however wrongly — who would give up their lives before giving up segregation. Their backgrounds and training, and the traditions of their hometown are such that they may never be convinced that their racial or other prejudices are wrong. They've believed all their lives that **every** Negro is unclean . . . that **every** Jew is a merchant who will cheat you . . . that **every** Catholic is a heathen who worships the Pope instead of God . . . and that **every** Northerner is a

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It is important that we realize that these people's beliefs are sincere. We cannot change their views by putting them in jail . . . nor would we **want** to do such a a thing. Our great hope lies in love and understanding. No man is born a bigot; bigotry must be learned. And what can be learned can—through patience and understanding—be unlearned. Love can overcome traditions. Compassion can rise above ignorance. Brotherhood, itself, can be learned.

In Atlanta, we have had events develop which even the boldest would not have predicted fifteen years ago. Just recently, a young Atlanta Negro named Leroy Johnson ran for and was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia, from Fulton County. He ran first against white candidates and then, in the General Election, defeated a Negro Republican. He went to the Legislature, and still the few extremists cried: "Blood will flow in the streets. The white man won't stand for this!"

Well, the white man did stand for it. There were no incidents, no hatred—and he is getting on very well with his white colleagues.

One advantage which accrues in every situation of this sort—that of a single Negro (or single Jew, or single Japanese) — in with a large number of whites (or Gentiles, or Americans) — is that everyone soon learns that we are all pretty much alike. In fact, we sometimes discover that the supposedly inferior can turn out to be superior.

Senator Johnson is a case in point, for the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, an all-white organization of young men, has just honored this Negro by naming him as one of the city's "Five Outstanding Young Men of the Year." No federal troops, no federal rulings were involved in the decision to so honor him. It was not a **forced** decision, but an honest determination arrived at by reasonable men in a spirit of brotherhood and fair play.

Just who is our brother . . . and why don't we recognize him? I think first we need to understand what prejudice is, and what causes it. Some of it I feel I **do** understand. In a way, prejudice is another form of competition.

As a husband and father I'm strongly prejudiced in favor of my family over **any** other. All the husbands and fathers on my block feel the same way about their families. But if a crisis comes up involving all of us, such as a detrimental change in zoning, prejudices are forgotten and the block stands together.

The same is true of cities. I am as strongly prejudiced in favor of Atlanta as you are in favor of Savannah. We have a rivalry of sorts going on all the time. But if a crisis arises involving us both, such as preservation of our University System, rivalries and prejudices are forgotten and the two cities stand together.

We want new industries to select Georgia over every other state, but all fifty states of the Union stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the face of a common problem, such as the threat of Communism.

If you have ever driven through the country on a clear, pretty day . . . you would have noticed the way cattle graze in the pasture. They're spread out all over everywhere . . . one here, one there . . . and only rarely will you ever see as many as two standing together.

But on a cold and windy day, things change. If the weather is bad, creating a common problem for all, they huddle together to help each other.

Humans are the same way. A young child can be stricken with a dread disease . . . a disease, say, which will be fatal before his next birthday. How many times have you seen such a story in the newspaper? Frequently, I believe. And the next day's paper always tells of great numbers of total strangers who have come forth to help the child or to offer gifts. The region is swept by a wave of compassion for the stricken youngster.

There are other examples.

I remember once when an apartment building burned, leaving a good many people temporarily homeless. And immediately, others in the neighborhood began taking their helpless neighbors into their own homes. These were people who had lived in the neighborhood for years without even getting to know the people next door. What brought forth their compassion in this case?

Did you ever attend a house of worship which was destroyed . . . . . by fire, by an explosion, or by some other means? If so, you may have been surprised to find men and women of all denominations and faiths working together to help restore the church. What makes them do it?

A common crisis seems to bind us together, overriding and overcoming all prejudices. In today's headlines we frequently read of the difficulties among France and England and this country. But the beaches of Normandy are lined with the blood of Frenchmen, Britons and Americans who died fighting for a common cause. Prejudices and problems were forgotten then.

The islands of the Pacific and the continent of Europe are dotted with the graves of brave American men who died fighting for the freedoms we enjoy in this country. The graves show no prejudice. There are Negroes in them, and white men; there are Southerners and Northerners, Republicans and Democrats — Jews,

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Protestants, Catholics, atheists, and men of every faith. Prejudices were all forgotten on the battlefield.

Where is the solution to this problem of prejudice? I think the solution is understanding. Why do you think so many strangers come instantly to the aid of a stricken child? Or why were people who had been formerly aloof from their neighbors so compassionate and understanding in a time of crisis?

I think I know the answer.

Most of us have children. The child that was stricken could — next time — be our child. This is something we can understand.

We all have homes. We can all **feel** for the family whose home has burned. It could happen to us.

We can forget our prejudices anytime that we can have understanding. We can best understand when we can relate ourselves to the problem . . . when we can imagine having a personal stake in the matter at hand.

Why, then, can't we understand the problems of a minority group?

Take the poor, sick individual who is prejudiced against **every** Negro and **every** Jew and **every** Catholic . . . or **every** anybody. If, somehow, we can make him understand that someday **he** may be part of a minority . . . that someday **he** personally may be the victim of prejudice . . . then progress will have been made in the cause of brotherhood.

Perhaps we can remind him that right after the Civil War, during the bitter days of reconstruction, **all** Southerners were victims of unfair prejudice throughout the rest of the country. Or maybe we can make him realize that if the law breaks down and fails to protect one Negro at the University of Mississippi now, then one day the law will surely fail to protect **him** in another matter.

The history of mankind is replete with examples of prejudice . . . and the tragedies which have followed closely on its heels.

The people of Moses suffered from prejudice at every turn; both Jews and Christians suffered at the hands of Roman prejudice; for hundreds of years, black men and white men were sold into slavery by their own countrymen.

I could go on and on, for prejudice is very much a part of world history. But so is brotherhood.

There is still time. There is still hope for the cause of brotherhood in this country. Sometimes brotherhood must be worked at, and perhaps we will have to **work at it now** to achieve it.

We all have lost loved ones and, later, reflected on how much more love we could, and should, have bestowed upon them. Let us work at brotherhood and understanding, but let's not wait too late. Each man has the capacity. May God guide his children to be their brother's brother.

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A newspaper man intent on getting some background material about Atlanta's new Vice Mayor, Sam Massell, Junior, asked him what civic organizations he belonged to. "I'll give you a list," Massell replied, rather hesitantly.

The newspaper man protested he didn't want a list; he just wanted the name of the organizations. Whereupon Mr. Massell handed him a list. It was two typewritten pages, legal sized, single spaced.

The reporter was aghast. The list was longer than his story. Intrigued and skeptical, the reporter decided to check the list in hopes, perhaps, of being the first to point out the fact that Massell was a joiner of first rate proportions . . . not a non-participant — the story never materialized. And a random check list proved not only that Sam Massell belonged to the organizations; he was an active worker.

"Sam doesn't find time," his friends and co-workers say. He literally *MAKES* time."

Soft spoken, never seemingly in a hurry, he has somehow carried his gift of accomplishing an astonishing number of things during his first year in office, a list of things that threaten to rival his list of organizations of previous years. For instance: he has welcomed 90 famous guests to the city representing the Mayor and the city of Atlanta: made 131 speeches, also representing the city; he has at-

. . . with actress chanteuse Jayne Mansfield.

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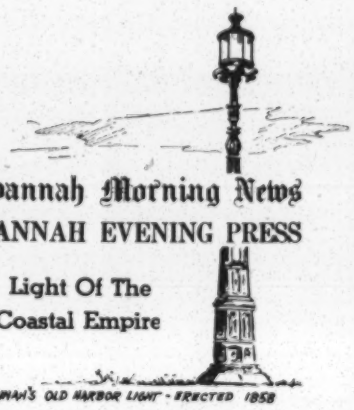

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tended 152 committee meetings where he has no vote but where he can find the city government in action; and he has served as Mayor of the city of Atlanta 85 days during the first year in office. (The Vice Mayor is officially the Mayor of Atlanta during the Mayor's absence).

Sam Jr., at almost 36 (he was born in Atlanta on August 25, 1927) is one of the younger men on the Atlanta Board of Alderman. As Vice Mayor, he is president of the Board of Alderman and presides at all meetings. This he does with a firm hand, and has astounded some of his older colleagues with his knowledge of parliamentary procedure. He cannot vote except in case of a tie, which means that he is always at the mercy of a truly controversial question.

He was first graduated in 1951 from the Atlanta Law School, and the recipient of a degree from Georgia State College, from which he also received a postgrdauate certificate in selling and postgraduate diploma in real estate, the field in which he is now identified. He won the Alvin B. Cates trophy, presented by the Georgia Association of Real Estate Boards, for the "Most Outstanding Real Estate Transaction of the Year in 1955 and again in 1957 and 1959. He was elected to membership in the Million Dollar Club of the Atlanta Real Estate Board in 1959 and 1960. He taught real estate at the Smith Hughes Vocational School for one year

. . . with Senator Abraham Ribicoff at the dedication banquet last fall for Beth Jacob Synagogue.

. . . greeting General Wilfred Kitching, international leader of the Salvation Army.

and was cited by the National Institute in 1958 for "his constructive contribution to the literature of real estate brokerage."

During this time he was also one of the most tireless workers on the City Executive Committee, an elected body responsible for the conducting of the city elections and for framing new laws under which elections were held. During these years he won the affection and the enormous admiration of the other members of the committee for his seemingly limitless energy, his faultless attention to detail, and his unquenchable desire for perfection of performance.

Perhaps it is in his own home that some of the answers to "How Sam Does All He Does" may be found. Sam credits his wife, the former Doris Middlebrooks, with much of his success, particularly in politics. Mrs. Massell, diminutive and most attractive is indeed an asset from the standpoint of liking people, being flexible as to family living, and obviously revolves the household around Sam.

"She's a good wife, a good mother and a good cook," Sam declares, "and she has an unerring instinct about people. She can spot a phony person a mile off, but the people she likes, well, they're fortunate, because she is a warm and understanding friend."

The Massells met on Valentine's Day and a year later they were married, after quite a tempestuous courtship. They went to Augusta for a three-day honeymoon and Doris remembers vividly the trip back. Their car—a very old model—broke down three times. They moved to a small apartment, went on a cash basis, and lived on a strict budget, so strict that Doris still has trouble buying clothes that "didn't come out of the food budget." She does her own house work, sews, likes to read and is a Brownie leader. "I don't like the bugs in the woods . . . but the Brownies have taught me a lot."

She regards being in politics as "interesting and exciting" and when she says this, you believe her. She went with Sam to almost every rally during his hard and strenuous campaign and insists that she loved every minute of it. Sam says she gave him the best piece of advice he got during his campaign: "Sam, don't ever say or do anything that isn't completely honest. If you win or lose this election this won't be the last thing you'll run for, so don't ever say or

Atlanta's Vice Mayor and Vice President Lyndon Johnson exchanging views at the recent American Municipal Association Congress in Houston.

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It is obvious to even the casual visitor that much of the Massell endeavors involve them as a couple and as a family. Both like to dance, and Sam was a little chagrined recently when he made an impassioned speech on the evils of ward courtesy to a television audience. A few nights later he was televised just a few minutes at the city employee party . . . doing the twist. "Everybody congratulated me on being a good dancer . . . and hardly anybody said anything about my speech on ward courtesy," he said ruefully.

The Massells three children participate in any political activity that the parents think they, the children, will enjoy. Cindy, who is 8½, Steve who is 7, and Melanie (who is, according to her father, 3 going on 13) all like the parades, like sitting on the reviewing stands and sometimes going to the airport. In this way the family can sandwich in many more family activities. At home, there is much activity in the Tree House, which the vice mayor built the children, and a rather awe inspiring hand-made truck, constructed from a garbage can and a few other selected items found in junk yards. "I have been expecting any day to see a picture in the paper with the caption "Vice Mayor on the Scrap Pile."

Sam gave his wife a trip to Hawaii as an anniversary present, and they timed their trip so that he could represent Atlanta at the recent United States Conference of Mayors in Honolulu. "I met President Kennedy in Hawaii. This is something I would not have missed for anything. As soon as I said I was from Atlanta, The President stopped and instead of going on to the next person, he said "Oh, yes . . . You have done such a lot there. I have just read the statement of your Chamber of Commerce." "(This was the statement in which the Chamber urged the restaurants and hotel operators to open their facilities to all citizens.) Doris Massell was equally enthusiastic. Exclaiming: "Hawaii was even more beautiful than the movies have shown it to be . . and of course it was most interesting to meet the mayors from other parts of the country. We particularly liked the Vice Mayor of Honolulu and I was greatly impressed with the Mayor of New Haven, Mayor Richard Lee."

In commenting on the people he had welcomed to Atlanta, Sam listed former Presi-

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dent Truman, whom he described as "tops. Very alert, keen, interesting and interested." He also commented on Dr. Ralph Bunche and described him as a "fine gentleman and a very learned man. I also greatly enjoyed General Walters, the Commanding General of the American Armies. This was his first trip to Atlanta and I was delighted to show him Atlanta from the Top of the Mart."

One is apt to leave Sam Massell Jr. still puzzled by the fact that this comparatively young man has already accomplished so much in such a relatively short time. Basically, he is a rather shy person and it is extremely difficult to get him to talk about himself. (Instead you find that you've been led down the primrose path of hearing about his favorite topic, which is Atlanta, or you've agreed to help him with one of his organizations or "projects" as he refers to them. Perhaps the answer can only be found by talking to his friends, to people who have known him and worked with him over a period of years.

"I've never known anybody to question Sam's honesty or his motives. I think the answer, is that he is a deeply committed, deeply dedicated man whose concern for the city in terms of its people, preys on him and has always preyed on him,"

"Sam's feeling that everything and everyone is important . . . that's what I think makes him tick," said a woman who had worked with him before he became the Vice Mayor of Atlanta. I think he will always be this way, in public office or out of it."

Or perhaps an anonymous woman caller, the one o'clock in the morning hate variety caller who phoned him several times to say all the things that people feel they have a right to say as long as the person on the other end of the wire does not know who the caller is. Sam Massell talked to her each time as long as she wanted to talk. He talked quietly and courteously and tried to answer to diatribes. Finally one night she said: "Mr. Massell, you sound like a nice sort of man. I won't bother you any more." And she never has.

Whatever is the fountain from which this young man derives his apparently inexhaustible energy, his courtesy, and his devotion to his city, (and his facts with which he backs up his opinions), may not have a single name: perhaps it is a triangularly shaped source, bounded by his family, his city and his compulsion to make his contribution now. Whatever the source, the fact remains that it is there . . . and the city of Atlanta is the beneficiary.

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Grandpa's

Last Erev Yom Kippur

by

DAVID

L.

BARUCH

SHORT STORY

It was noon on the day before Yom Kippur. Grandpa, then reaching 90, had invited his two out-of-town sons, who were visiting the homestead for the High Holy Days, to bring their children for a noon dinner. The sons, Ben and Hyman, complied. Grandma was dead by that time, but Grandpa had arranged for his local daughter-in-law to prepare the Erev Yom Kippur meal. It was indeed a festive table as the 14 present—including eight children ranging in ages from seven to not-quite-thirteen — gathered for that memorable high, High Holiday dinner.

Over the second course, the rich chicken soup, Grandpa answered the first of the questions posed not only by his grandchildren, but indeed, by his grown sons: Why this feast?

"There are two reasons," Grandpa answered "and you may take your choice. One is this. You eat a great meal just on the eve of Yom Kippur so that, when the fasting is on, you miss food and drink more than ever. In that way, the good Jew heightens the ordeal he is about to face. But there is another reason given by some of the Masters. On Yom Kippur, the Ten Days of Awe come to an end. Each Jew knows that, by tomorrow's twilight—at the end of the long day of Yom Kippur prayers—God would seal his fate. The Jew, therefore, faces his Maker early--with confidence. If he ate poorly on the eve of Yom Kippur, he might lead one to think he feared the morrow's verdict. But if he feasts—he proves that he is secure in the knowledge of his own rectitude because he is not a sinner. Therefore, he eats heartily this day."

There were many other expositions of traditional tales as the meal proceeded. But it was when the feast was done, the children disposed themselves comfortably, some on the rug, some on the couches of the living room adjoining the dining room, that Grandpa revealed the real reason for this meeting with his grandchildren. He reached into the bookcase in the corner and brought out his 200-year-old Mahzor. He turned to the page where he found the prayer entitled "Unetanna Tokef" — "let us give strength to the sacredness of the day." And he told the story of that prayer.

"Years ago," he said, "there were quite a few Jews living in certain localities of what, today, we call Germany. In one area, there were three neighboring cities — Mainz, Worms and Speyer, where—"

"Worms?" asked one grandchild, "funny name for a town." Two little girl grandchildren giggled.

"Yes, that city is still there now," answered Grandpa. During the Crusades, thousands, many thousands of Jews were killed in those cities because they refused to become Christians. The Jews of the three citiies made a treaty—and they fought back against their attackers."

"Like they did in the Warsaw Ghetto?" asked one of the older grandchildren.

"Exactly," said Grandpa—" and often with similar results. But I want to tell you mainly about what happened later, after the Crusades, in this city of Mainz."

Grandpa held up his Mahzor, added: "This prayer book was printed in Mainz, 200 years ago; but what I'm going to tell you about happened long before that."

"In Mainz," continued Grandpa, "there were two great Rabbis—Rabbi Kalonymus and Rabbi Amnon. And there was an archbishop in Mainz, a very vicious man. The archbishop decided that, to set an example before the rest o fthe Jewish community, Rabbi Amnon must accept conversion to Christianity. He ordered Rabbi Amnon several times to do so. Finally, he threatened that, if the rabbi did not follow the order—he would be killed. The archbishop ordered Rabbi Amnon to come to his palace within three days and either accept conversion or else—" Rabbi Amnon, to pacify the policemen who gave him that order, said, "okay, I'll be there in three days."

"But the rabbi did not keep that promise. He did not show up at the archbishop's palace in three days. So, after waiting and waiting, the archbishop sent his soldiers to the rabbi's home, and the soldiers brought the rabbi to the palace.

"The archbishop argued for hours with the rabbi trying to talk him into converting to Christianity. The rabbi refused. Finally, angry, the archbishop said: 'Don't you agree that you deserve punishment just for lying to me; you promised to see me in three days, and failed to keep your promise.'

"Yes, Rabbi Amnon agreed, for that he did deserve punishment. Asked by the archbishop to name his punishment, he answered: "Because I lied to you, and because I really never intended to come here to convert—you should have my tongue cut out.'

"You see, Rabbi Amnon thought that sacrificing his tongue would be better than giving up his Jewish religion. But the archbishop was not satisfied. He ordered that the tongue be left intact; instead, he had the rabbi's hands and feet cut off.

"That happened just before Rosh Hashannah. On Rosh Hashonah, as the congregation was at prayer, Rabbi Amnon had himself brought to the synagogue on a litter. With his mutilated hands and feet bandaged, he lay there in pain and recited a prayer that no one had ever heard before. As he prayed, his voice became stronger and stronger. When he finished, his voice was so loud it shook the walls of the old synagogue it penetrated through the roof, it sounded out over the valley in which the Jewish Quarter was located, right up to the hill where the archbishop had his palace. Rabbi Amnon's voice rang out: "Penitence, Prayer and Charity shall avert the evil decree!" Then he expired, right there in the synagogue. And when the men in the synagogue looked at the bloody litter, it was empty. Rabbi Amnon's body was not there. Of course, all knew that his body had ascended to heaven.

"All mourned Rabbi Amnon. And they noted that no one knew the beautiful, moving prayer that Rabbi Amnon had uttered. For it was on Rosh Hashonah, and no one could write down those words.

"Three nights later the other rabbi, Rabbi Kalonymus, had a dream. In the dream, Rabbi Amnon dictated to Rabbi Kalonymus the words of that lost prayer. "Spread this prayer among your people," Amnon told Kalonymus.

⊙ **Himeji Castle**—Sometimes known as "The Castle of the White Heron," Himeji Castle was constructed in 1609. It is well known for its sugar cake appearance and delicate design, almost like a fairy story castle.

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桜の姫路城—別名白鷺城。1609年池田輝政によって築かれた。縄張り（設計、城郭の仕組）の妙なること、往時の面影がそのまま残っていることと相まち、現代日本における美と華麗のお城として最高の存在である。

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Mrs. Bernice Morrison
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U.S.A

June 13.

Dear Bernice:

What happened to you? I've been waiting to hear from you about your trip. It's already June!

My friend, Mr. Katsuichi Honda who is the first class reporter for the Asahi Newspaper - Japan, is coming to the South in order to write about the life of negroes in urban as well as rural - the South very soon. I'm sending a pamphlet which is translated his writing about Vietnam - separate mail. Please pass it to Pat, Bob, Jim, and John Lewis who'll help him after you finish reading it. Write to me, any way. Give my best regards to all the SRC.

File — Sunday Fringe

GOD is A RACIST

Isaiah 13:14 is a racist statement saying someone is trying to mix the races and God does not like it that God wants every man to turn to his own people and flee everyone into his own land"

Isaiah was a prophet who predicted the future: of a time when someone would try to intergate us. 1954 AD

Isaiah 13:14 And it shall be as the Chased Roe and as a sheep which no man taketh up: they shall every man turn to his own people and flee everyone into his own land"

"if every man is to turn to his own people then you do not date, dance have sex or marriage with another race and if you FLEE every one into your own land you are having racial trouble because of intergation and it will not work that God wants SEGREGATION

Martin Luther King was a liar and the NAACP is a pack of lying negro dogs

Brainwashed white Christian swine .....5...8

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King James Version of the Holy Bible

NEGROES

Song of Solomon 5:10 "My beloved is WHITE and RUDDY.

Song of Solomon Chapter 1:5 "I am black (Negroes) but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem as the tents of Kedar (Negroes) as the curtains of Solomon 6. Look not upon me because I am black **(negroes) (do not look upon Negroes means don't desire to date, dance, have sex or marriage with them)** because the sun hath looked upon me; my mother's (Adam's white wife Eve) children were angry with me **(whites angry with Negroes)** they made me keeper of the vineyards **(whites made Negroes slaves), but mine own vineyard have I not kept."** Solomon was a white man and King David's son and he lived in a palace and being the king's son no one could make him a keeper of the vineyards. Solomon is using himself as an example to predict and he is saying that white women should not go with negroes and made them slaves. If Solomon was black, why would he tell the daughters of Jerusalem not to look upon him; because Solomon knew that white women are not supposed to go with negroes. Proves Solomon was white and Solomon's people are a white race!

Look not upon me because I am black, is a statement telling people who are not black not to date, dance, have sex. or marriage with negroes. Black means negroes — look not upon me means do not date, dance, dance, have sex or marriage with me. The logic of this proves Solomon had to be white. The person saying Look not upon me because I am black knows that being black is the reason why people who are not black are not to date, dance, have sex or marriage with negroes. In God's eyes, negroes have NO RIGHT to date, dance, have sex or marriage with other races of people is what, Look not upon me because I am black. means. O ye daughters of Israel look not upon blacks, meaning white women are not to date, dance, have sex or marriage with negroes.

An example of using self to predict about someone else is Psalms 22:16-18 King David predicting about Jesus, a death

PUBLIC ACT No 44 of 1968 SENATE BILL No 925 Section 789c. GIVES PARENTS CONTROL OF THEIR SCHOOL CHILDREN. WRITE WASHINGTON, D.C. FOR THIS LAW. DO NOT TEACH SEX EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

READ JEREMIAH 50:16 + 23 HAMMER SAYS TO FIGHT AND SICKLE COMMUNISTS

OCT 1971 PHIL DONAHUE TV SHOW FROM DAYTON, OHIO, A CATHOLIC NEGRO PSYCHIATRIST SAID CATHOLIC CHURCH TOLD HIM NEGROES HAD WHITE SOULS IN HEAVEN AS EVERYONE AFTER DEATH IS MADE WHITE BY GOD.

GOD GAVE LAWS BUT MAN MADE HIS OWN LAWS

GENSIS 1:23 "BE FRUITFULL AND MULTIPLY" ABORTION IS WRONG NO BIRTH CONTROL.

on the cross.

I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar. The tents of Kedar are black meaning Kedar are negroes.

Isaiah 21:1-17 is about KEDAR and from the Songs of Solomon 1:5-6 we learn that Kedar are negroes so 21:3 "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it" **(is negroes going with white women is wrong)** 21:16 For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Within a year, ([redacted]) according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar **(negroes have great influence)** shall fail: 17. And the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar **(negroes)**, shall be diminshed for the Lord God of Israel hath spoken it." **(God of Israel wants Kedar who are negroes to lose all their influence because of what's written here)** . . .

Jeremiah, Chapter 8:19, "Behold the voice of the cry of the daughter of my people **(Jeremiah was a white man and his people are a white race) and something has been done to hurt white women)** because of them that dwell in a far country **(far country is the United States and what it has done for negroes has hurt white women)**; Is not the Lord in Zion? Is not her king in her? Why have they provoked me to anger **(God is angry at negroes going with white women)** with their graven images, and with strange vanities? 20. The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved. 21. For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt **(something has been done to hurt white women and the next sentence says that the Negroes are hurting white women)**; I am black **(Negroes)** astonishment hath taken hold upon me. **(astonishment means something will be taught about negroes not considered nice; proves Jeremiah was white because of the word astonishment)**. 22. Is there no balm **(medicine)** in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?

Jeremiah was a white man and he is using himself as an example to predict a future event and he is saying something wrong has been done involving white women and negroes, that white women who go with negroes are sick and need medicine and a physician to recover their health.

What has being black got to do with benig astonished,

ARABS ARE BROTHERS OF ISRAEL SO ARABS SHOULD NOT DATE OR MARRY NEGROES

FORCED BUSING OF WHITE CHILDREN IS KIDNAPING, NEGRO CHILD STEALERS. CHILDREN BELONG TO THEIR PARENTS NOT THE STATE.

Answer is O ye daughters of Israel look not upon blacks, meaning white women are not to date, dance, have sex or marriage with negroes. The person saying I am black astonishment hath taken hold upon me knows that being black is the reason for astonishment meaning that there is something to wonder about about being black. Notice how black astonishment is worded in with daughters of Israel are hurt, God is angry, And Israeli women are sick needing a doctor and medicine to recover their health. How it reads is "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt because of theblacks." Both King Solomon and Jeremiah are saying in God's eyes, negroes have NO RIGHT to date, dance, have sex or marriage with the white race also meaning negroes have NO RIGHT to be PRIESTS OF GOD.

Job, chapter 6:15: "My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook, and as the stream of brooks they pass away. 16. Which are BLACKISH (blackish is negro race) by reason of the ice (ice is negro lies), and wherein the SNOW is hid (snow is white race — snow is hid means negroes are causing whites trouble and the truth about negroes is not known).

17. What time they wax warm, they vanish; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place. 18. The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing, and perish. 19. The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them. 20. They were confounded because they had hoped; they came thither and were ashamed. 21. For now ye are nothing; ye see my casting down, and are afraid. 22. Did I say, Bring unto me? or give a reward for me of your substance? 23. Or, deliver me from the enemy's hand? Or redeem me from the hand of the mighty? 24. Teach me, and I will hold my tongue: and cause me to understand wherein I have erred. (Negroes are in error and the truth about negroes will be taught.) 25. How forcible are right words."

Genesis 10:2-5, Sons of Japheth is yellow race, Japs, etc.
Genesis 10:21 Sons of Shem is white race.
Genesis 10:6-20 Sons of Ham is negro race.
God changes not same today, yesterday and forever.

GENESIS 9:25, — "And he said cursed be Canaan **(negroes)**; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. **(servant of servants means negroes are not to rule over white race). 26.** And he said Blessed be the Lord God of

SERVANT OF SERVANTS MEANS NEGROES ARE NOT TO VOTE OR HOLD POLITICAL OFFICE AMONG WHITES. SOUTH AFRICA IS RIGHT ABOUT NEGROES.

NEGRO SEX WITH WHITE RACE IS GENOCIDE OF WHITE RACE AS CHILDREN ARE NEGROES. NO MORE BLONDS, BRUNNETS OR RED HEADS ONLY NEGROES. THERE WILL BE NO NEGROES

Shem (white race) and Canaan (negroes) shall be his servant. 27 God shall enlarge Japheth (more of yellow race) and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem (whites) and Canaan (negroes) shall be his servant. Genesis 9:18. "And Ham is the father of Canaan (negroes)."

Cursed be Canaan a servant to Shem and Japheth shall he be means that white and yellow race are equal and that negroes are not to intermarry with white or yellow races. Japheth shall dwell in tents of Shem means that white and yellow race are equal.

Isaiah 13:14 "And it shall be as the chased roe, and as a sheep which no man taketh up: they shall every man turn to his own people (means no interracial dating, sex or marriage between whites and negroes) and flee every one into his own land (means segregation). DEUTERONMY 32:8

Jeremiah 50:16 "for fear of the oppressing sword they shall turn every one to his people, and they shall flee every one to his own land."

Isaiah 13:14 is God's Will on Race in saying God does not want interracial dating, sex or marriage WITH NEGROES

New Testament, St. Matthew, 24:37-38, the words of Jesus Christ, "As it was in the days of Noah so shall it be in the days of the coming of the Son of Man. They were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage."

What was going on in Noah's time was considered evil so marrying and giving in marriage means that interracial marriage between whites and negroes is wrong. Jesus Christ made this statement about marrying and giving in marriage so Jesus Christ is against interracial marriage between whites and negroes. If God and Jesus Christ puts this difference between whites and negroes that He is against interracial marriage between whites and negroes, then from this it can also be concluded that negroes can NOT be priests of God. This is God's reason for a negro race.

Chinese, Japanese and all Asiatics are not considered negro and can be priests of God!

Isaiah 60:7: "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee" means that some day large groups of negroes will accept the truth.

All religions have the right to interpret the Holy Bible so I too have the right to interpret the Holy Bible.

ISAIAH 13:14 SAYS NEGROES HAVE NO RIGHT TO INTERGATE. "EVERY ONE INTO HIS OWN LAND"

JESUS CHRIST WAS MARRIED AND HE HAD 3 WIVES.

POLYGAMY SHOULD BE LEGAL.

File

Does Gandhi have any significance for the American Negro?

Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Indian Nation had evolved a revolutionary technique for fighting the British Government for freedom. It was the technique of non-violent action based on the Christian principle of "Love thy Enemy."

The technique had two broad aspects: (i) to build up strength and competence through constructive effort i.e. deserving through self-improvement before desiring; (ii) to quicken the moral conscience of the opponent through passive resistance, civil disobedience of immoral laws or satyagraha in a strictly non-violent manner. The idea was to induce a change of heart through self-suffering based on the unexceptionable justice of your demand.

This technique worked wonderfully in India and within a short span of thirty years Gandhi changed the very face of the country leading it from bondage to freedom. Its success was accelerated because it was directed against a constitutional Government which may have been autocratic and imperialistic in character in India, but which was democratic at home sustained by British public opinion and a free press.

Similar conditions prevail in the United States of America-- even better, on account of absence of autocracy and imperialism. The question arises: Can not the American Negro achieve his objective of civil rights based on social equality and dignity through the technique of non-violent Gandhian revolution?

Gandhi had once expressed the hope that "It may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world."

Dr.Martin Luther King, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner says:

> "I am convinced, in spite of the tragedies that we recently faced, that non-violence is the most potent weapon available to the Negro in his struggle for freedom and justice."

Expressing his preference for the Gandhain method as against the violent one, Dr.King Adds:

> "Just as a Hitler can lead men to the darkest and lowest depths, a Gandhi can lead men to the highest heights of non-violence and goodness."

But the racial riots in Detroit and other places in the U.S. show that young and impetuous hot-heads stand far away from the path of non-violence, even as those who indulged in language riots in India do. Even the land of Gandhi has drifted away from his teachings in many ways causing a great deal of misery and suffering to the common man.

Nevertheless, Gandhiji had asserted: "There is no hope for the aching world except through the narrow and straight path of non-violence. Millions like me may fail to prove the truth in their own lives, that will be their failure, never of the eternal law."

It is, therefore, the duty of those who believe in this eternal law, to continue to work for its promotion in the hope and faith that human society may ultimately be weaned away from the path of violence and hatred and live in peace and brotherhood as God had willed it. The alternative is grim and disastrous and therefore unthinkable.

The Book Project

It is in this background that it is proposed to work on a book-project based on study and research dealing with the burning question: "Does Gandhi have any significance for the American Negro?"

The book is intended to serve two purposes:

(i) To demonstrate that the Gandhian technique is neither utopian nor theoretic but it is a practical, dynamic, result-producing approach which has succeeded in India; there is no reason why it should not succeed in the U. S.

(ii) To demonstrate the futility of violence which only leads to hatred and bitterness and thereby to induce those who are engaged in the Civil Rights struggle, both Negro and White, to abjure violence in preference to non-violence.

The work to be effective must be born out of life and experience rather than be academic or bookish. The authorship of this project would, therefore, need specific competence.

About the Writer

One of the writers who could perhaps be considered for undertaking the project is Mr.Anant Gopal Sheorey, Author and Publicist, Ramdaspeth, Nagpur, India. Apart from his contribution to creative writing and literature, Mr.Sheorey is closely associated with English journalism in India for more than 33 years. He is now the Managing Editor of the NAGPUR TIMES, a leading English newspaper of the Central region and is a member of the Press Council of India and a Director of the Press Trust of India Ltd.,

Mr.Sheorey took active part in the Indian freedom struggle under Gandhiji's leadership. He took part in the satyagraha movement of 1930-31 and was secretary of a District "War Council" set up to conduct the non-violent struggle in his district. He was arrested in 1932. In 1942 again he took active part in the "Quit India" movement launched by Gandhiji and was sent to prison for three years. During this period he had for his prison-companions stalwarts like Vinoba Bhave, Kaka Kalelkar, Kishorlal Mashruwala and Dada Dharmadhikari--all close associates of Gandhiji.

While introducing him to the American Ambassador in India (H.E.Mr.Chester Bowles) Mr.R.R.Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation wrote:

> " I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr.A.G.Sheorey of Nagpur who is an established creative writer and journalist and who is known as an exponent of Gandhian thought. His novel based on the Gandhi-inspired non-violent Indian revolution of 1942--THE VOLCANO--is due to be published in New York in January next (since published). It is an English translation of the original Hindi novel "Jwalamukhi" written by the author himself and is being published by the National Book Trust, India, in all the fourteen languages mentioned in the Indian Constitution. Mr.Sheorey who spent three years in prison during the freedom struggle, was nominated to the All-India Mahatma Gandhi Award in 1960-61, an honour which was conferred earlier on Vinoba. His published works number more than a dozen. At present he is the Managing Editor of the Trust-Managed English newspaper, the NAGPUR TIMES..... I am sure you will be pleased to meet an intellectual of his dedication to Gandhian ideology as well as to creative writing."

The attached bio-data will give further information about the background and work of the author.

...

File

INTRODUCTION

* Voting power gives you a say-so in your city, county and state government.

* There is nothing secret about voting power. It comes about when you and others who share your views organize to get people to:

1. register to vote.
2. go to the polls on election day.

* But to get voting power you must do more than just register and vote. You must learn and teach others how to use their voting power wisely. In order to use your voting power wisely, one of the things you need to know is how the government is set up.

* This book explains some things about how the government in North Carolina is set up. In North Carolina, as in other states, we have three kinds of government: city, county and state. Everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two. Everybody comes under a county government but only those

people who live in a town or city come under city government.

(Illustration)

Page 2 of booklet:

CITY AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS

GET THEIR POWER FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT

* The General Assembly, the state law-making body which meets in Raleigh, governs the state with the help of the city and county governments and other governing bodies. The General Assembly tells the city and county governments what kinds of jobs they can do. It gives the local government the power to do these jobs.

* The General Assembly does not give all the 100 county governments exactly the same jobs and power. This is also true for city governments. Some cities have more power than others.

Page 3-7 of booklet:

CITY GOVERNMENT

* Town and city governments are called municipal governments. The main job of municipal governments is to provide services to the people who live in the towns and cities. Another job is to protect the people.

* Some of the jobs of the municipal governments are to:

Provide police and fire protectin

Build and keep up the streets

Provide street lighting and sidewalks

Pick up garbage

Inspect buildings and houses to make sure they are safe

Build and maintain a water and sewage system and other public works, such as playgrounds, community centers, libraries and housing

Plan for the growth of the city.

* In order to do these jobs, municipal governments have certain powers. Some of these powers are to:

Plan the spending of city money

Collect property and other taxes

Appoint heads of departments, such as police chief, fire chief and head of water department who hire and fire other city wprkers

Pass ordinances (laws) about municipal affairs---local speed and parking laws, rules about garbage collection, rules about how and where buildings and houses can be built and so on.

* There are two major forms of municipal government in the state: the council-manager form and the mayor-council form. Most towns and cities with over 5,000 people have the manager-council form. Most of the smaller towns have the mayor-council form.

* Under the mayor-council form, the voters elect a goopp of people to care for the city business. This group is called the City Commissioners (or City Councilmen or Aldermen). It makes city laws. The voters choose one man to head their municipal government.

He is the Mayor. The job of running the government is divided into departments---fire, police, water, sewage, street, building inspection and garbage collection. An important officer is appointed to head and run each department.

* Under the council-manager form of government, the voters elect a City Council (or City Commission or Board of Aldermen). One of the members of the city council serves as Mayor. The Mayor is elected or appointed. The City Council makes up the budget and passes city laws. The City Council appoints a man to carry out the laws and to serve as head of the government. He is called the City Manager. Often he appoints the heads of the different departments. In some cities the City Council appoints all or some of the department heads.

* Each municipal government makes up rules about how the Mayor and Councilmen are elected. Most of the municipal governing bodies are small. (They usually have five members.) Most municipal elections are

non-partisan. This means that people do not run for office as a member of a political party. City officers usually are elected for a four year term.

City officers are often elected at-large, that is by all the voters of the city. In some cities the voters of each ward (a voting district) elect a city officer. Other cities require that the officers be from the different wards but elect the officers at-large. In some cities both methods are used.

In most municipalities a person must register to vote on the city registration books. This is a separate set of books from the county voter registration books. But cities and counties may combine their voter registration books. Then a person can register only once in order to vote in all elections. Only a few cities and counties have combined their books.

Pages 8-11 of booklet:

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

North Carolina has 100 counties. The main job of county government is to act for the state in providing services for the people---education, health, welfare and so on. Another important job of the county government is carrying out laws. They do not have much power to make laws.

*q Some of the jobs of the county government are to:

1. Decide how much money is needed to give the people the services they need. The county government must then set the local tax rate and collect the taxes.
2. Run the schools and the health and welfare departments.
3. Build and keep up the courthouse, ~~$~~jail other public buildings, such as libraries.
4. Enforce state laws.

5. Keep records of important papers, such as marriage licenses and deeds to property
6. provide a place for some of the state courts.
7. Help run the elections.

* The job of running the county government is divided between elected officials and persons that are appointed to offices and boards. Some of the elected officials are: County Commissioners, Sheriff, Register of Deeds, Clerk of Superior Court, and School Board. Some of the appointed officers and boards are: County Accountant, Tax Collector, Welfare Board, and Health Board.

* The County Commissioners have more say-so in running the county government than anyone else.

1. They decide how much money is needed to run the county government and set the tax rate.
2. They appoint other people to county jobs, such as County Lawyer, County Bookkeeper, County Tax Supervisor and Tax Collector, Building Inspectors. In some counties, they appoint a County Manager.

3. They serve on some boards themselves. They serve on the Board of Equalization and Review (holds hearings about the tax value of property). One member serves on the County Health Board.
4. They appoint other people to other boards, such as the County Welfare Baord, ABC Board, Hospital and Housing Boards and Jury Commission.
5. They have some power to start projects to help the people. They can do this by calling for a bond election to improve and build hospitals, schools, libraries, sewages and water systems.

* Most counties have fime members on the County Commission. In most counties, the County Commissioners serve for four-year terms. In some counties, all the County Commissioners are elected at one time, but in many counties some of the members are elected in each election. In many counties, the Commissioners are elected

at-large by all the voters of the county. Some counties divide the county into districts. Each of the Commissioners must live in a different district, but they are elected by all the county voters.

* Some of the other elected county officials are:

1. Sheriff. His main job is to enforce state law.
2. Register of Deeds. He keeps records of important papers.
3. Clerk of Superior Courts. He keeps court records.
4. School Board. The job of this board is to run the schools at the local level. The School Board---like the Welfare, Health, and other boards and officials---must present a budget to the County Commissioners each year. The County Commissioners may approve the budget or they may cut the budget. (Some cities have a City School Board, but the City School Boards also must present the city school budget to the County Commissioners for their approval.)

* All the county officials, except for some county school boards, are elected in partisan elections. This means that people run for office as a member of a political party. County officials are elected in primary and general elections.

STATE GOVERNMENT

* The State government is divided into three parts just like the United States government. The three parts are:

1. Executive. This part is made up of the Governor, other elected officials and appointed officials and boards. The job of this branch is to run the government and enforce the laws.
2. Legislative. This is the General Assembly which meets in Raleigh. This branch makes the laws about how the government is to be run.
3. Judicial. This part is made up of the different courts of law. The job of this branch is to decide questions of law and help punish those who are proved guilty of crimes.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

* The job of the executive branch is to run the government and see that the laws are carried out. The Governor is head of the executive branch. The Governor has persons who help him do the work of the executive branch. Some of these people are appointed by him. Others are elected.

* The Governor has a lot of power. He serves on many important boards himself. He appoints others to offices and boards. He tells the state legislature what laws he thinks are needed. He is the commander of the Highway Patrol and National Guard.

* Probably the most important power of the Governor is the power to appoint people to state offices, boards, and commissions. Boards and commissions are a group of people given the orders and duty to do a certain job. This power to appoint people gives the Governor great power in the state government but also in the political party of which he is a member. People are willing to be loyal to the Governor and work for the party if they

have a chance of getting jobs that pay well. The people appointed to these jobs and boards have a lot of power. They have a lot of say so on how people live---whether they get good school, highways, health card.

* Some appointments made by the Governor are the:

1. State Board of Education. Most of the members of this board are appointed by the Governor. This board oversees the running of the public schools in the counties and cities. It decides such things as teacher requirements and salary schles.
2. State Board of Public Welfard. The job of this board is to oversee the running of the welfard department at the state and county level. This board hires a Commissioner of Public Welfard to run the State Department of Public Welfard.
3. State Board of Health. The Governor and Medical Society of the state appoint the members of this board. The board hires the State Health Director. One of the jobs of this board is to enforce health laws.

4. Chairman of the Employment Security Commission. A job of this commission is to run the employment offices in the state. It also has some say-so in who can get unemployment insurance.
5. Chair of the State Highway Commission. One of the jobs of this commission is to decide what highways and roads to build and repair.
6. Chairman and Members of the Industrial Commission. The job of this commission is to run the workmen's compensation system.
7. Commissioner of Motor Vehicles. He is head of the State Highway Patrol.
8. Chairman and Members of the Board of Paroles. Their job is to decide when prisoners whall be released from jail.
9. Commissioner of Revenue. He collects state taxes.

10. Chairman and Members of the State Utilities Commission. This board sets the rates that people have to pay companies for electricity, telephone, natural gas, and bus and railroad fares.

11. State Board of Elections. The Governor appoints all the members of this board. This board hires and Executive Secretary. His job is to help see that voter registration and election laws are followed. The State Board appoints the members of the County Boards of Elections.

* Another important power of the Governor is to help make the laws. The Governor tells the General Assembly what laws he thinks are needed. He also tells the General Assembly how much he believes it should cost to run the state government and on what the money should be spent. The Governor can not veto (veto means forbid) laws passed by the General Assembly. But because he has something to say about the budget and can make many appointments, he still has a lot of power with the General Assembly.

* The Governor may call a special session of the General Assembly. He can do this when he thinks there is some important matter the General Assembly must take up.

As we said earlier, some executive officers of the state are elected. The elected officers are:

1. Lieutenant Governor. Sometimes the Governor is not able to serve all of his term of office. Then the Lieutenant Governor takes the place of the Governor. The Liewtenant Governor presides over the State Senate.
2. Secretary of State. He keeps the records of the state. He has state laws printed. He helps carry out elections in the state.
3. Attorney General. He is the chief lawyer of the state. He advises the Governor ' and other state officials about state laws. He represents the state in the courts.
4. State Auditor. He is the state bookkeeper. He looks at the public bills of the state. If he feels bills are fight, he asks the Treasurer to pay them.

5. State Treasurer. He takes care of fees and tax money that come to the state. He pays all the bills of the state.

6. Superintendent of Public Instruction. He works with the schools of the state. Some of his jobs are to help the schools have better education programs and to see that state school laws are obeyed.

7. Commissioner of Labor. He is head of the Department of Labor. Some of the jobs of this department are: to enforce child labor laws, minimum wage and hour laws, settle strikes, and help train workers for better jobs.

8. Commissioner of Insurance. He is head of the Department of Insurance. Some of the jobs of this department are: to make sure that the insurance compaines have the money to pay claims, to see that the companies do not charge too much for insurance policies.

9. Commissioner of Agriculture. He is head of the Department of Agriculture. The job this department is to see that laws having to do with farming are carried out.

The Governor and the other executive officers are elected in primary and general elections. The executive officers are elected every four years on even numbered years, like 1968, 1972 and 1976.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

* The law-making body of the state government is the General Assembly. The General Assembly has the power to make many kinds of laws.

* The General Assembly can make laws about money matters. It can make laws about how much and what kind of taxes people and companies have to pay. It can decide how much of the tax money the different departments--- education, health, welfare, highways, prisons and so on--- will get.

* The General Assembly can make laws about companies that do business intthe state. For example, it can require that the companies pay their workers a certain minimum wage. It can pass laws that make it easy or hard for workers to join unions. The General Assembly can pass laws to start new projects that will give people jobs and help people live better. It can pass laws so that the state and local governments can take part in the many federal (U. S. Government) programs that will help the people.

The General Assembly of North Carolina is made

up of two parts: the State Senate and the State House of Representatives. The Senate has 50 members and the House 120 members. The General Assembly meets in Raleigh every odd-numbered year, like 1969, 1971, 1973.

Members of the General Assembly are elected in primary elections (in May) and general elections (in November) just like the executive officers are elected. They are elected every even-numbered year, like 1968, 1970, 1972, for two-year terms.

The state is divided into Senatorial and House of Representativerdistricts. Members of the Senate and House are elected by the voters in each district. Every district is made up of one or more whole counties. Some districts have only one county. Many districts have two or more counties. Some districts elect only one member. Others elect two or more members.

COURTS AND JURY SYSTEM

The state has a system of law courts. It is called the judicial branch of the government. In 1962 and 1965, the state system of courts was changed. This was done so that there would be the same system throughout the State. It will be late 1970 before all the changes are made. Under the new system there will be three kinds of courts: the Appeal Courts, Superior Courts and District Courts.

The Appeal Courts

This is the highest level of courts. One job of the Appeal Courts is to hear appeals from lower courts---the Superior and District Courts. If a person does not believe he has been given a fair trial in the lower courts, he may appeal his case. Another job of the appeal courts is to decide if laws are in agreement with the North Carolina Constitution.

There are two kinds of appeal courts. They are the North Carolina Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals. The North Carolina Supreme Court is the highest state court. The North Carolina Supreme Court has seven justices. The justices are elected by all the

state voters for eight-year terms.

The Court of Appeds was set up in 1967 to help the North Carolina Supreme Court. It does this by hearing the less important cases. Thesccourt will have nine judges. Six took office in 1967 and the other three will take office in 1969. All nine judges willbbe elected by the state voters. They serve for eight-year terms.

In appeal courts there are no jury trials.

The Superior Courts

One important job of the Superior Courts is to try the more serious criminal and civil cases. Criminal cases are cases in which a person breaks a law that protects people---robbery, murder and the like. Civil cases are when tow or more persons cannot agree about something, such as who owns a car, land, furniture. Cases are tried by juries in the Superior Court.

The state is divided into 30 judicial districts. In nearly all the judicial districts, there are two or more counties. Each of the 30 judidial districts has a Superior Court. Each district has one or more Superior Court Judges. The judges are nominated by the voters of

each district. They are elected for eight-year terms by all the voters of the state. Also there are eight Special Superior Court Judges. They are appointed by the Governor for four-year terms.

The state lawyer who represents the state in criminal cases is called the Superior Court Solicitor. He is elected by the registered voters of his district for a four-year term. There will be a Solicitor in each of the 30 judicial districts when the new system is complete.

The District Courts

The District Court system is being set up.to do away with the many different kinds of courts at the local lever---recorder's court, juvenile court, mayor's court, justice of peace court. By December 1970 there will only be one court at the local level: the District Court. The job of the District Court is to try the less serious criminal cases such as traffic violations. It also tries the less important civil cases---cases involving less than $5,000. In most trials in the District Court, there is no jury. But in some cases a person can request a jury trial. Also if a person does not believe he has been given a fair trial, he can appeal his case to the Superior Court.

Each of the state's 30 judicial districts has a District Court as well as a Superior Court.

The voters of each district elect the District Court judges that hold court in their district. The judges serve for four-year terms. Each district has from two to six judges.

Each county has a magistrate. The magistrates assist the District Court Judges by issuing warrants, setting bail, and accepting pleas of guilty in certain traffic cases. In short, they replace the job now done by the justices of peace. Magistrates for each county are appointed by the Superior Court Judge of each judicial district.

Jury System

Another new law about the court system was passed in 1967. The new law sets up a Jury Commission for each county. The Jury Commission has three members. One member is appointed by the Superior Court Judge, another by the Clerk of Superior Court, and the other by the County Commissioners.

The job of Jury Commissioners is to choose people who might serve on juries. They make up the list of people to serve by using the tax and voter registration lists.

CONCLUSION

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about government in North Carolina. To do that would take a booklet many times this size. But we hope it does tell you some of the important things you need to know.

There are other booklets that can tell you more about certain parts of your local government. These are booklets, pretty much like this one, written by the North Carolina Voter Education Project. These booklets are about school boards, county commissions, voter registration, election rights, and precinct meetings. Other booklets like these are being written. If you would like copies of these booklets get in touch with:

North Carolina Voter Education Project
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Telephone: (919) 682-1222

Bedford

FROM: EDW BEDFORD

(Chas. Sherrod's office in Americus gave this to me for SRC consideration)

File

Proposal for a Newspaper for Southwest Georgia

I: Need

In order to promote any project some sort of communication is necessary. The Southwest Georgia Project has been functioning since 1961, and during this time the only means of communicating between counties what was happening was by word of mouth or bydepending the Southern press. In order for the program to be more effective it has to have a newspaper that can cover all of the counties. The Southwest Georgia Project works in the second congressional district of Georgia which comprises some twenty counties. The project is presently working in nine of those couties and has contacts in all of them. Work is being done to develop and enocourage local movements in political, economical, and cultural development of negro communities. A key to the furthering of this work lies in the local people's understanding the issues they face and in having adequate facts to deal with. A newspaper could provide these facts plus some ideas of how to deal with them. It could also be an important organ in unifying the effort over the entire Southwest Georgia area.

It is important to understand that the Civil Rights Movement is over for the American Press, that is to say, the news is no longer sensational, so that it does not make headlines unless in the extreme cases of people being killed or churches burning down etc. The press is no longer concerned with the issues that lead up to these incidents of violence but only with the incidents themselves. For example, there was a distinct lack of reporting of the issues involved in the recent killing of a civilrightsworker in Mississippi and the church burnings in Lowndes County, Alabamafactxis . The fact is that the issues are still very much there and will continually lead to other incidents if they are not faced directly and honestly. It is the failure of the press today that it isolates out incidents from the all important contexts from which they arise. It is not to say that the American press necessarily intentionally isolates incidents from issues but that this act of isolation blocks the development of community organization, and it is this latter which we are dealing with here in Southwest Georgia.

Likewise the Negro press has also failed in its responsiblity of dealing with issues. Often it has failed to report important occurrences or when it did, it failed to take a stand on the issues. The negro press, while it possesses the potentiality for being the spokesman for the black community is infact tied to the present power structure and is not able to break free from it to express threatening views because it depends on it economically. It is our intention to attemot to provide a voice for the black community that will not be bound to the system, but will belong to the people.

II. Distribution

A. The base of the operation will be in Albany.

B. Distribution will cover 9 counties initially:

Baker Co.	59%	Negro
Doroughty	34%	"
Sumter	53%	"
Worth	48%	"
Grady	49%	"
Crisp	43%	"
Lee	63%	"
Terrell	64%	"

Doroughty county, having the smallest % Negro has 2 negro newspapers which are not distributed outside of the city of Albany. None of the other counties has a black organ.

C. Distribution will be about 4,000 copies per county or 36,000 copies each issue, every other week. Some copies will be sent to the contacts we have in other counties and some will be sent to friends and supporters in the North and West.

III. Staff

The philosophy which we operate with in the Southwest Georgia project places great emphasis on people coming to have control over their own lives as individuals and as a community. Therefore it is our objective that the newspaper will eventually be run by the people themselves. So that from the beginning of its operation local people will be included in the staff in every phase of the work. Working with the newspaper will also provide individuals the opportunity to increase their skills at communicating their grievances and ideas ~~which will go a long way to insure the success of the paper~~.

A. Editor

B. Reporters
- 3 permanent reporters
- 4 highschool students for work on weekends and evenings

C. Photographer
- 1 permanent photographer with 2 assistants interested in learning this skill.

note.

Hawk, dig this.

I did some figgerin' on costs which might be interesting to you if you can find some of th is equipment.

1.	1250 multilith press	$ 3,800.00	
2.	I. B. M. typewriter	300.00	
3.	photo equipment	2,000.00	
4.	paper	**200.00	per month
	Total initial cost	$ 6,300.00	

These figures do not include the cost of mailing or of further operation.

NEWS BULLETIN from Rev. Ashton Jones, Asso. Pastor

The People's Independent Church of Christ, 1025 E. 18th.St., Los Angeles,Cal.

I am one of the Civil Rights demonstrators who has been classed in the role of Judas Iscariot in the L. A. newspaper articles and editorials of Mar. 11th & 12th. for Civil Disobedience in the attempt to throw the light of Truth upon the Department of Justice of our United States. We are deeply concerned because for 1o these hundred years the Department of Justice has failed to legally uphold our Constitutional Rights which guarantee to EACH citizen (regardless of color, creed or national origin) equal respect, dignity and equality in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

I am happy to have expressed my solidarity by joining the 98 high school and college students who were arrested Wednesday, Mar. 10th and the vast numbers of youth throughout the world in their willingness to suffer police brutality, manhandling, beatings and jails because of Civil Disobedience. I believe they are practicing the principles of Jesus, Gandhi, Henry David Thoreau, Martin Luther King, Jr., and others who have felt a deep compulsion to disobey " man-made law " to follow the higher law of Love, Justice and Freedom for all people everywhere.

After 35 hours in jail I was sad at heart to read for the first time the L.A. news accounts to find them slanted in favor of it being RIGHT for the U.S. Marshalls and deputy sheriffs to use methods of brutality in handling non-violent demonstrators.

I witnessed others, and experienced myself, being beaten, kicked, stomped, roughly dragged, handcuffed and bloodied up. I was thrown, nude, in a solitary windowless cell onto a cold plactic - covered mattress until I shook with chills. Three hours later I was examined for blood pressure. No doubt, because of my refusing to cooperate with the evil of brutality, I was then diagnosed as " being in a drunken stupor and all I needed was another bottle of liquor. " After giving me a hypodermic they tried to force me to take some kind of pills and a liquid. Immediately, in another windowless solitary cell I was strapped (hands and feet) to a bed, covered with a sheet and spread. I was forced to lie flat on my back for the next 12 hours before a doctor removed the shackles. Shackles and solitary cells are supposed to be used only in cases of violent or dangerous prisoners or for punishment.

We demonstrators were accused of deliberately blocking the entrances to the Federal Building when in Truth the doors were locked and blocked by guards. Dozens of people, who were not demonstrators, reached the guards at the doors without difficulty but were refused entrance. Furthermore, I know all mail trucks could have been guided through the driveway by the guards without any arrests or harm to demonstrators.

To me, it was disgraceful, UnAmerican, UnDEMOCRATIC and UnConstitutional to arrest people as we were arrested-for non-violently expressing our sympathy with all people around the world and especially in Selma, Alabama who stand for Freedom for all mankind.

My God forgive those who knew no better way to deal with non-violent fighters for RIGHT.

Sincerely yours,

Ashton B. Jones

Ashton B. Jones

P.S. C.O.R.E. has again come to the rescue of such an unorganized group of Freedom fighters and secured Bail Bond for us. This runs into around $90.000. Money to take care if bond and legal expenses is urgently needed. It is wonderful to have the American Civil Liberties Union to represent us. Please, if you can help, send any amount of $1.00 or more to C.O.R.E 1115 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, Cal. 90015.

WON'T YOU PLEASE READ THE INSIDE NEWS BULLETIN

DESCRIBING THE ARREST AND BRUTAL TREATMENT OF

THE 98 YOUNG PEOPLE AT THE FEDERAL BUILDING

MAR. 10th 1965 IN LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

THANK YOU.

People's Independent Church of Christ
1025 East 18th. Street
Los Angeles, Cal.
Ashton Jones , Asso. Pastor.

NON PROFIT ORG

U.S. POSTAGE

PAID
Permit No. 22856

Editor
New South
5 Forsythe St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Santeeson
Alice
Jonathan
8 years old

These are cities of 25,000 or more from which additional control cities might be drawn.

Mere

Chief of Police

ALABAMA

Anniston
Bessemer
Birmingham - Eugene Connor (E.C.) (Commissioner of Public Safety)
Decatur
Dothan
Florence
Gadsden
Homewood
Huntsville
Mobile
Montgomery - P.O. Box 159
Phenix City
Prichard
Selma
Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS

Dumas
Fort Smith
Hot Springs
Little Rock - R.T. Glasscock
North Little Rock
Pine Bluff — NORMAN D. YOUNG

FLORIDA

Brownsville
Clearwater
Coral Gables
Daytona Beach
Fort Lauderdale
Fort Pierce
Gainesville
Hialeah
Hollywood
Jacksonville
Key West
Lakeland
Miami
Miami Beach
North Miami
Orlando
Panama City
Pensacola
St. Petersburg
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Tampa
West Palm Beach

GEORGIA

Albany — LAURIE PRITCHETT
Athens
Atlanta - HERBERT C. JENKINS
Augusta
College Park
Columbus
East Point
Macon
Marietta
Rome
Savannah
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Ashland
Bowling Green
Covington
Lexington - E. C. HALE
Louisville
Newport
Owensboro
Paducah

LOUISIANA

Alexandria
Baton Rouge
Bossier City
Lafayette
Lake Charles
Monroe
New Iberia
New Orleans
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi
Greenville
Gulfport
Hattiesburg
Jackson —
Laurel
Meridan
Vicksburg

McComb - George Guy

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston
Columbia

SOUTH CAROLINA (cont'd)

Greenville
Rock Hill P.O. Box 222
Spartanburg

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville
Burlington
Charlotte
Durham
Fayetteville
Gastonia
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Kannapolis
Raleigh
Rocky Mount
Wilmington
Wilson
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA

Bartlesville
Enid
Lawton
Midwest City
Muskogee
Norman
Oklahoma City
Tulsa

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Jackson
Johnson City
Kingsport
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville
Oak Ridge

VIRGINIA

Alexandria
Charlottesville
Danville
Hampton
Lynchburg
Newport News

VIRGINIA (cont'd)

Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Roanoke

TEXAS

Abilene
Amarillo
Arlington
Austin
Baytown
Beaumont
Big Spring
Brownsville
Bryan
Corpus Christi
Dallas
Denton
El Paso
Fort Worth
Galveston
Garland
Grand Prairie
Harlingen
Houston
Kingsville
Laredo
Lubbock
McAllen
Mesquite
Midland
Odessa
Orange
Pasadena
Port Arthur
San Angelo
San Antonio
Texarkana
Texas City
Tyler
Victoria
Waco
Wichita Falls

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Cities over 10,000 which are not on 25,000 or more list

Georgia

Americus
Bainbridge
Brunswick
Carrollton
Cordele
Dalton
Dublin
Forest Park
Gainesville
Griffin
Hapeville
La Grange
Milledgeville
Moultrie
Newnan
North Atlanta
Smyrna
Thomasville
Warner Robins
Waycross

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN GEORGIA

Present Situation:

Today in Georgia, we have a number of educational institutions carrying on research programs. We normally speak, in conversation and promotional literature, of these efforts and schools in composite numbers which gives us an impressive-sounding capability.

If an unified effort existed, Georgia would certainly have this comprehensive research potential. But unity does not exist. The reality is that each of the programs goes its own way, and the full talents of the state are not brought to bear on a particular project or problem.

There are some problems of overlapping capabilities brought on by the different philosophies under which some of the research groups operate. But this is not the major problem... it is that you cannot contract with any single group and get the best talents Georgia has available to do the job.

In order to understand the present situation, it is necessary to understand the underlying philosophies of certain of the research groups.

A self-contained research unit with the ability to respond quickly to problem solving is one of the present approaches to research in the University System. Such a group does not go out of its own organization to solicit expert assistance on particular aspects of a particular problem. Given a project, it seeks to hire the best talent that can be hired to add to the capabilities of its organization. Though connected with an institution, it does not reflect necessarily the best minds of that institution on various problems; but the best minds within the self-contained research unit.

The other philosophy is reflected in the Institute programs at the University of Georgia. These are loosely-knit organizations which have very small permanent institute staffs, but feel free to call upon the resources of the University in approaching particular problems.

Two things should be noted at this stage:

(1). Though the institute system can bring to bear the full capabilities of the University of Georgia, it has no lines which would involve the other schools of the University System, or private institutions.

(2). The self-contained unit approach has a shorter reaction time and a better system of management because of being self-contained... but it has only its own resources.

This state of affairs means that the prospective purchaser of research has two alternatives... either to approach one group or the other. Regardless of the special abilities he may want from one group, he must contract with the group that can give him the better job of the two... not the best job the two could provide together.

This situation can be seen also in the field of new product development. The Food Technology Center at Georgia might develop a new consumer product; the engineering skills of Tech might be needed to investigate packaging and production problems; the talent of Georgia State, Georgia, and Tech might be utilized to research market potential and possible local producers. At this moment, there is no way to bring these efforts together.

The situation is equally acute in the field of joint research efforts between the private institutions and the University System. As an example, the new field of "bionics" (biology and electronics) is an obvious natural for joint work by Georgia Tech, Emory, and the University. There is no frame-work, at present, wherein these three schools could jointly enter

into a contract for work in this field.

Contrary to initial impressions, the present situation of research in Georgia is not so much one of overlapping work and wasteful rivalry, but the lack of some unifying framework that would bring all the talents together in an unified effort. There is also a problem of lack of information. At present, no one in the state seems to have an overall picture of all of the capabilities of all of the institutions. It is very hard to avoid duplication of work, or to form "task forces" to approach certain problems when the left institution does not know what the right one is doing or is capable of doing. It would probably be the case that a complete analysis of capabilities and work actually being carried on in "faculty" research would result in the new knowledge that we have more talent and more research going on than we suppose.

Market Potentials:

The market potentials for a unified research effort in Georgia are of large proportions. In 1962, approximately $10 million (this is a rough figure and probably conservative) was received in contractual work by Georgia Tech, the University, and Georgia State alone. This figure does not include the private institutions. This dollar amount of research was contracted for without the unified effort which the situation demands.

A larger amount of research may be expected from the new Department of Trade and Industry than has been contracted for by the Department of Commerce in the past.

But this is peanuts to the dollar figures of Department of Defense research work done by other universities and non-profit institutions. Attached to this memorandum is a listing of the top fifty DOD non-profit contractors in 1961 to show the amount of work some groups are obtaining from the government alone.

At this time, Georgia is simply not competing. Though we have a host of research capabilities in the state, without an unified program no agency or individual is able to compete with the full force of these resources behind him. Until such an unified effort is possible, Georgia cannot expect to receive much of the R & D dollar being spent in the United States.

We, also, cannot expect the growth of satellite research groups and industry until we have become competitive and have obtained some of the large federal expenditures.

The market is there. What other institutions are doing is proof of that. It is also true that we have research capabilities in the state, that, coordinated, could get the business. The problem is how to present our unified research resources and harness them to work for the state and project work for government and private enterprise.

Action Alternatives:

A number of approaches to the problem of coordinating and upgrading the research efforts in the state are being discussed in all quarters. This portion of the memorandum reviews some of them, and offers one as the best course of action.

One proposal entails an expansion and relocation of at least sections of the Georgia Tech Experiment Station. This proposal

is a product of the philosophy of a self-contained research unit which does not work on the "task force" concept, but utilizes, in the greater part, the talents contained in the research unit.

This alternative does not seem to be a constructive approach to the problem for the following reasons:

(1). It does not include a coordinating function between "faculty" research and faculty talent of the school of which it is a part.

(2). It does not offer a means of coordinating the efforts of all the University System or other research abilities of the state.

(3). It offers the state and others seeking research the "either-or" situation and not the "all capabilities" approach which seems desirable.

Though this approach is not the solution, it should not be totally discounted for there is a great need to improve the Tech capabilities. As stated before, there is also merit in a self-contained unit, for it has the ability to produce work with short lead times. However, this upgrading of the Tech Experiment Station should be considered as only a part of the needed overall action.

A second alternative under discussion is a reasearch coordinator at the Regents' level of the University System. This is an obvious approach to the need of coordinating the efforts of the University-System schools. Unquestionably, this coordination is desirable and necessary, but it is not far-sighted enough. It is only an immediate need:

Some of the problems of this alternative are:

(1). Would the coordinator be of such stature and have the authority to contract for the Univer-

sity System? If not, he would become part of the problem instead of the solution.

(2). This alternative says nothing of the other academic institutions outside of the University System and the utilization of their resources. It seems unlikely that the private institutions would participate in full with the University System because of their cherished autonomy.

This course of action does answer some immediate problems and should not be wholly discounted. It does, however, speak only to immediate problems in the University System and not to the future and the state at large.

A third alternative which has been suggested is a Director of Research in the new Department of Trade and Industry with powers to contract and then subcontract with various schools and private concerns.

There is no question that the new Department will need a strong research effort, but this alternative leaves some major questions unanswered:

(1). How will the director approach the total capabilities of the state? Will he not still be caught in the "either-or" situation?

(2). Will the private institutions participate in a program at state government level?

(3). Is it possible to hire a director of research of such stature that he can truly manage a major research program without weakening the director of the department because of the higher pay he would require and the position of power he would hold?

(4). Can we expect national firms, NASA, and federal agencies to contract for work with the State of Georgia, considering the prevelant attitude of the nation toward state political entities?

There will certainly be a need for a director of research in the new Department of Trade and Industry, but it seems a confusion of roles to believe that this man in this job is the proper place to begin an overall research program.

A fourth alternative would be the formation of a non-profit corporation with a major executive officer who would have the power to make contracts and manage projects for the state, private industry, foundations, and national agencies. As this alternative has not been discussed as fully as the others, it is outlined in some detail below:

A Non-Profit Research Corporation:

The corporation, which would be chartered under Georgia law, would have as members of its board the presidents of the colleges and universities of the state, both public and private, which have research capabilities: the chairman of the Board of Regents; the governor; the president of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce; and the presidents of private corporations with statewide interests such as Southern Bell and Georgia Power.

The Board would recruit as its executive officer a scientist-administrator of national stature...not the best in the state, but the best in the nation...at whatever salary it took to get him.

This executive officer would hire a management team with capabilities of managing major research projects for the state of Georgia, private companies, and federal agencies.

The executive officer and his team would have the two-fold responsibility of soliciting major research contracts and grants, and

the management of the projects obtained.

He would sub-contract the work of these projects to the various universities that have the best talent for various phases of a project. He will be in close contact with his board and also the working level research people in order to utilize the full research capabilities of the state.

This executive officer would be able to speak for all of the research capabilities of the state.

This alternative offers certain advantages not offered in the other alternatives:

(1). The corporation would not be another research group, but a coordinating, soliciting, and managerial agency for all research groups.

(2). The corporation would not be a state agency nor connected with a state agency, nor the spokesman for just the research capabilities of the University System.

(3). The corporation would not eliminate the character of any other research groups now in existence, nor would it inhibit "faculty" research, nor would it override the individual perogatives of participating colleges and universities.

Initial capital outlay for this corporation would be minimum. An executive officer and his staff would be hired. It would also be advantageous to put these people in an administration building with a lot of surrounding land so that schools might build facilities in the area if the future demands, and to allow for the construction of facilities that might be included as "brick and mortar" clauses in some federal contracts.

With these provisions, a "research center" would grow up as the facilities were demanded by the contractual work ... not before the market need was evident.

The initial capital might be obtained by a grant from the State, or from grants by private individuals and foundations. Monies to be spent by the Department of Trade and Industry for research would be expended through this corporation.

These are only preliminary notes on the nature and function of this corporation, but it seems to be the far-reaching type of solution which the future of research in Georgia and for Georgia demands.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESEARCH CONTRACT
EXPENDITURES
GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND NON-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS

Rank	Agency or Institution		Thousands of Dollars
1.	Massachusetts Institute of Tech.	$	80,513
2.	John Hopkins University		44,549
3.	Aerospace Corporation		32,430
4.	Mitre Corporation		22,844
5.	Columbia University		15,079
6.	Rand Corporation		13,868
7.	Michigan, University of		12,920
8.	Stanford Research Institute		12,155
9.	California, University of		11,571
10.	Armour Research Foundation		10,523
11.	Standford University		8,571
12.	Cornell Aeronautical Lab. Inc.		8,009
13,	Illinois, University of		7,452
14.	Cornell University		6,496
15.	Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute		5,217
16.	Pennsylvania State University		4,377
17.	Chicago, University of		4,174
18.	System Development Corporation		3,986
19.	United States Department of Commerce		3,980
20.	Ohio State University		3,862
21.	Battelle Memorial Institute		3,745
22.	New York University		3,583
23.	Washington, University of		3,402
24.	Texas, University of		3,255
25.	George Washington University		3,051
26.	Princeton University		2,986
27.	Harvard University		2,783
28.	Defense Analysis, Institute of		2,575
29.	Minnesota, University of		2,432
30.	Southwest Research Institute		2,331
31.	Brooklyn, Polytechnic Institute of		2,220
32.	California Institute of Tech.		2,142
33.	Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania		2,097
34.	National Academy of Sciences		2,008
35.	Pennsylvania, University of		1,899

(over)

36.	Denver, University of	$	1,831
37.	Illinois Institute of Tech.		1,790
38.	Dayton, University of		1,784
39.	Northwestern University		1,637
40.	Midwest Research Institute		1,379
41.	Southern California, University of		1,360
42.	New Mexico State University of Agriculture, Engineering & Science		1,324
43.	Stevens Institute of Technology		1,321
44.	Syracuse University		1,200
45.	U. S. National Aeronautics & Space Administration		1,173
46.	Colorado, University of		1,149
47.	Maryland, University of		1,120
48.	Alaska, University of		1,093
49.	U. S. Atomic Energy Commission		1,062
50	Purdue Research Foundation		969

File

A CHRISTMAS DREAM

This Christmas, I am dreaming
About a place I'll never forget -- AMERICUS.
I am dreaming that it is Christmas Sunday;
It is the most beautiful Sunday in all the South.
THE WHOLE TOWN IS GATHERED IN FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH!

After the main part of the service is over,
Rev. Thomas leads us in singing,
"Amazing Grace, How Sweet It Sounds".
Because it is our movement church, and we are rejoiced,
Willie Mae leads us in "We Shall Overcome."
There is an electricfeeling of ecstatic joy in the air....

Old wealthy Charles Wheatly slowly rises,
"I've come here today, y'all, this Christmas, 1965,
'Cause I just can't go on living the way I have:
I've tried to rule little Americus,
From the mayor to the moonshine maker.
I want to confess that this summer past
I did way too much,
To keep the merchants from hiring y'all
And a Bi-racial Committee from forming at all!
All generations of Wheatlys tried to rule this town,
But justice has been coming, it's nearly '66.
And I've too few years left to hate!"

"Amen, yes brother", responds the congregation.

Before the surprised faces of the town,
Sheriff Fred Chappell rises to respond.
His huge form shakes, his face, as usual, is very red.
"I'll never beat another in yonder courthouse,
The drinking fountains will stay on, the door unlocked,
We'll all meet together in the old courthouse!
I was the one this summer who kept
The Negro women voters under arrest.
I was too damn proud to let white folks think
I'd be the first to give in to VOTING INTEGRATION!"

"Amen, yes brother."

Then, puffing, rises Police Chief Ross Chambliss.
"We on the police force just felt we HAD to win,
I confess we committed a terrible sin.
On August 28, when y'all were marching up Lee Street,
We broke into a rage and arrested y'all
For marching without a permit for parades and ordinances.
We knew, uh, you were on the sidewalk, not the street,
And the constitution supports your right to protest.
But the wicked thing called "hate" broke lose,
And we threw y'all in Lee County prisons."
Then others rise, like the manager of Kresses:

"I knew Gloria Wise was right when she said
'you'll lose all Negro business for not hiring'.
I know we cursed y'all when you picketted for the boycott,
But we were blind to the fact, I guess,
That you're OVER HALF OUR POPULATION!"

Suddenly, a tall blond youth breaks in,
"Let me speak for all us white folks,
I guess I'm the worst of all.
I know that hate killed my brother, Andy Whatley,
Possibly by the Negro youths last August.
It is the same growing hate
That made me try to kill John, the white civil rights worker.
Every night we'd come in my car and wait,
And then chase him and shoot at him on the winding roads.
This same hate made all of us beat and chase you in the last marcl
So you'd never march again.
I'm still young, and I want to start a new LIFE.
I've expressed as much hate as I possibly can, and
I have nothing left but to love my black brother,
For we all are in poverty and without decent jobs."

Then Mayor Walker rises:
"I have some news to greet y'all,
For Warren Fortson and Lloyd Moll shall return!
We must prove to them that we can accept them
As the best and most honest folks in town,
And hope they can forgive us
For excluding them from the human race!
We need Fortson for our lawyer;
Dr. Moll can unite us all
To revive the now dormant anti-poverty council.
Most of all, we need the guidance of these humanitarians."

"Amen, yes brother", responds the congregation.

Minnie Jewel Wise rises, her dark eyes flashing,
"I trully believe now what I hear,
For you are not merely coming to us with promises,
But asking forgiveness for your sins.
I've done hard things:
I've survived the blows, frustrations, and humiliations.
With those that dare to attend white schools.
I speak now for my mother, worn out from scrubbing kitchens,
For teacher and Rev. Freeman, who did not, after all,
Get fired for standing up for his rights; For Rev. Campbell,
who led the past eventfull summer, For Sammy Mahone, of SNCC,
who said, "Never Turn Back", And never did.
If this love will trully exist, as you now say, Then let
Americus citizens ask forgiveness, If they EVER think ill of
one just 'cause he's black or white. Most of all we'll show
the world what TRUST AND LOVE CAN BRING."

In the congregation, there was a moment of grateful silence.
Then all stood to sing the glorious hymn,
"JOY TO THE WORLD, THE LORD HAS COME!"

File

THE NON-COMMUNIST FELLOW TRAVELER, ETC.

In The liberal democrat last month, we printed the text of a broadcast by Robert Pickus on "The Non-Communist Fellow Traveler Problem", and a dissenting view of Pickus's thesis by Gene Marine. We said then that we would open the pages of this issue to Mr. Pickus to expand and defend his position. Meanwhile, Sheldon Pollack, Northern California Executive Secretary of Americans for Democratic Action, asked us for space to explain his organization's position on the question--since Marine had criticized ADA in his piece. Finally, we received a number of letters commenting on the symposium of last month, which appear under COMMUNICATIONS at the end of this issue.

"TO THOSE WHO CAN BE SPOKEN WITH"

by Robert Pickus

I have tried to raise an important problem for discussion within the liberal-radical community in the Bay Area. Since there are a great many pressures blocking discussion, I am grateful to the editors of The liberal democrat for requesting permission to print my broadcast on the Non-Communist Fellow Traveler. I am not grateful for their editorial handling of my piece and Gene Marine's response. By mistitling the discussion, by their cartoons, by their own editorial, they reinforced Marine's angry success in advancing the confusion and the emotional attitude which block honest discussion.

Who said "Infiltration" was the problem? I did not. The operation of the Communist apparatus in the Bay Area is an interesting topic, but it is not the problem I raised for discussion. Or examine the editorial which moves equably to the conclusion that it is not necessary to exclude Communists from our organizations. Who said it was?

My article did not discuss "Communists". The term "non-Communist" was in fact the key word in the title. The focus of my discussion was not people, but ideas. The issue was not whether people of certain viewpoints should be excluded from our organizations. The issue was preventing this viewpoint from damaging the organization's work and from distorting its message. I believe there are values in our society, with all its imperfections, which must be preserved. I believe world Communist power, ideology and organization threaten those values. They are also threatened by the demands which a military response to Communist expansion makes on our own society. I said that ideas, which, in their basic analysis, their omissions, their distortions, their perceptions of enemies, even their style, reflect Communist propaganda, were moving--sometimes dominant—in some Bay Area liberal circles. I gave examples (and had given others in a previous broadcast). I examined the reasons some non-Communists give for not challenging these ideas. The reaction to American stereotypes and half truths is understandable. The acceptance of other half truths is not. I presented the case for a vigorous attempt to distinguish a genuine peace or civil-liberties effort from fellow-traveling politics. I gave my reasons for believing this was essential if we were to deal adequately with the realities of international conflict or make headway in our attempt to strengthen traditional American conceptions of civil liberties.

I made serious charges. I expected hot discussion. This was perhaps naive. Given the strength here in the Bay Area of the political position I attacked, I should have known there would be enormous obstacles to discussion.

The issue is falsified when the editors run a cartoon suggesting I favor loyalty oaths (despite the fact the City of Chicago owes us $1,300 wages lost because of my wife's principled refusal to sign such an oath); honest discussion is blocked when one organization's newsletter charges that I want to "purify" the peace movement of "knowing and unknowing fellow travelers", and implies that I favored "witch hunting for the FBI". Did the student who adopted a similar line in his KPFA broadcast attacking my article read it? He devoted some time to the harm in trying to identify the Communists to be excluded. My article (pg. 6 Tld) made the same point and specifically rejected the policy of oath, investigation and exclusion he ascribed to me.

I have, in fact, spent some time urging those who are worried about infiltration to use the only prophylactic acceptable to those committed to democratic values: a clear statement of ideas, which the Communist or fellow traveler will seek to silence, but which if heard will prevent him from encouraging half truths, and might even teach him something. The problem I am concerned about is why non-Communists join in preventing an adequate statement; worse, join in reinforcing the distortions, the false labels, the omissions, of a fellow-traveling line.

When non-Communists do this, they are taking a political position which should be discussed. The difficulty arises when a climate is established in which any political position may be identified and discussed except one of the most clearly patterned and recognizable. Raise the question of fellow-traveling politics, and immediately a whole series of positions you have spent a lifetime fighting against are attributed to you. The real issue you raised is safely covered.

I respect the emotion that may have prompted Marine's piece. I share it, in fact. McCarthyism has done great harm. Its remnants still clearly pose a more clear and present danger to democratic values in this country than do the operations of the American Communist party. Fear continues to limit needed discussion. But appreciating Marine's eagerness to do battle against the remnants of McCarthyism, and the strong stand he takes in favor of courage, I am left with the fact that his article is truly irrelevant to the problem I raised for discussion. This failure to meet the issue under discussion is particularly dangerous when joined to another response which makes discussion impossible. Let me demonstrate what I mean. Read the following and see if it reminds you of anything in Marine's article.

> "I raised the inadequacy of ideas moving in certain liberal and pacifist circles for discussion. Marine did not discuss the ideas I presented. He attacked me for presenting them. He devoted most of his article to urging his view of my motivation: 'timid', 'fear-ridden', 'power'-seeking, 'status' concerned, etc.
>
> "Since Marine is intelligent enough to know what is under discussion, since he deliberately tried to prevent this discussion and, by the nature of his attack, to damage my ability to raise this issue with the audience I wrote for (liberals and radicals opposed to McCarthyism and to a dominantly military foreign policy), one can only assume that he was assigned to this task by the Communist party. For, clearly, what the Communists fear most is a position which makes clear to liberals and radicals that a challenge to the main drift of ideas in this country at present, need not line one up on the Communist side; that, in fact, if the ideas one acts on are aimed at a just peace and at the defense of the idea of a free society, one would perceive the Communists just as one sees the 'patriotic' Legionnaire: as opponents."

Isn't anger a just reaction to so transparent an attempt to avoid discus-

sion by labeling and ascribing motivation? The thing that is most depressing is that in the corrupt climate of the discussion here in the Bay Area, it is necessary to point out that the insert above is a parody of Marine's article. The argument inset above is a McCarthyite argument. So is Marine's. Both refuse to deal with the ideas under discussion. Both substitute attacks on supposed motivation for discussion. Marine attacked me for who he said I was ("mouse", "scurrier", "redbaiter", "witchhunter"); and why I raised the issue ("fear-ridden", etc.); but he never joined discussion on the issue raised. His name-calling was perfectly suited to a climate which recognizes McCarthyism only in one guise.

I would apologize for laboring these elementary points were it only Marine who argues this way. It is, unfortunately, a constant in this discussion.

The effort required to initiate serious discussion is matched by the difficulty in advancing it. The issue is whether peace groups, for example, should silence those aspects of their ideas which directly challenge fellow-traveling politics. In the climate of Bay Area political discussion, the first difficulty is demonstrating that there is such a thing as "fellow-traveling politics". A political position exists. It is heavily influential in Bay Area liberal and pacifist circles, and yet, incredibly, it appears necessary to demonstrate its existence. "Fellow traveler" is an ugly term. It has been badly misused. But to deny the term any referent, to describe it as "barren of meaning", simply requires us to find another term to describe those, not members of the Communist party, who, in the style and content of their political position, advance the main lines of Communist propaganda and analysis.

Is it desirable to refer to this position as "liberal"? Is it really so hard to identify this position?

Holding certain policy positions, e.g., admittance of Red China to the U.N., or condemnation of U.S. policy in Cuba, which the Communists also advance, is not a sign of fellow-traveling politics. But something distinctive is present when there is added to these agreements with Communist policy a total lack of disagreement. U.S. policy is subjected to a withering criticism, and Soviet culpability on any issue is either not discussed at all or discussed within an apologist framework. Thus, the rearming of West Germany is attacked, but no criticism is made of the rearming of East Germany. When this pattern is characteristic, one is dealing with a defined political position.

The steady apologetics for the Soviet or Chinese position can be illustrated by the manner in which Adlai Stevenson's non-fellow-traveling summary of the breakup of the last Geneva summit conference--"We gave Khrushchev a crowbar and he used it"--is truncated to simply an attack on U.S. U-2 policy. No responsibility is ascribed to Khrushchev's decision to put other goals ahead of negotiation for peace. There is always a point of view from which Soviet policy can be justified. U.S. policy is simply condemned.

The position is characterized by a pattern of omissions. Compare, for example, two statements on American policy in Cuba. One is by a Bay Area group which omitted any discussion of developing totalitarian tendencies in Cuban life, ignored Communist control of the political police, and the reversal of the regime's position on a free press and a free labor movement able to bargain collectively, etc. The fact that Cuba stands in real danger of becoming a Soviet satellite is ignored. The other statement, by a group of Harvard students, was equally critical of American policy and fully appreciative of the enormous progress Castro has achieved. But it did not omit honest discussion of those points at which the Revolution has betrayed its own values or a serious assessment of the role of the Communist party.

Perception of enemies. Love and understanding are desperately needed in this divided world, we are told. (But hate Teller.) Herman Kahn's claim to a concern for peace and the assertion he makes that his policy is best calculated to produce peace do not prevent his being treated as a devil figure. (He takes Pentagon money, doesn't he?) People maintaining that survival is the issue somehow make a hero of Mao, who maintains that war is inevitable. Teller's and Kahn's ideas do, in my judgment, pose a threat to the peace. But the emotion that was in the faces of people holding this political position when they criticized Dulles for brink-of-war statements, is wholly absent when they are asked to confront Khrushchev's missile-rattling.

Persistent distortion, e.g., equating the functioning of the HUAC with the control of opinion and the penalties for challenging, by word or organization, those holding power in China or the Soviet Union.

Where there is added to this lack of disagreement, to a pattern of omission and distortion, to the perception of enemies--where there is added a fundamental analysis of the causes of war which limits these to the structure of the American economy and the existence of a power elite in this country, you are dealing with a clear political position. Add a certain style, characterized by attacks on motivation and a steady falsification of issues, and the portrait is wholly recognizable. If those holding it are members of the Communist party, it is rightly called Communist. If it is held by non-members of the party and, as a final indicator, if it in fact moves with the changes in the Communist line, it is accurately described as fellow-traveling politics.

At this point, if the other party to the discussion is not wholly mastered by emotional resistance to an ugly term, he states what he has in fact known all along--that, of course, this political position exists. But the reason for not dealing with it now shifts. It seems it isn't important; it has no weight.

Well, how do you decide whether a defined political position is influential? When a leader of a student group explains that he doesn't want to raise this issue for discussion because a major source of money for his group would likely be cut off if he did, that's an indication. When one of the organizers of a peace rally explains that since more than a third of the people attending the rally share the political point of view under discussion and he doesn't want to offend them, lest it damage the size of the rally, that's an indication. When a student group discussing peace decides to invite four speakers, all of whom represent variations of this position, and denies its platform to a position which, though radically critical of American foreign policy, does not exhibit the characteristics listed above, that's an indication. When a responsible non-Communist group structures a forum on peace so that an adroit and able spokesman of this political position is the one who presents the "peace" position, that's an indication. When a 16-year-old returns from a religious organization's youth discussion having heard an unchallenged straight Stalinist version of the Spanish Civil War, that's an indication--as is another teenager's assurance that the National Guardian is an objective newspaper to read on issues of international politics. When with a rueful shake of his head, the same man who told you the political position doesn't exist, now tells you that a significant portion of the essential workers in his organization take it, and that criticizing it would offend them and damage the functioning of the organization, that's an indication. When any attempt to discuss the position subjects the person attempting the discussion to character assassination, that's an indication.

At this point there is another shift in the discussion. It turns out now that far from not existing, and far from not having influence, this position is so

influential that it is politically imprudent to challenge it. This is in a sense true, since it appears that a high proportion of the 700,000 people who went through the Communist party and never really broke with it, but just left, left for California. They do constitute a sizeable block of opinion. Their ideas would not have the censoring influence they do if this corrupt climate for discussion had not been established in liberal circles.

Gene Marine is concerned about courage. The liberal democrat lifts its pen to battle the "expedient half truth in American life". But when it turns out that it takes courage within the Bay Area liberal community, not to attack HUAC, but to protest against the influence of a half-truth political position, a whole line of tactical arguments are raised: it will cost us money, workers, numbers, to do so.

This tactical argument is usually joined to another. Why waste time and energy on this issue? Now again I ask: how do you decide what is a waste of time? Tactical arguments are not contemptible. Where truth and principle are not sacrificed, it is in fact essential to ask what must be done to advance the ideas and values and to build support for the policies we want. Far from believing it tactically wise to propitiate or shield this position from critical analysis, I say it is essential to our effort to distinguish it from this position. Building on this position and the money and workers it provides is building on unsound ground. It is not a waste of time to deal with one of the major obstacles to the successful growth of our effort. When a young man who has been presenting the case against the meretricious film on the "riots" recently, reports in an offhand way that "only" two kinds of people raise questions about Communists and fellow-travelers, namely "political sophisticates" and the "general public", he is right. Now I submit that that is enough to make it legitimately important--given no sacrifice of principle--to answer the questions and to distinguish our position, since it is our position, from one wholly compromised--and for good reasons--in the minds of thoughtful Americans and anathema to the general public.

This understanding of what is necessary to build a strong peace movement is contemptuously referred to as "public relations" by those who tortuously erect into a principle the refusal to distinguish your politics from a fellow-traveler's. Some people who reject contemptuously the argument: "Don't say that, that's what the Communists want you to say", themselves insist there are some things you must not say in public because "That's what HUAC wants." In both cases, it's bad advice.

There is a relevant standard here. That standard is truth. If there is a distinct political position which often occupies common ground with ours but which is, in fact, fundamentally different from ours, pursuing different objectives, operating on values we reject, identified with a power position we resist, we should say so.

Most of the peace groups I know are opposed to totalitarianism wherever it appears, and reject elements--very fundamental ones--in contemporary Communist theory and practice. Marine is quite right: if a non-Communist peace group has faith in its principles and its ideas, there need be no problem...if these principles and ideas are voiced. This is done less divisively by positive statements, but there are some situations where a clear negative is needed, too. Thus, while general statements about civil liberties are needed, it is important to say a "no" to HUAC. Or, while our "yes" to world law or foreign aid is important, our position becomes more meaningful when we decide to say "no" to bomb testing or missile development. This is not a matter of "spending 90 per cent of your time in non-red disclaimers". The real situation is exactly the opposite. In a 100-line statement, it is the one line which summarizes our opposition to a fellow-traveling

position that is fiercely resisted. Here in the Bay Area a good deal of energy is put into trying to remove it.

The reasons why many non-Communist-oriented people join the fellow-traveler in seeking to withdraw that one line are complex. One important reason is the desire for unity: for tactical reasons, for those building strength for a political position; for principled reasons, for those concerned to reconcile people in a divided world. This latter reason leaves religiously oriented peace groups especially vulnerable--given conditions in the Bay Area--to accepting half truths in the name of harmony or unity. A. J. Muste in a recent article spoke best to this problem, in a section entitled: "The United Front Fallacy":

> "To love a fellow man does not require that we cooperate with him in lying or exploiting others or some other evil thing. It requires the opposite, that we do not cooperate in these things, that we do not let him live, if he is so living, under the delusion that these things are good...To love, to be truly human, is always to deal with others on the basis of reality. Therefore it does not mean to trust a man whom you know to be deceiving; it means to try to change a man and make him trustworthy, and this means trying to get him to see himself as he is."

At another level, Paul Lacey, writing in a recent issue of the Friend's Journal of the difficulties encountered in seminars with the Russians, scored the temptation to simply avoid discussion of differences and concentrate on mutual desires for "peace and friendship": "Reconciliation means restoring to harmony, and the very definition recognizes that the true causes of tensions and frictions must be acknowledged in order for a proper balance to be struck."

A sick climate in the Bay Area has prevented a genuine confrontation of issues. That climate was not created by a Communist conspiracy. The root cause is the futility and immorality of recent American policy in the world and the betrayal of our own central values at home. A justified reaction to that situation has, I believe, made it possible for fellow-traveling politics to again achieve influence.

Those of us working for a just peace and the extension of the idea of a free and nonexploitative society, need now to challenge that influence. This issue must be raised if we want to reach those who, in E. B. White's phrase, "want to set off on a different journey under good auspices".

I have tried to avoid self-justifying anger in this response, but I have been conscious in the writing of it that many parties to this discussion simply cannot be spoken with. If the cost of raising this issue is division, one is left then--in Silone's phrase--with a choice of comrades.

Robert Pickus is Executive Secretary of Acts for Peace in Berkeley.

Reprinted from:

The liberal democrat
February 1961

Subscriptions $2/year ($3 after Feb. 15)

Marshall Windmiller and
Thomas Winnett, co-editors
2440 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

COMMUNICATIONS

Editors:

All heaven and earth and the history of the last forty years offer witness to the accursed nature of the relationship of Communism to genuine movements of the political left. Even a little light on this dark problem is a good thing. In this particular geographic region, it is an especially good thing. I therefore welcomed the articles in your January issue by Robert Pickus and Gene Marine.

But we can let a stronger light upon the problem only when those discussing it observe certain elementary rules. A first step would be an agreement to argue issues and not motives. An egregious instance of what beginning students of logic learn to call ad hominem arguments is to be found in the article suggestively entitled "The Afraid We Have Always With Us". Even at the predictable risk of having my remarks written off by Gene Marine as the squeaks of a fear-ridden academician "doomed to tremble forever in that frightened grove where the barest unorthodoxy can bring the administrative frown that ruins careers"--even at this grave risk, let me observe that a flood of rhetorical name-calling takes us exactly nowhere--or, worse, takes us back to a polemical era when one could demolish a socialist opponent by calling him a "social Fascist". Any careful reader must realize that it is not Pickus who is fighting Paper Dragons, but Marine who is fighting Paper Pickuses by calling out against "timidity, and the mice who squeak its chorus", by charging "Red-baiting", and by calling down imprecations on "these worriers, these scurriers after a little security, these men of fear." But my intent is not to belabor the obvious, not to do more than point out that this epithet-hurling beclouds the issue. The issue is not whether infiltration is a problem, not Red-baiting, not bare fear, not lust for status--it is how in hell does one help further a movement for peace and freedom everywhere?

In our work against war and totalitarianism--in both its running and its creeping manifestations--the issue of Communism is not "a bit of tearjerking semantic nonsense"; it is something we have to face up to. There are really three audiences we are trying to reach: 1) The left-inclined political sophisticates who are not about to heed ill-advised injunctions to forget the tragic experience of past decades; 2) the concerned unsophisticates who rightly take a dim view of Communism, but too frequently fail to express their concern in an intelligent way; and 3) ourselves. Now to reach 1) and 2) and to be able to live with 3), we must have a single standard of political morality. If we are opposed to the death penalty, then we must oppose executions in California, Cuba, Israel, China, Hungary, Spain. If we are opposed to militarism, then we cannot afford to oppose only the Pentagon. Just as we reject the Air Force absurdity that "Air Power is Peace Power", so we must reject the Soviet Army absurdity that theirs is a "Peace Army". When someone holds that peace is identical with the interests of the Communists, that even when Communist forces are fighting they are "peace forces", that Communist weapons are "peace weapons", and that only anti-Communists are warmongers, then we have an effective answer to the question of "What's a Communist?"

Obviously the Communist or his apologist need not be searched for by heresy hunts, loyalty oaths, and the rest of the unworkable, odious apparatus. All we need to do is have an intellectually honest statement in public circulation of what we are for and of what we are against. Should the Communist or his sympathizer then wish to work for any of the good causes, well and good. Some may not, and this is just as well and good--I was struck by the absence of some familiar faces when a group of pacifists recently left Union Square on a "Walk to Moscow". But either way, we shall reach people who would be repelled by a

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phony peace movement. And not less importantly, our own intellectual and moral house will be in order. Never will we have to carry around Koestler's skeleton in the cupboard of our conscience: "How our voices boomed with righteous indignation, denouncing flaws in the procedure of justice in our comfortable democracies; and how silent we were when our comrades without trial or conviction, were liquidated in the Socialist sixth of the earth."

Richard Drinnon
--Berkeley

Editors:

I read with great interest the two articles by Bob Pickus and Gene Marine on "Non-Communist Fellow Travelers" in your January issue.

I agree a little with both men. I agree with Gene Marine that McCarthyism is still with us, but I find a great deal more of it in his article than I do in Mr. Pickus's article. The lasting damage of McCarthyism is evident in the manner in which Mr. Marine discusses, not Mr. Pickus's arguments, but his motives, his fears, and leaves the implication that Mr. Pickus has adopted the principles of McCarthyism.

I have always felt that liberals discussed issues on their merits, while McCarthyism discussed motives and fears, and pasted labels on people in order to avoid the truth of what they say. It is unfortunate that liberals can't discuss Communism without having other liberals call them McCarthyites, just as it is unfortunate that liberals can't question the tactics of some labor leaders without being called reactionary by other liberals. "Liberalism" now consists of an orthodoxy of viewpoint on such subjects as Communism, disarmament, segregation, labor and civil liberties that amounts to a dogma that admits of no critical inquiry. Yet the word "liberal" used to mean that one was an opponent of orthodoxy and dogma.

Mr. Pickus's article questions the current article of liberal dogma that states...

McCarthyism and the HUAC are bad;
McCarthyism and the HUAC attack Communism;
Therefore, any liberal who attacks Communism is "bad".

The error in the logic of this "syllogism" is as apparent as the error in logic of...

Communists are bad;
Communists are against segregation;
Therefore, the NAACP is bad because it is against segregation.

The liberal movement will be handicapped, divided and confused until it is possible for us to freely examine, question and discuss our own positions on Communism, disarmament, segregation, labor, civil liberties, etc. It is easy to point out the errors of our enemies. It is much harder to search out our own errors, but much more helpful to our cause.

Fred F. Cooper
--Berkeley

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File

THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM PARTY

FREEDOM PARTY at the University of Florida was originated by student activists in January of 1965. With characteristic dash, the idea of forming a student political party was conceived four days before the final filing date for student government elections. The campaign which followed ended with the largest student vote in the history of the university.

FREEDOM PARTY nominated Jim Harmeling for president of the student body, Jim Dacey for vice-president, and 23 candidates for the legislative council, honor court, and other offices. The top of the ticket, Harmeling and Dacey, had both been arrested and jailed in civil rights demonstrations (as had the faculty advisor to FREEDOM PARTY), and most of the party's candidates had participated in public demonstrations. Nevertheless, the campaign which FREEDOM PARTY ran was free not only of demonstrations but of banners, last-minute poop sheets, gooning, and other traditional features of student politics. Instead, the party made a straightforward appeal through its platform and its candidates to the ideals of the student body.

FREEDOM PARTY's platform was built upon the idea of a student-centered university, an institution in which the education of students is the first concern of the university. It attacked the existing order for its preoccupation with physical plant, grants, appropriations, publications, degrees, and image-making.

The platform also called for abolition of compulsory ROTC, student participation in the anti-poverty program, rigorous elimination of all vestiges of racial discrimination on campus, and personnel and disciplinary procedures -- for faculty and students -- which were written, formal, and public.

Harmeling and Dacey received 879 votes, a little more than 10% of the total vote. One candidate, Chris Benninger, was elected to the legislative council from the College of Architecture and Fine Arts. Following the election, student government incorporated a part of FREEDOM PARTY's platform by forming a Community Relations committee to run a tutorial program for educationally disadvantaged children in Gainesville and Alachua County. Jim Harmeling was asked to head the committee, and he accepted. Subsequently, student government withdrew all financial and secretarial aid to the program. However, it continues to operate with volunteer workers and contributions under the purely nominal auspices of student government.

FREEDOM PARTY continued to work for its platform and goals after the elections. In April it sponsored, together with the National Student Association, Southern Project, a "Symposium on Concern" which was held April 24 in the Florida Union Building. The all-day seminar featured talks and discussions on academic reform, capital punishment, migratory workers, and desegregation of public accomodations.

In the past, student political parties at the university have

sought only to get elected. Between elections they were inactive and were not authorized by university regulations to be active, to bring in speakers, use university facilities, etc. FREEDOM PARTY broke with this tradition in July, 1965, when it applied for a charter as a permanent student organization.

The Administration recognizes two kinds of student formations: permanent student organizations and political parties. The organizations are required to state their membership and have a constitution; their funds are open to scrutiny. In return, they may use university facilities on a year-around basis. The political parties -- except for FREEDOM PARTY -- have no constitutions, no stated membership, and their funds cannot be scrutinized; between elections they do not function.

To help it decide what to do, the Committee on Student Organizations called in Bruce Culpepper and other student government types, Dean Hale, and Vice-President Mautz. The student-government people were opposed to the application. "It would be disruptive to student government as it now exists," said Bill McBride, student assistant to Culpepper. "A political party," said Andy Hall (another student politician), "is formed solely to seek student government offices and is only a temporary group. You-all want to arouse the campus and capitalize on the influence you gain during the year to win the election."

On the advice of student government, i.e., Culpepper et al., Hale, and Mautz, the Committee on Student Organizations rejected FREEDOM PARTY's application for permanent organizational status. FREEDOM PARTY remains a political party, but between elections it must operate off-campus.

FREEDOM PARTY began as an elite formation of student activists. However, the ideals which motivated these students included grass-roots democracy and local control. FREEDOM PARTY has prepared a tentative constitution which insures that any student can participate in the party's work to the same extent and with the same rights and privileges as any other. At its Fall Convention which will be held at 7:30 on September 14 in the Florida Union Auditorium, this constitution will be submitted to the students for adoption. Any student present at the Convention is qualified to vote, to run for party offices, or to seek nomination as a FREEDOM PARTY candidate for office in student government. Any student who is interested can participate equally with any other in determining the platform and policies of the party. The tentative constitution eliminates all possibility of top-down control of the party. FREEDOM PARTY is the only student political party which

a. has a constitution

b. elects party officers, determines party policy, and nominates candidates in an open convention

c. Operates on a year-around basis, on-campus during elections and -- by administrative edict from Tigert Hall and the Florida Union -- off-campus between elections.

Come to the Convention!

FREEDOM PARTY CONSTITUTION

(A proposed constitution to be submitted to the
1965 Fall Convention of FREEDOM PARTY)

Article I: Name

The name of the organization shall be the University of Florida FREEDOM PARTY.

Article II: Purpose

1. To establish a student political party at the University of Florida which is comparable in structure and style to the major political parties of the United States, is popularly based, and maintains year-around activity.

2. To promote by all means at its disposal a University of Florida which is student-centered, free, and actively concerned with the larger society in which the University is set.

3. To nominate candidates for office in student government, to conduct campaigns for their election, to provide assistance for its candidates, and between elections to do whatever it can to gather public support for the stated purposes of FREEDOM PARTY.

4. To write a platform, issue policy papers, publish a newsletter, maintain a headquarters, hold rallies, conferences, lectures, debates or casual meetings, sponsor off-campus speakers, and in other ways initiate projects and public events.

Article III. Membership

1. Membership in FREEDOM PARTY is attendance at its Fall or Winter Conventions.

2. Only student members have the right to vote or to hold office in the Party.

3. Nonstudent members shall have the freedom of the floor and all other rights and privileges of student members, except those reserved to students in the preceding section.

Article IV: Organization

1. The highest policy-making organs of FREEDOM PARTY shall be its Fall and Winter Conventions.

2. The 1965 Fall Convention will be held on September 14, 1965, i.e., the Tuesday preceding the final filing date for candidates in the fall elections.

3. The business of the 1965 Fall Convention will be: adoption of a FREEDOM PARTY constitution, election of Executive Committee

members from living areas, and election of candidates for the fall elections.

Article V: Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of 100 members, 50 of which shall be elected from living areas at the Fall Convention and 50 of which shall be elected from colleges at the Winter Convention. The term of office for Executive Committee members shall be one year.

2. Of the 50 members of the Executive Committee elected at the Fall Convention 25 shall be from off-campus and 25 from on-campus residential dormitories. The 25 on-campus members shall be distributed to the residential dormitories in proportion to the numbers of students who live in them.

3. The 50 members of the Executive Committee elected at the Winter Convention shall be distributed to the colleges in proportion to the numbers of students who are registered in the colleges.

4. Executive Committee members shall be nominated and elected in caucuses of the Conventions composed of students in the electoral districts (living areas or colleges) which the Executive Committee member represents.

5. The Executive Committee shall meet at least twice a year. Further meetings may be called by the Steering Committee or upon petition to meet by 10 members of the Executive Committee.

6. Between Conventions FREEDOM PARTY shall be represented by the Executive Committee.

Article VI: Steering Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall elect from its members a Steering Committee of 20 members. Ten shall be Executive Committee members who represent living areas and 10 Executive Committee members who represent colleges. The term of office for Steering Committee members shall be one year.

2. The Steering Committee shall have powers of initiative. Unless countermanded by the Executive Committee, actions taken by the Steering Committee represent FREEDOM PARTY.

Article VII: Officers

The officers of FREEDOM PARTY shall be a chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer. The Steering Committee shall nominate and the Executive Committee select the party officers. The officers shall be elected shortly after the Fall Convention and hold office for one year.

Article VIII: Election of Candidates

1. FREEDOM PARTY candidates in student government elections shall be elected at the FREEDOM PARTY Convention immediately preceeding the elections.

2. Candidates for Chancellor and Clerk of the Honor Court, the Lyceum Council, and the Board of Student Publications will be nominated by the Steering Committee and elected by the Convention as a whole.

3. For the purpose of electing candidates for President, Vice President, and Treasurer of the Student Body,

a. Each college will be assigned a number of electoral votes proportionate to the number of students enrolled in the college,
b. Nominations will be from the floor of the Convention, and
c. Election will be by absolute majority of electoral votes.

4. All other FREEDOM PARTY candidates will be nominated and elected in caucuses of the Convention composed of students in the electoral district (college or living area) in which the candidate will run.

Article IX: Nonstudent Organizations

FREEDOM PARTY may affiliate with any local, state, regional, or national organization it chooses. Affiliation may be accomplished by vote of the Steering Committee, Executive Committee, or any Convention.

Article X: Finances

FREEDOM PARTY may accept money, funds, or grants of labor, help, resources, assets, or equipment from any source it finds appropriate.

Article XI: Platform

The platform of FREEDOM PARTY shall be prepared during the fall term of each academic year by the Steering Committee and submitted to the Executive Committee prior to the close of the fall term; the Executive Committee shall debate the platform and submit it with or without amendments, reservations, minority reports, or recommendations to the Winter Convention; upon a simple majority vote of the Winter Convention, the platform will be adopted as a public statement of the goals of FREEDOM PARTY.

Article XII: Adoption and Amendment

This constitution shall be submitted to the 1965 Fall Convention. It may be adopted or amended by a two-thirds vote of it or any other Convention of FREEDOM PARTY.

BAKER COUNTY

History: Bad Baker the heart of Southwest Georgia, is a symbol of the WORST in Georgia. This small county, population 4543, 58% Negro, has seen racial violence for years. To a large extent, this still continues. Three high school students were beaten this week. In the summer of 1965, Negroes were beaten in the shadow of the court house with local police and FBI watching.

Economically, Baker is a picture of deepest poverty and greatest wealth. A large percent of its land is owned by the very wealthy, Robert Woodruff, John Olin, one of the Pittsburg Mellons who maintains the property as hunting preserves. There is little future here for the poor man. However, there are Negro farmers who own their land and more who are tenants on the white man's land. These farmers need help. Baker has no railroad, no bus line and often in rainy weather, the principle highway through the county is closed because of flooding.

Mr. Sherrod with a band of deeply committed and courageous men, went into Baker in 1965 and have been working with the people to organize a movement. He has a group of faithful followers. A CAP program is in the process of being organized, however, there is dissension within the Negro group as well as between white and Negro.

Proposal to the Field Foundation for $28,500 to operate a cooperative effort in Baker, to be called COP (Community Organization Project).

It is proposed that several civil rights groups coordinate their efforts to gain maximum results in Baker County.

A Baker Study needs to be made in order to know the facts. SRC has agreed to bring their Baker study up to date and to conduct other needed research. Special emphasis must be placed on sound research and effective publicity. The public should be aware of some of the problems in a community where much of the land is controlled by the wealthy absentee land lords. $2,500 is needed for this important part of the project. This will cover field trips and technical assistance as needed.

Center: There is need for a Community Center. No church or store building is available for renovation. However, a new building could be a tangible evidence of the new cooperative effort and give a place for all organizations to hold classes or meetings. Mr. Thomas, with the Georgia Council, formerly a

contractor, can supervise the building of such a building. He proposes the enclosed type building.

This can be built for approximately $12,000. After the project is over, this building would remain as a Community Center for the people of Baker.

Local Coordinator: Mr. Charles Sherrod, because of knowledge and ability to work with the people of the county, will be the local coordinator of this center. $3,500 will be set aside for Mr. Sherrod.

VEP: Mr. Sherrod will administer the VEP operation in Baker. Mr. Jordan suggests that $3,000 of the regular VEP money be used to make it possible for local people to continue their work in voter registration and education.

CEP: The new building shall also be a center for CEP operation, with Mr. Sherrod's help, the SCLC's trained workers will have a place to hold Citizenship Education classes. The CEP work is already underway with a group of Baker County citizens attending a training session in October.

Federal Programs: Baker County needs many federal programs. In order to obtain these, $3,500 should be set aside for consultant's fees in writing programs for Baker. Mr. Walt Sharpe in his present job with the Sharecroppers could spend time working with such programs, exploring the possibilities and writing the programs. Mr. Tilman Cothran, formerly with the Atlanta EOA, might act as a consultant for a per diem fee. We realize the difficulties under the present administration of OEO in this area, however, we think there are possibilities for certain demonstration projects, as well as possibilities of working through the local and regional CAP programs. It will take time and knowledge and stubborn commitment if these programs are actually put into operation in Baker.

Possible Programs:

1. Self-Help Housing (Mr. Hubert Thomas has one such program in the making in Thomas County).

2. Neighborhood Service Center (This could pay for the maintenance of our center plus personnel for other services such as a case worker to work with Health & Welfare problems, local aids to work with the various programs).

3. Farm Programs, such as, diversified crop training program.

4. Job training (MDTA), for jobs which might be available in nearby Albany (23 miles) and Camilla (10 miles).

5. Home management courses, (the welfare recipient receives cash payments while she is being trained in home management. Part of her time is spent in the field working with other welfare recipients in teaching them what she has learned).

6. Day care center.

7. Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Farm Programs: Under the guidance of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Jac Wasserman, a carefully planned farming program can go into effect before the next planting season. $2,000 for extra part time help either for people in the county who will help carry out the program or for outside technicians would make this program possible.

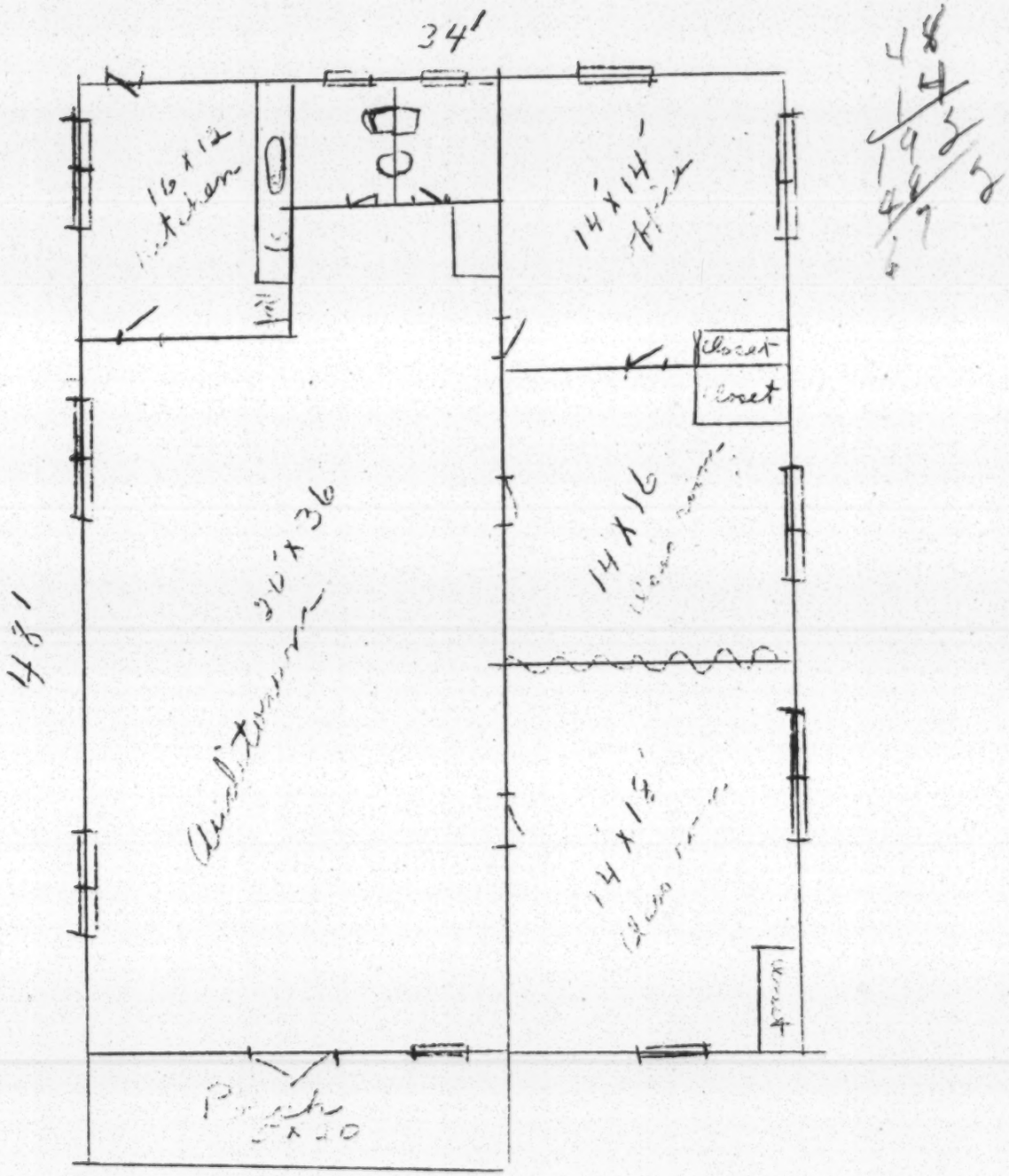
Education: The American Friends will cooperate with the project by giving special attention to the problems of school desegregation. They plan to give emphasis to Baker in their regular programming.

Court Cases: The ACLU will assist with court cases that fall within their purview.

Administration: An advisory committee, elected by the participating agencies shall guide the policies of the project.

The Georgia Council will assume the responsibility of coordination and administration. Extra help will be necessary to free Frances Pauley and Hubert Thomas for field work in Baker. Overhead, such as, extra bookkeeping, mailings, etc., must be met. $5,000 is requested for this purpose.

Budget:		
	Study	$ 2,500
	Center	12,000
	Local coordinator	3,500
	Federal program consultant	3,500
	Farm program	2,000
	Administration coordinating	5,000
		$28,500



Baker County

COP

Center

Office file copy

CENSORSHIP !!

A PAID POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT THEY REFUSED TO USE

The advertising department of Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., our so-called "free press", refused to publish the following advertisement for reasons best known to the management. (Their political sympathies are well known!) The sections marked with an "X", as their censor marked our copy, are those they claimed might expose them to a libel suit. It is obvious that something other than the libel code has governed Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., in their treatment of the write-in!

THIS WE BELIEVE

That ELLIS ARNALL is the man of the hour in Georgia's need for proven and progressive leadership.

That ELLIS ARNALL'S campaign platform offered Georgia the best possibilities for continued progress.

X That ELLIS ARNALL is the one man all Georgians could proudly point to as Governor.

THIS WE BELIEVE

That the "crossover" vote by Republicans was responsible for the choice of Maddox.

That the choice between Callaway and Maddox is no choice at all, but only an echo.

That several hundred thousand Georgians simply will not vote for either Callaway or Maddox, regardless of whether there is a write-in.

THIS WE BELIEVE

X That Georgians fed up with the old crowd, whatever the party label, will stand up and let it be known that the politics of "lesser evils" insults their hopes and aspirations for a better Georgia.

That reform efforts in both parties will be spurred by a strong write-in vote, saying to the politicians that they are going to have to return to the center if they want the support of moderate voters.

That a write-in vote for ELLIS ARNALL could put him into a run-off, and would certainly prevent either Maddox or Callaway from claiming a mandate from the people, if it did not cause the courts to order the retention of the incumbent or a run-off election.

THIS WE BELIEVE

That Callaway's votes in Congress against the minimum wage, Federal aid to education and cities, civil rights, medicare, etc., speak more loudly than his recent efforts to appear moderate. (Previously, copy on Bo's record was refused for a Write-In Ga. ad.)

X That there is no essential difference between Callaway and Maddox, but, as the former has said, it is only "in approach" - vowing that he "would fight for our way of life in the South..."

X That neither is the lesser of two evils! Both are wrong for Georgia's future!

THIS WE BELIEVE

X That a write-in vote for ELLIS ARNALL FOR GOVERNOR is the one way we can exercise our franchise honestly and responsibly, given the equally bad alternatives, and thereby strike a blow for a return to integrity and progressive government.

THIS WE BELIEVE AND ON NOVEMBER 8TH WE WILL WRITE-IN

ELLIS ARNALL FOR GOVERNOR

Paid for by Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Georgians
Suite 1422 40 Marietta St., N. W. Atlanta, Ga.

TWO WRONGS MAKE ONE WRITE-IN
ELLIS ARNALL GOVERNOR

File

"LAY MY BURDEN DOWN"

A 16 MM film documentary

by

Jack Willis

May now be ordered from

National Educational Film Service
Audio-visual Center
c/o Mr. James Cole
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

"Lay My Burden Down" is a very well done one hour documentary of social and political conditions among rural Negroes in the vicinity of Selma, Alabama —— more specifically in Dallas and Wilcox counties.

It can be used to illustrate

a) How little recent laws have changed the lot of Negroes in Alabama who have marched.

b) Simply what it is like in "Selma" now-a-days

c) What the conditions are that drive southern rural Negroes into northern ghettoes. It answers effectively the northern white man's question, "Why do they want to come up here to these terrible conditions?"

d) The sort of people who come to northern ghettoes

e) The persons and conditions served by the Selma Inter-religious Project, an inter-faith ministry sponsored by:

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ
The National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice
The Synagogue Council of America
The Unitarian-Universalist Association.

The director of the Selma Inter-religious Project served as a consultant to the N.E.T. producer and provided him with introductions to some of the persons and groups portrayed.

A follow up film is planned showing what organized local efforts are being used in Alabama to combat the conditions portrayed.

PW
Jim Wood

Friends of India Committee
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102
Telephone: (215) KIngsley 6-1133

T. K. Mahadevan
Publications Secretary
Gandhi Peace Foundation
221 Rouse Avenue
New Delhi 1, India

Age: 47
Married
Nonvegetarian

636
5002

Biographic Statement:

Born in Colombo, Ceylon (then a part of the British Empire, along with India) on 30 August, 1919, but took up permanent residence in India in 1941, acquiring Indian citizenship soon after Independence in 1947. Hindu by birth, but by preference non-religious. Married Miriam Aaron Jacob in 1955; one son. Never a member of any political party, though holding strong political views.

"Uneducated" in the Shavian sense of the term. His formal education was interrupted by an early period of spiritual search which took him to many places in India. But these were years which brought him great opportunities for philosophical study and meditation and may be said to have laid the foundations of his later career.

Edited UNITED ASIA, a journal of Afro-Asian affairs published from Bombay, 1948-56. In June, 1953, the journal issued a special number, "The American Negro", carrying contributions from John Home Franklin, Charles Johnson, Langston Hughes and others, probably the first systematic Indian attempt to highlight the Negro problem.

Now since 1957, editing GANDHI MARG, a journal of Gandhian thought, especially concerned with explorations in the area of peace, nonviolence, conflict resolution and disarmament. Simultaneously also publications secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation and editor of books and pamphlets published by the Foundation. Also, for the forthcoming Gandhi Centenary (1869-1969), convener of a special committee for publications.

Has recently edited two books: GANDHI: HIS RELEVANCE FOR OUR TIMES (a collection of essays on Gandhian themes with the focus on nonviolence -- its history, theory and practice) and CIVILIAN DEFENSE: AN INTRODUCTION (containing exploratory essays on the concept and techniques of non-military defense), both books published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Also edited a shorter book, FREEDOM FROM FEAR, 1962. Freelance journalist and broadcaster.

Resume of: T. K. Mahadevan
Sponsored by: Friends of India Committee

Objectives of Visit:

Mr. Mahadevan is writing a book on NONVIOLENCE AND THE NEGRO REVOLUTION. He wishes to meet Negro and white civil rights leaders of all political persuasions, visit Negro areas and examine significant documentary materials on the subject not available in India. "Wherever possible, I should like to live within or near Negro neighborhoods. I have always identified myself with the poor and downtrodden--and you know how rich India is in them!"..."In order to get a feel of the kind of life that average Negroes live in America, perhaps there may be a chance, both in the South as well as in the North, for me to stay two or three days with an average middle class Negro family. The book I am planning will be a study in depth of this most intractable of human problems, and I naturally want to bring out the human element in the tragedy as vividly as I can."

Other quotable comments:

"The time at my disposal is probably even more limited than present day Indian food rations (despite continuing American largesse!), so I must be careful in husbanding my hours and minutes. /Routine sightseeing/ is definitely out. I want to savor 'the other America' more than the one that is dished out tediously around the world in 70 mm. panavision."

"My stay in the United States falls into two clear parts, as I have planned it. In the first phase I go around absorbing -- ideas, opinions, people, places. In the second phase I reduce my movements to a minimum and concentrate on study, reflection, argument and a process of systematisation and assimilation.

"Each day I should like to have the morning free for writing. From early afternoon till late in the evening I shall be at the mercy of my hosts or friends -- meeting people, visiting places. I am rather a poor mixer and so would like to have social engagements reduced to the barest minimum. I revel in serious, intellectual get-togethers and in the starchless informality of unplanned encounters.

"In my food habits I am cosmopolitan and without inhibitions, eating anything that is edible, though I have a secret liking for simple, old-fashioned food. I shall, of course, be coming in formal Indian dress, made mostly of hand-spun, hand-woven materials -- what Gandhi popularized as 'khadi'.

"I am confident I shall be able to go through a gruelling schedule every day of my stay in your country--partly because of the weather and partly because I have what could pass for an iron constitution (though nearing my half-century, I am mistaken -- tragically! -- for a young man.)"

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(President of the Georgia League of Women Voters)
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636-5892

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237-8523

Mrs. Frances Pauley (William C.)
943 Clifton Rd., NE
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Mrs. Cathy (James N.) Wood
378-5186

Mr. Cecil Alexander
44 Broad St., NW
688-3313

Res: 2322 Mt. Paran Rd., NW
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Rev. Austin Ford
1790 La Vista Rd., NE
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Mr. De Jongh Franklin
1585 W. Paces Ferry Rodd, NW
355-0224

Bus: First National Bank Bldg.
521-1200

Mr. Albert L. Henry, III
251 Berean St., SE
525-0242

Mr. Al Kehrer (E. T.)
Anderson Rd., Austell, Ga.
948-1427

Bus.: Southern Area Dir., AFL-CIO
First Federal Bldg., Suite 1422
40 Marietta St., NW, Atl. 30303

Mr. John Glustrom
1860 Wellborne Dr., NE
872-8402

Bus.: 3030 Peachtree Rd., NW
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1957 Westminster Way, NE
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On The Role of Martin Luther King

August Meier

THE PHENOMENON THAT IS Martin Luther King consists of a number of striking paradoxes. The Nobel Prize winner is accepted by the outside world as *the* leader of the nonviolent direct action movement, but he is criticized by many activists within the movement. He is criticized for what appears, at times, as indecisiveness, and more often denounced for a tendency to accept compromise. Yet, in the eyes of most Americans, both black and white, he remains the symbol of militant direct action. So potent is this symbol of King as direct actionist, that a new myth is arising about his historic role. The real credit for developing and projecting the techniques and philosophy of nonviolent direct action in the civil rights arena must be given to the Congress of Racial Equality which was founded in 1942, more than a dozen years before the Montgomery bus boycott projected King into international fame. And the idea of mass action by Negroes themselves to secure redress of their grievances must, in large part, be ascribed to the vision of A. Philip Randolph, architect of the March on Washington Movement during World War II. Yet, as we were told in Montgomery on March 25, 1965, King and his followers now assert, apparently without serious contradiction, that a new type of civil rights strategy was born at Montgomery in 1955 under King's auspices.

In a movement in which respect is accorded in direct proportion to the number of times one has been arrested, King appears to keep the number of times he goes to jail to a minimum. In a movement in which successful leaders are those who share in the hardships of their followers, in the risks they take, in the beatings they receive, in the length of time they spend in jail, King tends to leave prison for other important engagements, rather than remaining there and suffering with his followers. In a movement in which leadership ordinarily devolves upon persons who mix democratically with their followers, King remains isolated and aloof. In a movement which prides itself on militancy and "no compromise" with racial discrimination or with the white "power structure," King maintains close relationships with, and appears to be influenced by, Democratic presidents and their emissaries, seems amenable to compromises considered by some half a loaf or less, and often appears willing to postpone or avoid a direct confrontation in the streets.

King's career has been characterized by failures that, in the larger sense, must be accounted triumphs. The buses in Montgomery were desegregated only after lengthy judicial proceedings conducted by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund secured a favorable decision from the U.S. Supreme Court. Nevertheless, the events in Montgomery were a triumph for direct action, and gave this tactic a popularity unknown when identified solely with CORE. King's subsequent major campaigns—in Albany, Georgia; in Danville, Virginia; in Birmingham, Alabama; and in St. Augustine, Florida—ended as failures or with only token accomplishments in those cities. But each of them, chiefly because of his presence, dramatically focused national and international attention on

Reprinted from
NEW POLITICS
Volume IV, No. 1

the plight of the Southern Negro, thereby facilitating overall progress. In Birmingham, in particular, demonstrations which fell short of their local goals were directly responsible for a major Federal Civil Rights Act. Essentially, this pattern of local failure and national victory was recently enacted at Selma, Alabama.

King is ideologically committed to disobeying unjust laws and court orders, in the Gandhian tradition, but generally he follows a policy of not disobeying Federal Court orders. In his recent Montgomery speech, he expressed a crude, neo-Marxist interpretation of history romanticizing the Populist movement as a genuine union of black and white common people, ascribing race prejudice to capitalists playing white workers against black. Yet, in practice, he is amenable to compromise with the white bourgeois political and economic Establishment. More important, King enunciates a superficial and eclectic philosophy and by virtue of it he has profoundly awakened the moral conscience of America.

In short, King can be described as a "Conservative Militant."

IN THIS COMBINATION OF MILITANCY with conservatism and caution, of righteousness with respectability, lies the secret of King's enormous success.

Certain important civil rights leaders have dismissed King's position as the product of publicity generated by the mass communications media. But this can be said of the successes of the civil rights nonviolent action movement generally. Without publicity it is hard to conceive that much progress would have been made. In fact, contrary to the official nonviolent direct action philosophy, demonstrations have secured their results not by changing the hearts of the oppressors through a display of nonviolent love, but through the national and international pressures generated by the publicity arising from mass arrests and incidents of violence. And no one has employed this strategy of securing publicity through mass arrests and precipitating violence from white hoodlums and law enforcement officers more than King himself. King abhors violence; as at Selma, for example, he constantly retreats from situations that might result in the deaths of his followers. But he is precisely most successful when, contrary to his deepest wishes, his demonstrations precipitate violence from Southern whites against Negro and white demonstrators. We need only cite Birmingham and Selma to illustrate this point.

Publicity alone does not explain the durability of King's image, or why he remains for the rank and file of whites and blacks alike, the symbol of the direct action movement, the nearest thing to a charismatic leader that the civil rights movement has ever had. At the heart of King's continuing influence and popularity are two facts. First, better than anyone else, he articulates the aspirations of Negroes who respond to the cadence of his addresses, his religious phraseology and manner of speaking, and the vision of his dream for them and for America. King has intuitively adopted the style of the old fashioned Negro Baptist preacher and transformed it into a new art form; he has, indeed, restored oratory to its place among the arts. Second, he communicates Negro aspirations to white America more effectively than anyone else. His religious terminology and manipulation of the Christian symbols of love and non-resistance are partly responsible for his appeal among whites. To talk in

terms of Christianity, love, nonviolence is reassuring to the mentality of white America. At the same time, the very superficialities of his philosophy—that rich and eclectic amalgam of Jesus, Hegel, Gandhi and others as outlined in his *Stride Toward Freedom*—makes him appear intellectually profound to the superficially educated middle class white American. Actually, if he were a truly profound religious thinker, like Tillich or Niebuhr, his influence would of necessity be limited to a select audience. But by uttering moral cliches, the Christian pieties, in a magnificent display of oratory, King becomes enormously effective.

If his success with Negroes is largely due to the style of his utterance, his success with whites is a much more complicated matter. For one thing, he unerringly knows how to exploit to maximum effectiveness their growing feeling of guilt. King, of course, is not unique in attaining fame and popularity among whites through playing upon their guilt feelings. James Baldwin is the most conspicuous example of a man who has achieved success with this formula. The incredible fascination which the Black Muslims have for white people, and the posthumous near-sanctification of Malcolm X by many naive whites (in addition to many Negroes whose motivations are, of course, very different), must in large part be attributed to the same source. But King goes beyond this. With intuitive, but extraordinary skill, he not only castigates whites for their sins but, in contrast to angry young writers like Baldwin, he explicitly states his belief in their salvation. Not only will direct action bring fufillment of the "American Dream" to Negroes but the Negroes' use of direct action will help whites to live up to their Christian and democratic values; it will purify, cleanse and heal the sickness in white society. Whites will benefit as well as Negroes. He has faith that the white man will redeem himself. Negroes must not hate whites, but love them. In this manner, King first arouses the guilt feelings of whites, and then relieves them—though always leaving the lingering feeling in his white listeners that they should support his nonviolent crusade. Like a Greek tragedy, King's performance provides an extraordinary catharsis for the white listener.

King thus give white men the feeling that he is their good friend, that he poses no threat to them. It is interesting to note that this was the same feeling white men received from Booker T. Washington, the noted early 20th Century accommodator. Both men stressed their faith in the white man; both expressed the belief that the white man could be brought to accord Negroes their rights. Both stressed the importance of whites recognizing the rights of Negroes for the moral health and well-being of white society. Like King, Washington had an extraordinary following among whites. Like King, Washington symbolized for most whites the whole program of Negro advancement. While there are important similarities in the functioning of both men vis-a-vis the community, needless to say, in most respects, their philosophies are in disagreement.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that King is the recipient of contributions from organizations and individuals who fail to eradicate evidence of prejudice in their own backyards. For example, certain liberal trade union leaders who are philosophically committed to full racial equality, who feel the need to identify their organizations with the cause of militant civil rights, al-

though they are unable to defeat racist elements in their unions, contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars to King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). One might attribute this phenomenon to the fact that SCLC works in the South rather than the North, but this is true also for SNCC which does not benefit similarly from union treasuries. And the fact is that ever since the college students started their sit-ins in 1960, it is SNCC which has been the real spearhead of direct action in most of the South, and has performed the lion's share of work in local communities, while SCLC has received most of the publicity and most of the money. However, while King provides a verbal catharsis for whites, leaving them feeling purified and comfortable, SNCC's uncompromising militancy makes whites feel less comfortable and less beneficent.

(The above is not to suggest that SNCC and SCLC are responsible for all, or nearly all, the direct action in the South. The NAACP has actively engaged in direct action, especially in Savannah under the leadership of W. W. Law, in South Carolina under I. DeQuincy Newman, and in Clarksdale, Mississippi, under Aaron Henry. The work of CORE—including most of the direct action in Louisiana, much of the nonviolent work in Florida and Mississippi, the famous Freedom Ride of 1961—has been most important. In addition, one should note the work of SCLC affiliates, such as those in Lynchburg, Virginia, led by Reverend Virgil Wood; in Birmingham led by Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, and in Savannah, by Hosea Williams.

(There are other reasons for SNCC's lesser popularity with whites than King's. These are connected with the great changes that have occurred in SNCC since it was founded in 1960, changes reflected in the half-jocular epigram circulating in SNCC circles that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has now become the "Non-Student Violent Non-Coordinating Committee." The point is, however, that even when SNCC thrilled the nation in 1960–1961 with the student sit-ins that swept the South, it did not enjoy the popularity and financial support accorded to King.)

King's very tendencies toward compromise and caution, his willingness to negotiate and bargain with White House emissaries, his hesitancy to risk the precipitation of mass violence upon demonstrators, further endear him to whites. He appears to them a "responsible" and "moderate" man. To militant activists, King's failure to march past the State Police on that famous Tuesday morning outside Selma indicated either a lack of courage, or a desire to advance himself by currying Presidential favor. But King's shrinking from a possible bloodbath, his accession to the entreaties of the political Establishment, his acceptance of face-saving compromise in this, as in other instances, are fundamental to the particular role he is playing, and essential for achieving and sustaining his image as a leader of heroic moral stature in the eyes of white men. His caution and compromise keep open the channels of communication between the activists and the majority of the white community. In brief: King makes the nonviolent direct action movement respectable.

Of course, many, if not most, activists reject the notion that the movement should be made respectable. Yet, American history shows that for any reform movement to succeed, it must attain respectability. It must attract mod-

erates, even conservatives, to its ranks. The March on Washington made direct action respectable; Selma made it fashionable. More than any other force, it is Martin Luther King who impressed the civil rights revolution on the American conscience and is attracting that great middle body of American public opinion to its support. It is this revolution of conscience that will undoubtedly lead fairly soon to the elimination of all violations of Negroes' constitutional rights, thereby creating the conditions for the economic and social changes that are necessary if we are to achieve full racial equality. This is not to deny the dangers to the civil rights movement in becoming respectable. Respectability, for example, encourages the attempts of political machines to capture civil rights organizations. Respectability can also become an end in itself, thereby dulling the cutting edge of its protest activities. Indeed, the history of the labor movement reveals how attaining respectability can produce loss of original purpose and character. These perils, however, do not contradict the importance of achieving respectability—even a degree of modishness—if racial equality is ever to be realized.

There is another side to the picture: King would be neither respected nor respectable if there were not more militant activists on his left, engaged in more radical forms of direct action. Without CORE and, especially, SNCC, King would appear "radical" and irresponsible" rather than "moderate" and "respectable."

KING OCCUPIES A POSITION OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE as the "vital center" within the civil rights movement. Though he has lieutenants who are far more militant and "radical" than he is, SCLC acts, in effect, as the most cautious, deliberate and "conservative" of the direct action groups because of King's leadership. This permits King and the SCLC to function—almost certainly unintentionally—not only as an organ of communication with the Establishment and majority white public opinion, but as something of a bridge between the activist and more traditionalist or "conservative" civil rights groups, as well. For example, it appears unlikely that the Urban League and NAACP, which supplied most of the funds, would have participated in the 1963 March on Washington if King had not done so. Because King agreed to go along with SNCC and CORE, the NAACP found it mandatory to join if it was to maintain its image as a protest organization. King's identification with the March was also essential for securing the support of large numbers of white clergymen and their moderate followers. The March was the brainchild of the civil rights movement's ablest strategist and tactician, Bayard Rustin, and the call was issued by A. Philip Randolph. But it would have been a minor episode in the history of the civil rights movement without King's support.

Yet curiously enough, despite his charisma and international reputation, King thus far has been more a symbol than a power in the civil rights movement. Indeed his strength in the movement has derived less from an organizational base than from his symbolic role. Seven or eight years ago, one might have expected King to achieve an organizationally dominant position in the civil rights movement, at least in its direct action wing. The fact is that in the period after the Montgomery bus boycott, King developed no program and, it is generally agreed, revealed himself as an ineffective administrator who

failed to capitalize upon his popularity among Negroes. In 1957, he founded SCLC to coordinate the work of direct action groups that had sprung up in Southern cities. Composed of autonomous units, usually led by Baptist ministers, SCLC does not appear to have developed an overall sense of direction or a program of real breadth and scope. Although the leaders of SCLC affiliates became the race leaders in their communities—displacing the established local conservative leadership of teachers, old-line ministers, businessmen—it is hard for an observer (who admittedly has not been close to SCLC) to perceive exactly what SCLC did before the 1960's except to advance the image and personality of King. King appeared not to direct but to float with the tide of militant direct action. For example, King did not supply the initiative for the bus boycott in Montgomery, but was pushed into the leadership by others, as he himself records in *Stride Toward Freedom*. Similarly, in the late Fifties and early Sixties, he appeared to let events shape his course. In the last two years, this has changed, but until the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963, King epitomized conservative militancy.

SCLC under King's leadership called the Raleigh Conference of April 1960 which gave birth to SNCC. Incredibly, within a year, the SNCC youth had lost their faith in the man they now satirically call "De Lawd," and had struck out on their own independent path. By that time, the Spring of 1961, King's power in the Southern direct action movement had been further curtailed by CORE's stunning Freedom Ride to Alabama and Mississippi.

The limited extent of King's actual power in the civil rights movement was illustrated by the efforts made to invest King with the qualities of a Messiah during the recent ceremonies at the State Capitol in Montgomery. Reverend Abernathy's constant iteration of the theme that King is "our Leader," the Moses of the race, chosen by God, and King's claim that he originated the nonviolent direct action movement at Montgomery a decade ago, are all assertions that would have been superfluous if King's power in the movement was very substantial.

It is, of course, no easier today that it has been in the past few years to predict the course of the Negro protest movement, and it is always possible that the current state of affairs may change quite abruptly. It is conceivable that the ambitious program that SCLC is now projecting—both in Southern voter registration and in Northern urban direct action programs—may give it a position of commanding importance in civil rights. As a result of the recent demonstrations in Selma and Montgomery, King's prestige is now higher than ever. At the same time, the nature of CORE and NAACP direct action activities at the moment has created a programmatic vacuum which SCLC may be able to exploit. Given this convergence of circumstances, SCLC leaders may be able to establish an organizational base upon which to build a power commensurate with the symbolic position of their president.

It is indeed fortunate that King has not obtained a predominance of power in the movement commensurate with his prestige. For today, as in the past, a diversity of approaches is necessary. Needed in the movement are those who view the struggle chiefly as a conflict situation, in which the power of demonstrations, the power of Negroes, will force recognition of the race's humanity and citizenship rights, and the achievement of equality. Equally needed

are those who see the movement's strategy to be chiefly one of capitalizing on the basic consensus of values in American society by awakening the conscience of the white man to the contradiction between his professions and the facts of discrimination. And just as necessary to the movement as both of these are those who operate skillfully, recognizing and yet exploiting the deeply held American belief that compromise among competing interest groups is the best *modus operandi* in public life.

King is unique in that he maintains a delicate balance among all three of these basic strategy assumptions. The traditional approaches of the Urban League (conciliation of the white businessmen) and of the NAACP (most preeminently appeals to the courts and appeals to the sense of fair play in the American public), basically attempted to exploit the consensus in American values. It would of course be a gross oversimplification to say that the Urban League and NAACP strategies are based simply on attempting to capitalize on the consensus of values, while SNCC and CORE act simply as if the situation were purely a conflict situation. Implicit in the actions of all civil rights organizations are both sets of assumptions—even where people are not conscious of the theoretical assumptions under which, in effect, they operate. The NAACP especially encompasses a broad spectrum of strategies and types of activities, ranging from time-tested court procedures to militant direct action. Sophisticated CORE activists know very well when a judicious compromise is necessary or valuable. But I hold that King is in the middle, acting in effect as if he were basing his strategy upon all three assumptions described above. He maintains a delicate balance between a purely moral appeal and a militant display of power. He talks of the power of the bodies of Negro demonstrators in the streets, but unlike CORE and SNCC activists, he accepts compromises at times that consist of token improvements, and calls them impressive victories. More than any of the other groups, King and SCLC can, up to this point at least, be described as exploiting all three tactical assumptions to an approximately equal degree. King's continued success, I suspect, will depend to a considerable degree upon the difficult feat of maintaining his position at the "vital center" of the civil rights movement.

Viewed from another angle King's failure to achieve a position of power on a level with his prestige is fortunate because rivalries between personalities and organizations remain an essential ingredient of the dynamics of the movement and a precondition for its success as each current tries to outdo the others in effectiveness and in maintaining a good public image. Without this competitive stimulus, the civil rights revolution would slow down.

I have already noted that one of King's functions is to serve as a bridge between the militant and conservative wings of the movement. In addition, by gathering support for SCLC, he generates wider support for CORE and SNCC, as well. The most striking example is the recent series of demonstrations in Selma where SNCC had been operating for nearly two years with only moderate amounts of publicity before King chose that city as his own target. As usual, it was King's presence that focused world attention on Selma. In the course of subsequent events, the rift between King and SNCC assumed the proportions of a serious conflict. Yet people who otherwise would have been hesitant to support SNCC's efforts, even people who had become disil-

lusioned with certain aspects of SNCC's policies during the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964, were drawn to demonstrate in Selma and Montgomery. Moreover, although King received the major share of credit for the demonstrations, it seems likely that in the controversy between King and SNCC, the latter emerged with more power and influence in the civil rights movement than ever before. It is now possible that the Administration will, in the future, regard SNCC as more of a force to be reckoned with than it has heretofore.

MAJOR DAILIES LIKE THE *New York Times* and the *Washington Post,* basically sympathetic to civil rights and racial equality, though more gradualist than the activist organizations, have congratulated the nation upon its good fortune in having a "responsible and moderate" leader like King at the head of the nonviolent action movement (though they overestimate his power and underestimate the symbolic nature of his role). It would be more appropriate to congratulate the civil rights movement for *its* good fortune in having as its symbolic leader a man like King. The fact that he has more prestige than power; the fact that he not only criticizes whites but explicitly believes in their redemption; his ability to arouse creative tension combined with his inclination to shrink from carrying demonstrations to the point where major bloodshed might result; the intellectual simplicity of his philosophy; his tendency to compromise and exert caution, even his seeming indecisiveness on some occasions; the sparing use he makes of going to or staying in jail himself; his friendship with the man in the White House—all are essential to the role he plays, and invaluable for the success of the movement. It is well, of course, that not all civil rights leaders are cut of the same cloth—that King is unique among them. Like Randolph, who functions very differently, King is really an institution. His most important function, I believe, is that of effectively communicating Negro aspirations to white people, of making nonviolent direct action respectable in the eyes of the white majority. In addition, he functions within the movement by occupying a vital center position between its "conservative" and "radical" wings, by symbolizing direct action and attracting people to participate in it without dominating either the civil rights movement or its activist wing. Viewed in this context, traits that many activists criticize in King actually function not as sources of weakness, but as the foundations of his strength.

AUGUST MEIER *teaches at Roosevelt College. He is the author of* Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 *and his books,* Negro Protest Thought in the 20th Century, *(co-editor) and* Short History of American Negro *will be published this year.*

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR GEORGIA

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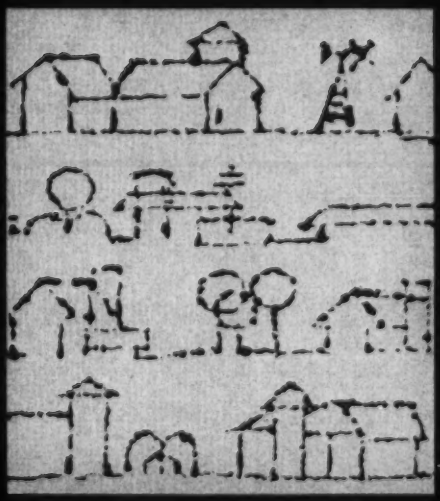

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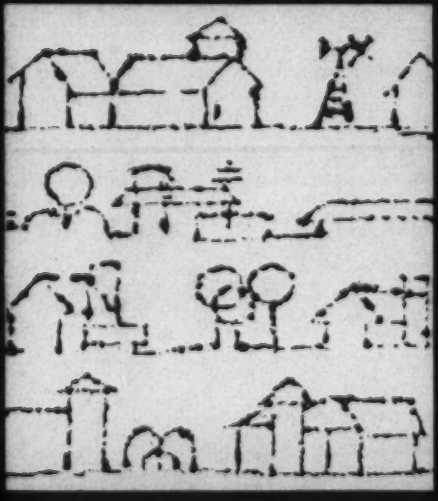

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- IMPROVE HEALTH
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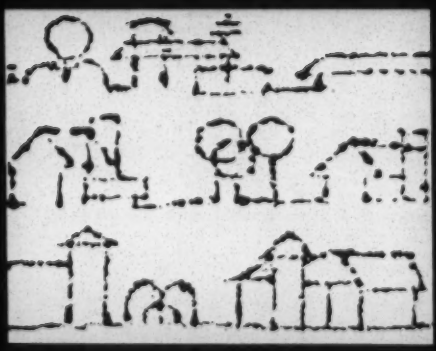

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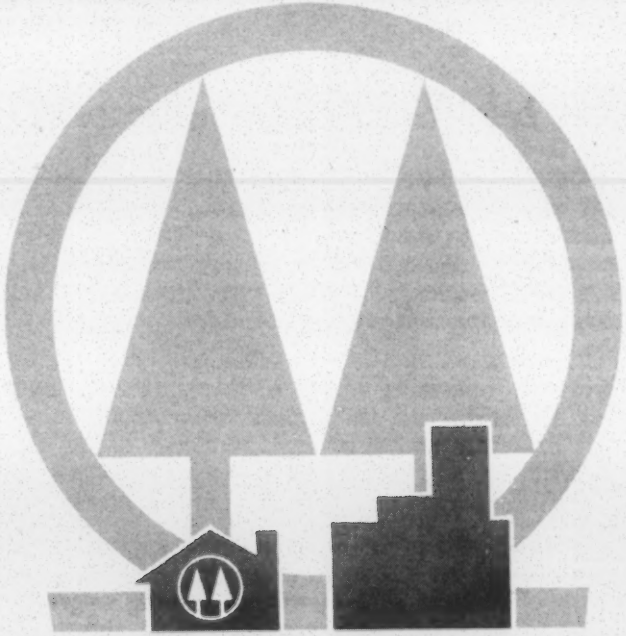

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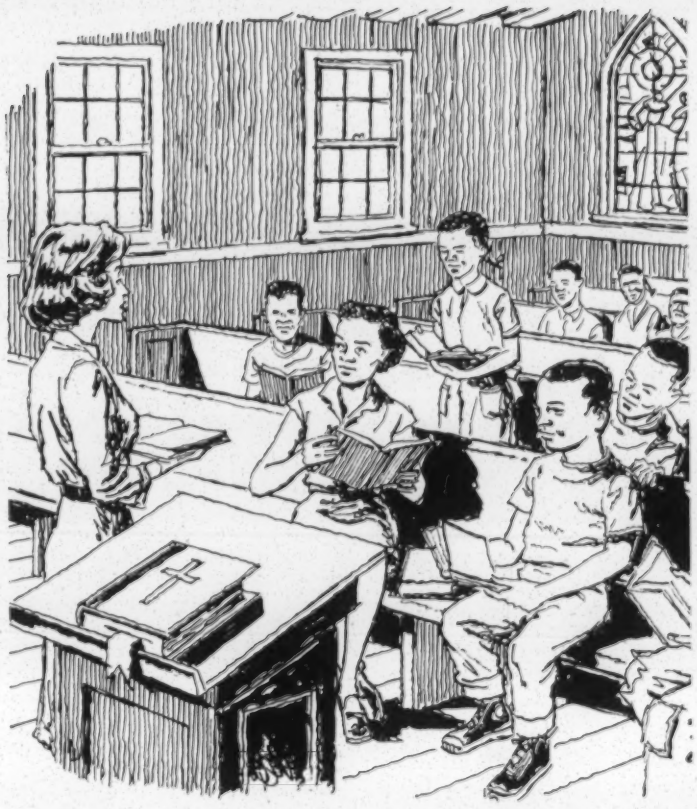
By Eugene A. Kelley



The critics who continue despite the weight of evidence to deplore the labor movement's indifference to anything but bread and butter, should look at the latest in a series of union-sponsored community activities.

They could discover, for instance, the past summer's Freedom Schools in the Deep South—an activity by the American Federation of Teachers that brought hope and courage to several thousand Negroes of all ages who were desperately in need of the kind of reassurance these schools offered.

All the rules of physical criteria for schools were waived in the Freedom School project. The classroom was as likely to be a crossroads church as it was to be a humble dwelling or a store with makeshift accommodations.

The faculties—mainly AFT members from larger cities augmented by volunteers—received stipends of about $10 a week, barely enough for existence. Most of them dipped into their own savings to accomplish a job that sorely needed doing. They lived with the families of their students and most of all, in some areas, they lived under the constant threat of physical harm.

Teachers Union Southern Project brings education where doors were closed before.

There was no formal curriculum. Subject matter varied from place to place, with only such common denominators as teaching of practical skills, Negro history, self-expression, political education and creative action. Teachers were free to select their own subjects with the advice of the class. There were none of the formal school trappings like report cards, principals, or attendance sheets.

The AFT's Freedom School operation was divided in two parts. Coordinating their activities in Gadsden, Ala., and Quincy, Fla., with Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the first time, the AFT established two schools. In Florida they helped with the SCLC voter registration drive and with the Southern Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE).

It was in Mississippi, though, that the AFT projects achieved their most notable gains. Twenty-six Freedom Schools, staffed by some 30 teacher-volunteers from every part of the country, reached out to more than 2,000 people from the capital city of Jackson to remote rural hamlets.

Two AFT members, Arthur and Carolyn Reese, from Detroit coordinated the schools working closely with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

The personal hazards involved were made clear to every volunteer. Security bulletins were issued to all personnel with cautions against travel by night, appearing in windows of Freedom Houses after dark, giving police the names of friendly local people, and the avoidance of bizarre or provocative clothing and beards.

Threats against the person and property of the volunteers were common. In Issaqueena City, Miss., the Freedom School held in a church was put to the torch and leveled one night.

Despite all this, the work of the schools was carried out. Teachers soon learned that the most

Some of the children who attended the freedom schools.

popular area of interest was the history of the American Negro—a course giving to previously unaware people a new knowledge of their heritage and contributions.

Next in importance to the students of all ages was political education. They wanted to know who could help them and how, they wondered about what they could expect from the Civil Rights Act.

Valuable lessons discovered in Mississippi in 1964 and in Prince Edward County, Va., two years ago, were put to the test by the AFT volunteers this year. The teachers *learned* as they taught. They sought to draw out the students, to hear from them about their needs, their hopes and even their fears.

Self-expression was encouraged in many ways. Some of the Freedom Schools published their own mimeographed newspapers in which the students articulated problems closest to their hearts. In

Photo: A.F.T.

Freedom schools gave a new meaning to the word for many this past summer.

Canton, Miss., the school led by Nancy Polin and Nancy Lester, AFT teachers from New York City, put out the *Youth Freedom Voice* whose main concern in one issue was an attempt to use the facilities of the public library.

In Amite County, Miss., the Freedom School is named for Herbert Lee, a Negro gunned down in broad daylight by a state senator. To Negroes he is a martyr, killed because he persisted in his efforts to become a registered voter. The Freedom School at Pilgrim Church in Amite County was directed by Sheridan Peterson, an AFT teacher from Seattle, and its publication is understandably concerned with Negro voting rights.

There were health and hygiene classes in all of the schools. The Reeses conducted a secretarial school in Jackson, Miss. Any vehicle that would give confidence and self-expression was tried. In one area a folk festival found Negroes 75 years and older singing folk songs, playing harmonicas and strumming banjoes in the true Mississippi Delta style.

In all the discussions there were patient efforts to impress local groups with the necessity for keeping up the schools' momentum so that none of the ground so painstakingly won would be lost through neglect. As a result, there are now some year-round Freedom Schools with local high school students replacing the teacher-volunteers who have returned to their own classrooms.

Much of the cost of the Freedom School project was financed by contributions from AFT locals, with generous assists from other unions and individuals. Advertisements early in the season pointed out that $10 would provide six to eight weeks of schooling for a Negro youngster, $100 would buy a bus ticket for a Northern teacher and pay her entire summer's expenses. A $1000 gift would open and sustain a school for the summer.

AFT President Charles Cogen pointed out that "this was a free project—all on its own—not connected with any governmental authority." He added that the possibility of later federal assistance through anti-poverty legislation was under study.

Cogen said the volunteer teachers were cautioned to confine their activities to the educational aspects of the civil rights effort and to avoid involvement in local civil rights campaigns. The Freedom Schools, he went on "exist not in competition with public schools, but out of love for the idea of free—really free—public education."

The need for Freedom Schools will continue as long as quality education is not available to all children. The AFT recognizes the need and its convention in August urged greater efforts for the summer of 1966.

Cogen expects that more of his members will staff Freedom Schools next year. "We went into the South," he said, "as much to learn as to teach, to be inspired as to inspire, and to have our own stereotypes demolished as to tear down Southern prejudice."

Eugene A. Kelley, author of this article, is a longtime reporter of labor's activities.

Reprinted from
the October 1965
IUD Agenda
for the
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

An Introduction to the

Freedom School Project

American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

The dramatic growth and accomplishments of the Freedom Schools in the South during the last two years have made them a major motivating force in the civil rights movement.

The Freedom School project is now directed by the American Federation of Teachers (A.F.T.) and is financed by a nation-wide A.F.T. sponsored campaign for contributions.

One of the unique features of the A.F.T. Freedom School Project, and also one of the greatest factors in its success, is the living arrangements of Freedom School teachers. Obviously, the ten dollars per week provided to help defray living cost is completely inadequate for independent subsistence. Like the Peace Corps, the major aim of the project is to bring people together in "in depth" living situations which commit them mutually to the task of educating people. Unlike the Peace Corps, Freedom School teachers live in the homes of the local people who share what they have with them in every way possible. Both the teachers-guests and the parents-hosts declare that the experiences of mutual dependence and mutual respect resulting from these relationships are some of the most enlightening and gratifying aspects of the project.

The conditions under which teachers live provide the best way to understand the conditions, traditions, race relations and education problems of the South. However, preparatory orientation sessions are conducted before the teachers are sent to their teaching locations. These orientation sessions must be attended by all teachers sponsored by the A.F.T. to provide the vital insights absolutely necessary for success and safety in the South.

The preparatory orientation provides the teachers with insights into all civil rights activities going on and planned in the areas. The teachers meet key people working in all civil rights activities and gain first-hand information from the leaders via lectures and group discussions. The teachers also get their introduction to the problems of the local areas by the local Negro people themselves. Thus both teachers and students begin their experiences in sharing at the very outset of the program and continue throughout the duration of the summer. The teachers also evaluate one another's attitudes and conceptions of what their roles are and should be in the unique setting of the freedom schools and the purposes for which they are intended by the people who attend them, the people who organize them and those who conduct them.

opeiul0aflcio

GENERAL

FREEDOM SCHOOL

INFORMATION

The American Federation of Teachers Freedom School Project is a voluntary service arrangement. The funds raised will provide a minimum amount of assistance to the volunteers in terms of (1) reimbursement of transportation cost to and from the southern area of participation, (2) school supplies, (3) small reimbursement for those who use their own transportation in the freedom school area and (4) a small stipend for subsistence to each volunteer. Thus the volunteer must be prepared to live under circumstances much different than that to which they are accustomed.

The only money that will be available for use in the Freedom School project will be that which is raised in the spring and summer A.F.T. Freedom School Fund Drive. This money will be used to provide round-trip bus fare for the A.F.T. sponsored teachers who volunteer to serve in the project. The teachers may use whatever mode of transportation they wish; however, reimbursement for transportation cost will be the equivalent of round-trip bus fare in every case.

School supplies will be purchased with some of the money raised in the fund drive. The kinds and amount of materials will be determined by the availability of the requested materials and the teacher making the request. Teachers must be prepared to exercise their "creative genius and ingenuity" in providing themselves and their students with teaching aids at a minimum cost.

Those teachers who drive their own cars into the South and use them for transportation while serving the Freedom Schools will be provided a small stipend for gasoline purchases. Transportation is a crucial problem for volunteers in the South. However car pools provide a major solution in all areas where Freedom Schools are held. The local citizens involved in civil rights work and who own some kind of vehicle always help as much as possible.

In past summers occasionally a Freedom School teacher has been arrested. We must face the fact that this harrassment tactic may well be stepped up as the diehard segregationists realize the effectiveness of the Freedom School Program in building voter registration and participation in other civil rights activities.

Our teachers therefore are asked to arrange for some one "back home" to be responsible for producing bond money immediately upon request, in the sum of at least two hundred dollars ($200.00), in case of emergency. All such "harrassment" cases are invariably reversed by higher courts and the money returned.

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SUGGESTED READING
FOR
PROSPECTIVE FREEDOM SCHOOL TEACHERS

There are many books which deal with the nature of southern racial thought and attitudes. Any person considering going into the south as a civil rights worker should have some idea of the direction and pattern of thought dominant in the southern mind. The following books are suggested as aids in getting the southern point of view.

Canzoneri, Robert, I Do So Politely, Houghton Miffin Co., Boston, 1965.
Cash, W. J., The Mind Of The South, Random House, N.Y., 1941
Griffin, John Howard, Black Like Me, Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1961.
McGill, Ralph, The South And The Southerner, Brown & Co., Boston, 1964.
Lord, Walter, The Past That Would Not Die, Harper & Row, Pub., N.Y., 1965.
Rose, Arnold, The Negro In America, Beacon Press, Boston, 1962.
Silver, James W., Mississippi: The Closed Society, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.
Smith, Lillian, Killers Of The Dream, Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1963.

One cannot begin to serve effectively in building the self-image and skills of Negroes if he or she does not keep constantly aware of the basic perceptions and conceptions which generally underlie their position, role and relationships in American life. These attitudes can be gleaned to some extent in the books listed below.

Baldwin, James, Nobody Knows My Name, Dell Pub. Co., Inc., N.Y., 1961
_____ Notes Of A Native Son, Beacon Press, Boston, 1955.
Bennett, Lerone Jr., Confrontation Black and White, Johnson Pub. Co., Inc., Chicago, 1965.
_____ The Negro Mood and Other Essays, Johnson Pub. Co., Inc., Chicago, 1965.
Clark, Kenneth B., Editor, The Negro Protest, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963.
_____ Dark Ghetto, Harper & Row, Pub., 1965.

The persons who make up the on-going civil rights forces in the south and the character of the movement itself have been written about by many people. Prospective Freedom School teachers should have some idea of what has gone on in the civil rights movement before them and the personalities which have helped to shape the course of the movement. Thus, among the books that they might use as references are the following:

Holt, Len, The Summer That Didn't End, William Morrow & Co., N.Y., 1965.
McCord, William, Mississippi: The Long, Hot Summer, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., N.Y., 1965.
Zinn, Howard, S.N.C.C., The New Abolitionists, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964.

(Suggested Readings, Cont'd.)

There has been much talk of Negro history; however, many people have confused Negro history with Negro biography. In order to assure that this mistake has not been made by prospective freedom school teachers, the following list is offered as suggested books on Negro history. At least one, and in some cases more than one, of these books should be seriously read and studied by any person entering into civil rights and human relations work.

Aptheker, Herbert, Editor, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 2 vols., The Citadel Press, N.Y., Vol. 1, 1962; vol 2, 1964.

Bennett, Lerone Jr., Before The Mayflower, Johnson Pub. Co., Inc., Chicago, 1962.

Franklin, John Hope, The Emancipation Proclamation, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1963.

_____ The Free Negro In North Carolina - 1790-1860, University of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1943.

_____ From Slavery To Freedom, Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1963.

_____ The Militant South - 1800-1861, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964.

_____ Reconstruction After The Civil War, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962.

Hughes, Langston & Meltzer, Milton, A Pictorial History of the Negro In America, Crown Publishers, Inc., N.Y., 1963.

Logan, Rayford W., The Negro In The United States, D.Van Nostrand Co., Inc., N.Y., 1957.

Nordholt, J. W. Schulte, The People That Walk In Darkness, Ballantine Books, N.Y., 1960.

Quarles, Benjamin, The Negro In The Making Of America, Collier Books, Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1964.

Woodson, Carter G. & Wesley, Charles H., The Negro In Our History, The Associated Pub., Inc., Washington, D.C., 1962.

All groups of people in America gain or loose their pride in themselves as human beings on the basis of their knowledge and conceptions of their historical past and the degree of cultural development achieved in the areas of their ancestors. The American Negro is no different than anyone else in this matter. Thus, as all other people's pride is rooted in their past in other lands on other continents, so must the pride of the Negro have roots elsewhere. Some knowledge of that area of the world in which the Negro's past is rooted is exceedingly important to the Freedom School teacher. The following books are suggested as sources from which this knowledge can be gained.

Davidson, Basil, A Guide To African History, Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1965.

_____ The African Past, Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1964.

_____ The Lost Cities Of Africa, Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1959.

_____ The Years of the African Slave Trade, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1961.

(Suggested Reading, Cont'd)

Fordham, Paul, The Geography of African Affairs, Penguin Books, Baltimore, Md., 1965.

Kingsnorth, G. W., Africa South of the Sahara, Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Oliver, Roland & Fage, J. D., A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Baltimore, Md., 1964.

Rogers, Joel A., Africa's Gift To America, Joel A. Rogers, N.Y., 1961.

Poetry is an expression of the deepest desires and protests of people. It has been, is, and will always be a most reliable means of gleaning the deepest concerns and involvements crucial in the lives of people. Prospective Freedom School teachers and Human Relations workers should be well aquainted with at least one of the following books of Anthologies of Negro poetry.

Hughes, Langston & Bontemps, Arna, Editors, The Poetry Of The Negro 1746-1949, Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1949.

Hughes, Langston, Editor, New Negro Poets U.S.A., Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1964.

Johnson, James Weldon, Editor, The Book Of American Negro Poetry, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., N.Y., 1931.

Kerlin, Robert T., Negro Poets And Their Poems, Associated Pub., Inc., Washington, D.C., 1935.

Pool, Rosey E., Editor, Beyond The Blues, Hand and Flower Press, N.Y., 1962.

Every person teaching or working in Human Relations in America should be familiar with the outstanding Negro writers of America. The following books are excellent as means of becoming aware of the great number and variety of writings by Negroes that have and are contributing importantly to America's store of literature.

Brown, Sterling A., Davis, Arthur P., Lee, Ulysses, Editors, The Negro Caravan - Writings by American Negroes, Dryden Press Pub., N.Y., 1941.

Davis, John P., The American Negro Reference Book, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966.

Hill, Herbert, Editor, Soon, One Morning, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., N.Y., 1965.

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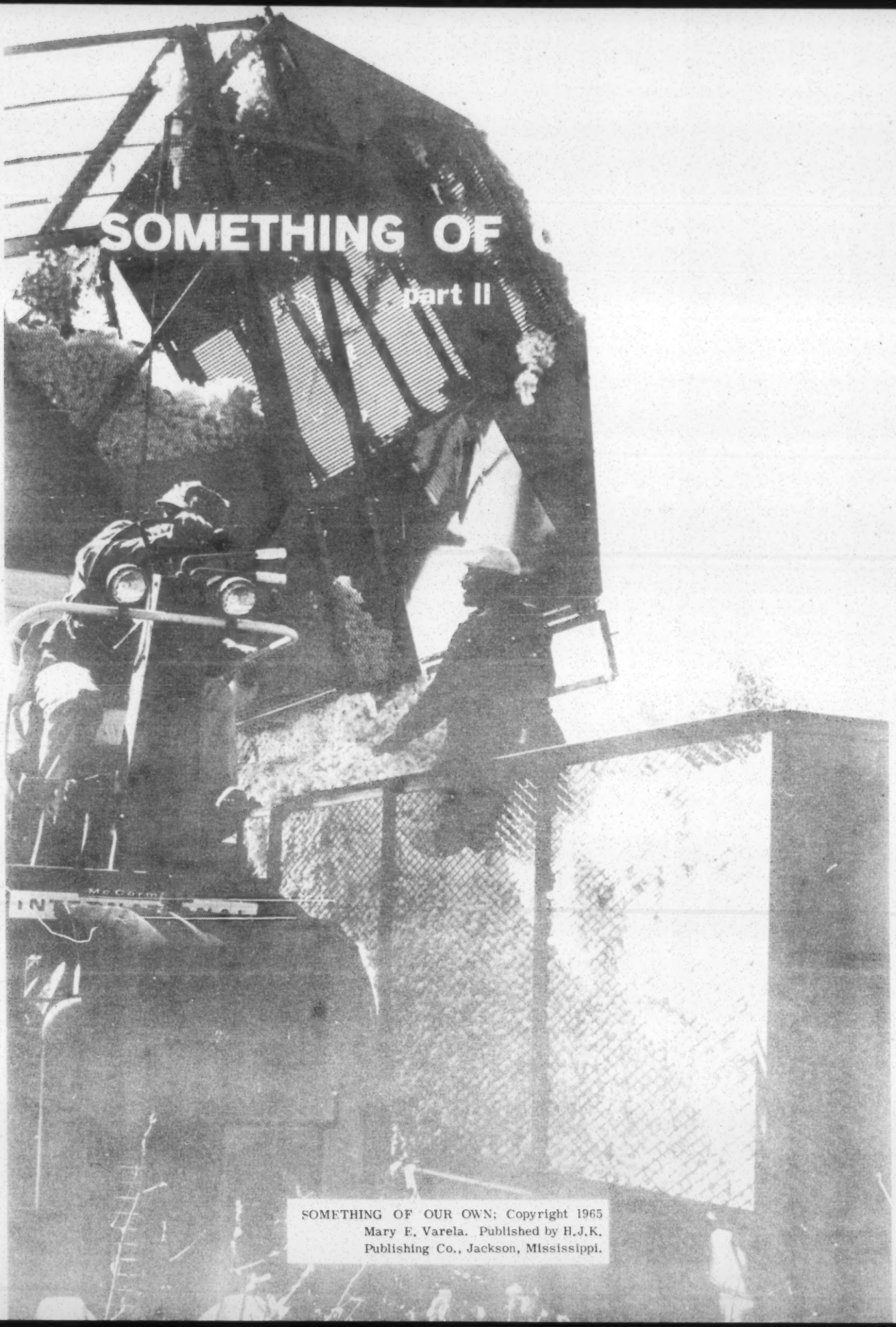

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Pat.

File

Bill Tome has done some good stuff besides this. Check the VEP files on his project.

Bill

South side, Va.
Bill Towe

Virginia Government Workbook

by Bill Towe

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P. O. Box 79

Kenbridge, Virginia

Table of Contents

I. Local Government 1

County 1
Town and City. 7
Review and Summary of Local Government. 8

II. State Government 13

Branches of State Government 13
Legislative Branch 14
Executive Branch 15

III. Federal Government 16

Executive Branch 16
Legislative Branch 16

IV. Voter Registration 17

Registration Requirements 17
Voter Registration Drive 19

1 Local Government

Virginia is divided into 96 counties and 23 independent cities. Each one of these counties and cities has a local government. Also there are many cities and towns in the 96 counties and most of these cities and towns have local governments. The job of each local government is to make sure that Virginia and Federal laws are obeyed. The local governments also pass laws to govern the people in the towns, cities and counties.

A. Local County Government

The most important law making and enforcing body in your county is the Board of Supervisors. While this board is very important, it's powers are greatly limited, as we shall see.

1. How are the Board of Supervisors selected? _____

_____ When? _____

a. How many members are on the board in your county? _____

(1). What determines the number of board members? _____

_____

(2). Below list the districts in your county and the supervisor from each district.

District	Supervisor

(3). Do an equal number of people live in each district? _____

If not, is this fair? _____ Why or why not? _____

_____

b. When does the board meet? _____

Where? _____

c. The board is suppose to act for the state in carrying out certain duties.

What are some of these duties? _____

d. As a local governing body what are some of the duties of the Board? _____

_____

_____

e. While many laws are passed by the Virginia and United States governments to help people, quite often the Board will decide whether or not the people will get the benefit from these laws. What are some Virginia laws to help people that the Board can decide whether or not people will get? _____

_____

_____

What are some U.S.Government laws that the Board can decide on? _____

_____

_____

(1). Do you know of any Virginia or U.S. laws the Board has voted to use to help the people? _____

_____

Has voted against? _____

_____

(2). Often people say it is only necessary to vote for the President and Governor. Would you agree with them? _____ Why or why not? _____

_____

2. What is the job of the Board of Reassessors? _____

_____

a. What are the names of the members of this Board? _____

_____

b. Who appoints this Board? _____

c. How often must a reassessment be made? _____

d. How can a reassessment affect you? _____

_____

3. What is the job of the Board of Equalization? _____

_____

a. Who selects the members of this Board? _____

b. Does your county have a Board of Equalization? _____ If so who are the members? _____

_____

c. Is it important that your county have a Board of Equalization? _____

Why or why not? _____

_____

4. What is the job of the Commissioner of Revenue? _____

_____

a. Who selects the Commissioner? _____

b. Who is the Commissioner in your county? _____

c. How long does the Commissioner serve? _____

5. Who is the County Treasurer? _____

a. What is his job? _____

_____

b. Where does the County Treasurer deposit county funds? _____

_____ Why is this important? _____

_____

c. Who selects the Treasurer? _____

How long does he serve? _____

6. Who is the Commonwealth Attorney? _____

a. What is his job? _____

_____

b. Who selects the Attorney? _____

c. Is it important to you who the Commonwealth Attorney is? _____

Why or why not? _____

_____

7. Who is the Sheriff of the county? _____

a. What is his job? _____

_____

b. Who selects the Sheriff? _____

c. For how long does he serve? _____

d. Is it important to you who the Sheriff is? _____ Why or why not? _____

_____

8. Who is the County Court Judge? _____

a. What kinds of cases does he try? _____

_____

b. Who selects this Judge? _____

c. For how long does he serve? _____

9. Who is the County Clerk? _____

a. What is his job? _____

b. Who selects the clerk? _____

c. For how long does he serve? _____

d. What kind of information can you get from the Clerk or Registrar if you are working on voter registration? _____

_____

How can the Clerk help you find out what the Board of Supervisors and/or School Board have done in the past or plan to do? _____

_____

10. Who are the members of the County Welfare Board? _____

_____

a. What is their job? _____

_____

b. Who selects the Board? _____ Who selects this Judge?

_____

c. Who is the Welfare Superintendent? _____ How is he

selected? _____

d. What is his job? _____

_____

e. Is it important to you who is on the Welfare Board? _____ Why or why not? _____

_____

11. Who are the members of the School Board? _____

_____

_____

a. What is their job? _____

_____

b. For how long do they serve? _____ c. How are they selected? _____

_____

d. Who is the School Superintendent? _____ Who selects him? _____

e. Who selects members of the School Trustee Electoral Board? _____

_____

f. Can you have any say-so as to who will be on the School Trustee Electoral Board? _____ If so, how? _____

_____

g. Can you have any say-so as to who will be on the School Board? _____ If so, how? _____

h. Can you think of any way(s) in which you could have more say-so on who the members of the School Board should be? _____

_____

_____

12. Does your county have a Planning Commission? _____ If so, who are the members? _____

_____

a. What is their job? _____

_____

b. Who selects the Commission? _____

c. Can the acts of a Planning Commission affect you? _____ If so, how? ____

_____

13. Who are the members of the Electoral Board? _____

_____

a. What is their job? _____

_____

b. How long do they serve? _____ c. Who selects the Board? _____

_____ d. Who selects the registrar and precinct judges? _____ e. From what political party must a majority of the Board be? _____

_____ How does this help the one-party system continue? _____

_____

_____

14. Who is the County Agent? _____ Home Demonstration Agent? _____

a. What is their job? _____

_____

_____

b. Who selects them? _____

15. Who are the Justices of Peace in your county? _____

_____

a. How are they selected? _____

b. What is their job? _____

_____

16. Who fixes the salaries of the Attorneys for the Commonwealth, Treasurers, Commissioners of Revenue, and Sheriffs? _____

a. Who are the members of this Board? _____

_____

b. Who selects this Board? _____

c. What can this Board do to influence local and state elections? _____

_____

_____

d. How does this help a few men to control the government? _____

_____

_____

B. Local Town and City Government

Over half of Virginians now live in towns and cities. All the towns and the cities, except for the 23 independent cities, are part of the county in which they are located. People living in these towns and cities are part of two local governments-the town and the county- therefore they vote in county and town elections. However, people who live in the county do not vote in town elections.

The most important governing body is the Town Council.

1. Who are the members of the Town Council? _____

_____

_____

a. How are they selected? _____ When? _____

b. What are their chief duties? _____

_____

_____

c. Who is the head of the Council? _____ What is his name? _____

_____ How is he selected? _____

_____

d. Is it important to you who is selected on the town or city council? _____

Why or why not? _____

_____

e. Are there any Virginia or United States laws that the Council can decide whether or not people will get? _____

_____

2. Does your town have a City Manger? _____ If so, what is his name? _____

a. What are his duties? _____

_____

_____

b. How is he selected? _____

3. Who is the Town Clerk? _____

a. What are his duties? _____

_____

b. Who selects him? _____ For how long? _____

4. Who is the Town Treasurer? _____

a. What are his duties? _____

b. Who selects him? _____ For how long? _____

5. Who is the Town Attorney? _____

a. What are his duties? _____

_____

b. Who selects him? _____

6. Who are some other town officials and what are their duties?

Official	Duties
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

a. How were they selected? _____

b. Do you think they are doing a good job? _____ Why or why not? _____

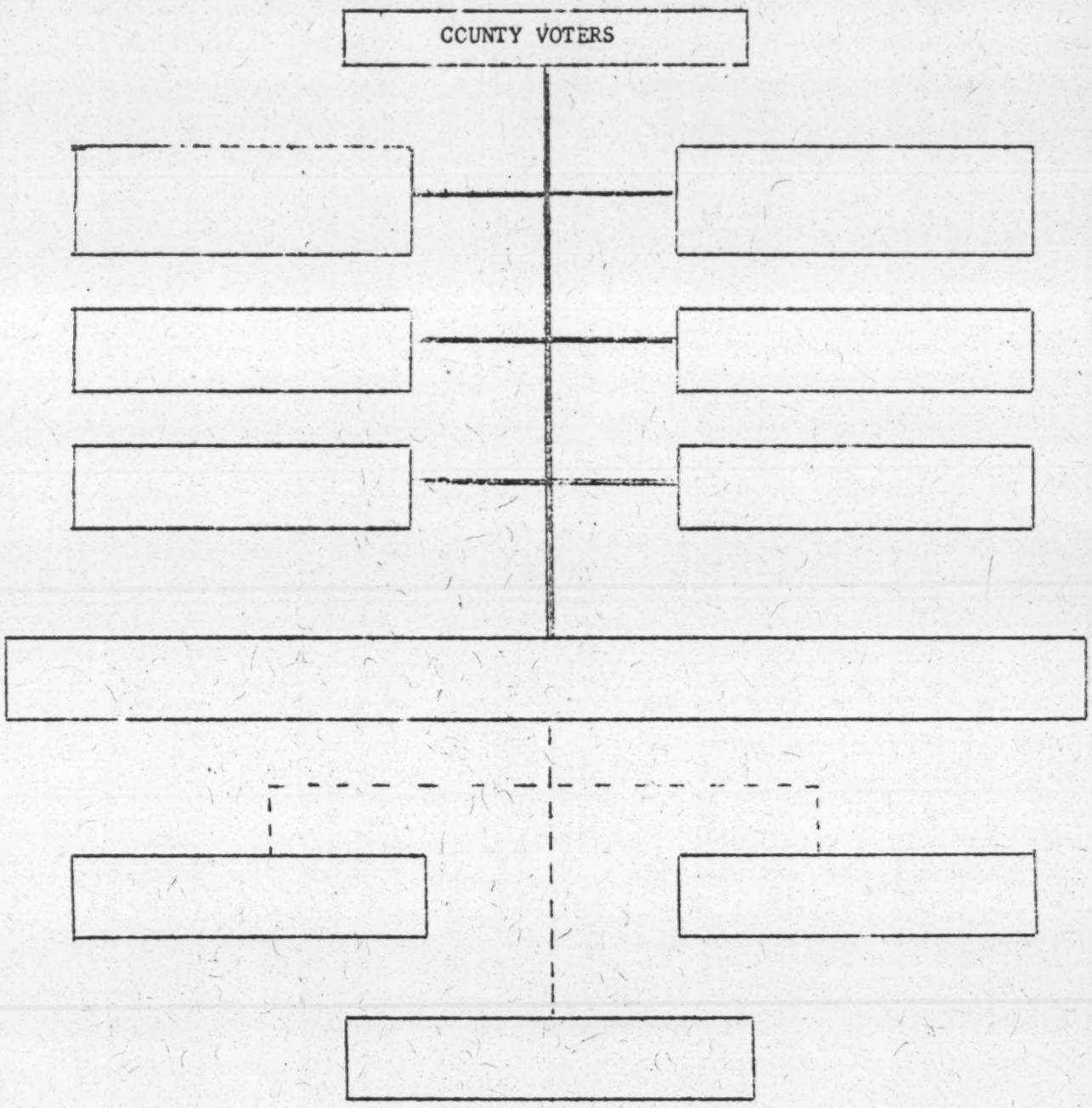
_____

C. Review and Summary of Local Government

Now let us review what we have learned about local government and gain a better understanding of how our local government works. First, let us fill in several diagrams.

Diagram 1

Name the county officials that are elected by the people. Also name county officials and boards appointed by the Board of Supervisors.



——— Elected by County Voters

- - - - - Appointed by Board of Supervisors

1. What county officials are elected by the people? _____

_____

_____

a. When are they elected? _____

b. Most county officials serve for how many years? _____

2. What county officials does the Board of Supervisors appoint? _____

_____

_____

3. How is it possible for a majority of the Board of Supervisors to be elected by less than a majority of county voters? _____

_____

_____

4. Who is the Circuit Court Judge? _____ What other counties does he serve? _____

a. What county officials and boards does the Circuit Court Judge appoint? ____

_____

_____

b. Why is the Circuit Court Judge sometimes called the "silent partner" in the government? _____

_____

_____

c. Who selects the Judge? _____

d. For how long does he serve? _____

e. How does the power of the Circuit Court Judge weaken the power of the Board of Supervisors? _____

_____

f. Would local county voters have more say so in their government if the Supervisors appointed the boards and officials that are now appointed by the Circuit Court Judge? _____ If so, why? _____

_____

_____

g. Would this be more democratic? _____ Why or why not? _____

_____

_____

h. How does the Circuit Court Judge make it easier for a machine to govern Virginia? _____

_____ _____

5. How could the Byrd machine or other machines in the future punish local officials who are elected by the people if they do not support the machine candidates? _____ _____

_____

6. We have seen that the power of the county voters has been limited by:

a. the power of the Circuit Court Judges who are not directly elected by the people to appoint many people who govern the county.

b. the power of the Board of Compensation to punish county officials if they do not support the candidates of the machine.

If we want our county government to become more democratic we must change this. Let us briefly examine how we can work to make our government more democratic.

a. First we must begin to educate people to the fact that while our leaders tell us we have a democratic form of government that this is not completely true. What are some of the ways we can make people aware of how to make our government more democratic?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____ _____

4. _____

b. After we make people aware of the weaknesses of our government, then hopefully, they will want to make our county government more democratic. One

way to change all the county governments at one time would be to get our Constitution changed. How is the Constitution changed? _____

_____

_____

c. As we can see, it is very difficult to change the Constitution and it takes a long time. However, it is possible to change our local government to make it more democratic. Several laws have been passed to make our county government more democratic. What other forms of county government are possible under these laws? _____

_____

d. Which of these forms of government would be best for our county? _____

_____

e. How can this form of government be bought about in our county? _____

_____

_____

_____

II State Government

Like the U.S.Government, Virginia's government is divided into three branches. They are:

Legislative
Executive
Judicial

A. While we shall primarily be concerned with the first two, let us briefly study all three branches.

1. What is the job of each branch?

Legislative _____

_____

Executive _____

_____

Judicial _____

_____

2. How are members of each branch selected?

Legislative _____

Executive _____

Judicial _____

B. Legislative Branch

The legislative branch of Virginia is the General Assembly which is made up of the House of Delegates and the Senate. There are 100 members in the House and 40 members in the Senate.

1. In which House of Delegate district do you live? _____

a. What other counties and cities are in this district? _____

_____

b. Who is the Delegate from your district? _____

c. When was he elected? _____ How long does he serve? _____

d. How many times has he been reelected, if any? _____

e. Do you know of any laws he has asked the House of Delegates to pass that would help or hurt Negroes and poor whites? _____

_____

_____

f. Do you know of any laws that he has voted for or against that would help or hurt Negroes and poor whites? _____

_____

_____

2. In which Senate district do you live? _____

a. What other counties and cities are in this district? _____

_____

b. Who is the Senator from your district? _____

c. When was he elected? _____ How long does he serve? _____

d. How many times has he been reelected, if any? _____

e. Do you know of any laws he asked the Senate to pass that would help or hurt

Negroes and poor whites? _____

_____

_____

f. Do you know of any laws that he has voted for or against that would help or hurt Negroes and poor whites? _____

_____

_____

C. Executive Branch

Every four years Virginians elect a Governor, Lt.Governor, and an Attorney General. These men head the executive branch of the government.

1. When are the above officials elected? _____

For how long do they serve? _____

2. What is the name of each?

Governor _____

Lt. Governor _____

Attorney General _____

3. What is the job of each?

Governor _____

_____

Lt. Governor _____

_____

Attorney General _____

_____

4. Who are some other members of the executive branch and what are their jobs?

Members	Jobs

III Federal Government

Virginia, like other states, elects people to represent them in the Federal government in Washington, D.C. In addition to voting for a President and Vice-President to represent them, Virginians also elect Congressmen and Senators.

A. Executive Branch

The President and Vice-President head the executive branch of the federal government.

1. For whom did a majority of Virginians vote for in the last presidential election? _____ In the previous three presidential elections? _____

   a. What caused the majority of Virginians to support the Democratic candidate rather than the Republican? _____

   _____

   b. Will this help Negroes? _____ Why or why not? _____

   _____

   _____

2. When are the President and Vice-President elected? _____

   For how long do they serve? _____

B. Legislative Branch

The House of Representatives and the Senate make up the legislative branch of the federal government.

1. How many Congressmen does Virginia have in the House of Representatives? ____

   a. What determines how many Representatives each state has? _____

   _____

   b. When are they elected? _____ For how long do they serve? _____

2. In what Congressional district do you live? _____

   a. What is your Congressman's name? _____

   b. What are some other counties and cities he represents? _____

   _____

   c. How long has he been in Congress? _____

   d. Does he vote with the Democrats or Republicans? _____

   e. How can you find out which laws he votes for or against? _____

   _____

3. Who are Virginia's two Senators?_____

a. When are Senators elected?_____

1. For how long do they serve?_____

b. How long have the present Senators been in office?

1._____ 2. _____

c. Do they vote with the Republicans or Democrats?

1._____ 2. _____

d. How can you find out which laws they vote for or against?

_____

IV. Voter Registration

A. First let us briefly take a look at some requirements for registering to vote in Virginia.

1. Who may register to vote?_____

a. Where do you register to vote_____

b. When can you register to vote?_____

2. What are some of the questions you have to answer when you register to vote? _____

_____

a. If you have trouble reading or writing or if you can not read or write, what is the registrar supposed to do?_____

_____

b. What is the name of the law that requires the registrar to do this? _____

c. What should you do if the registrar does not obey the law?

_____

3. When was the poll tax law passed in Virginia?_____

a. What did this law require?_____

_____

b. Why do you think the poll tax law was passed? _____

c. What political party was gaining power in Virginia when the poll tax law was passed? _____

d. What other laws were passed during the same time as the poll tax law was passed? _____

_____

4. There used to be a requirement that poll taxes must be paid in order to vote in federal elections. How was that requirement ended? _____

a. How was the requirement that poll taxes must be paid to vote in local and state elections ended? _____

_____

b. Can the people who registered for federal elections only and did not pay the poll tax now vote in local and state elections? _____

5. If you have been registered in one county in Virginia and then move into a new county, how do you register? _____

_____

a. If you have moved from one district of the county to another, what must you do? _____

b. If you have changed your name, what must you do? _____

_____

c. Do you think these laws are fair? Why, or why not? _____

_____

6. What are primary elections? _____

_____

a. When are primary elections held? _____

b. Why are primary elections important? _____

_____

7. In Virginia you do not have to register by political party as you do in most states. Why do you think this is so? _____

_____

a. Why is this very important in primary elections? _____

_____

b. Do you think this is fair? Why, or why not? _____

_____

B. Now let us try to determine whether or not our county and city needs a voter registration drive.

1. Has your county had a voter registration drive? _____

a. If so, do you think it was successful? _____ Why, or why not? _____

b. Do you think there is a need for a voter registration drive?

_____

1. How many people are registered? _____ Where can you find this information? _____

2. Do you think this number could be increased. Why or why not? _____

_____

3. If you believe the number of registered voters can be increased, what do you believe is the best way? _____

_____

_____

2. What are some ways to get people to vote after they are registered? _____

_____

3. Do you think voting will really change things? Why or why not?

_____

_____

4. Even though Negroes outside the South have been able to register and vote for many years, most Negroes who live outside the South are also poor and live in slums. Why do you think voting has not helped them get better jobs, schools, and housing? _____

_____

_____

_____

a. What do you think would help them? _____

_____

_____

b. Why do you think people are poor? _____

_____

_____

_____

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Mr. Boyd then called the police, thinking that he could get help from them. But instead, when the police came, they arrested Boyd.

All this happened because a black man, with his two young sons watching, thought he could get justice from the Atlanta City Police. But our brother, Mr. Boyd, did not remember that a white woman's word has always put the black man in a "trick bag." Instead of the police dealing with Lady Swartzberg, they arrested the victim.

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BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

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Text of Kennedy's Address On Civil Rights in U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP) — Following is the text of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights message to the nation Tuesday night:

Good evening, my fellow citizens.

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama campus to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States district courts of the Northern District of Alabama. That order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happened to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama, who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents. This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Soldiers Aren't Asked

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect all of those who wish to be free, and when Americans are sent to Viet Nam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops.

It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street. And it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privilege of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the sec-

United Press International Photo
PRESIDENT KENNEDY
Addresses the Nation

race except with respect to Negroes?

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promises. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or tort. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore it. The fact that we face a great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all.

Inviting Shame

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

authorize the federal government to participate lawfully in law suits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence. Today a Negro is attending a state-supported institution in every one of our 50 states, but the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade school at the time of the Supreme Court's decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job.

The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision, therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry the legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Will Be Requested

Other features will also be requested, including greater protection for the right to vote. But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens North and South who have been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency.

Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line, and I salute them for their honor and their courage.

My fellow Americans, this is a problem which faces us all—in every city of the North as well as the South. Today there are Negroes unemployed two or three times as many compared to whites, inadequate in education, moving into the large cities, unable to find work, young people particularly out of work without hope, denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or to go to a movie theater, denied the right to a decent education, denied almost today the right to attend a state university although qualified—it seems to me that these are matters which concern us all not merely president or congressmen or governors but every citizen of the United States. This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who come here had

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he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist is every city, in every state of the union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. Nor is this a partisan issue in a time of domestic crisis. Men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics.

This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than in the streets, and new laws are needed at every level, but law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the scriptures and is as clear as the American Constiution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay? One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression, and this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We Preach Freedom

We preach freedom around the world and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master

Inviting Shame

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in a series of forthright cases. The executive branch has adopted that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including the employment of federal personnel, the use of federal facilities and the sale of federally financed housing.

But there are other necessary measures which only the Congress can provide, and they must be provided at this session. The old code of equity law under which we live demands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens as there are on remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is the street.

I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores and similar establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

Progress Continues

I have recently met with scores of business leaders urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination and I have been encouraged by their response, and in the last two weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities. But many are unwilling to act alone, and for this reason, nationwide legislation is needed if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I am also asking Congress to

Shuttlesworth Home Guarded

CINCINNATI (UPI) — Police were ordered Tuesday to keep special watch on the home of integration leader Fred L. Shuttlesworth because a telephone caller threatened to blow up his home and family.

The Negro clergyman is the head of the Alabama Christian Movement and was one of the leaders in the integration demonstrations recently in Birmingham, Ala.

His family told police he recently left Birmingham and went to New Orleans.

not merely president or congressmen or governors but every citizen of the United States. This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who come here had an equal chance to develop their talents.

Cannot Be Said

We cannot say to 10 per cent of the population that you cannot have that right; that your children can't have the chance to

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develop whatever talents they have; that the only way that they are going to get their rights is to go into the streets and demonstrate.

I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that.

Therefore, I am asking for your help in making it easier for us to move ahead and prove the kind of equality or treatment which we would want ourselves; to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talents.

As I have said before, not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or an equal motivation, but they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves.

We have a right to expect the Negro community will be responsible, will uphold the law, but they have a right to expect that the law will be fair; that the Constitution will be color blind, as Justice Harlan said at the turn of the century.

This is what we are talking about, and this is a matter which concerns this country and what it stands for, and in meeting it I ask the support of all of our citizens.

Thank you very much.

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Archbishop Ousts Selma Priest Who Aided Voter Registration Drive

By JOHN COGLEY

The Rev. Maurice Oulette, pastor of St. Elizabeth's Mission, a Roman Catholic church for Negroes in Selma, Ala., has been ordered to leave the Mobile-Birmingham diocese by Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen.

Father Oulette is a member of the Edmundite Fathers, a religious society of priests that specializes in work among Negro Catholics. Normally, his appointments would be determined by the Superior-General of the Edmundite order, which has its headquarters in Winooski, Vt.

The Superior-General, the Very Rev. Eymard P. Galligan, made a special trip to Alabama two seeks ago to ask Archbishop Toolen to reconsider the decision, but he was unsuccessful.

Father Oulette will leave July 1. He plans to vacation briefly in New York and then proceed to the generalate of his order in Winooski for reassignment. Another Edmundite priest will take his place in Selma.

Father Oulette, 39 years of age, was sent to Selma in 1961 as Superior of the Edmundite Mission House there and pastor of St. Elizabeth's.

His troubles began about three years ago, when he became active in the Negro voter-registration drive in Selma and attended mass meetings organized by the Dallas County Improvement Association and other organizations that were the nucleus of the drive at that time. He was the only white person in Selma associated with the drive.

"I felt," he said yesterday, "that as a priest my obligation was to help my people in every way I could, not just to sit in church but to be actively concerned about their welfare."

As a result of these activities, he was asked by what he termed the "white power structure" to leave the city.

"Word was gotten to me that if I attended any more of these meetings, I would be arrested. I went back, but nobody arrested me," he said.

Then his superior was called by a Selma official, after a meeting of the Selma City Council, and told that Father Oulette was marked for arrest. He said that the superior asked him what he wanted to do.

"I told him I had not done anything wrong and would wait for them to come and get me," he said. "I put on clean clothes, picked up a toothbrush, put my breviary in my pocket and was ready. Nothing happened, so I went to bed."

About 10 o'clock the same evening a call from the city's leaders was put through to the Edmundite superior in the South at that time the same Father Galligan who is now superior-general.

Father Oulette after hearing about the call, got up and went out for a meeting between Mayor Chris Hines, County Solicitor Blanshard McCloud, Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds, and Father Galligan.

"First they asked me if I would leave town voluntarily. I said no. Then they suggested that I take a vacation. I said I had already taken my vacation. Then they told me that they had been getting phone calls and were solicitous about my welfare. I told them I knew about the dangers, but that I felt my job was here and I wasn't about to run away from it."

See the Archbishop

Fathers Oulette and Galligan then went to see Archbishop Toolen. Father Oulette told the Archbishop about his participation in the Negro voter-registration drive. The Archbishop said he saw nothing wrong about it.

"So," said Father Oulette, "I kept up my activities."

"I was accused by the City Council of teaching children how to demonstrate and how to resist the police," he said. "I was charged with calling Atlanta and asking for 500 Negroes to come to Selma and break up the town. None of this was true. At the time I had never seen a demonstration. I told them they were out of their minds."

Then, according to Father Oulette, his phone was tapped and visitors to his office and home were checked out, their license numbers were taken down by vigilant house-watchers. The atmosphere grew increasingly tense.

Then, "about a year ago, before the big publicized march," he said, "we had our first demonstrations in Selma."

"Some 400 kids were jailed," he said. "I went over to the jail to see who was there and to tell them not to be afraid. But I was not allowed inside. They said I was inciting the kids."

At this time, the priest said, he was supported by Archbishop Toolen, though the Archbishop was on the recieving end of complaints from various city fathers and civic leaders charging that Father Oulette was stirring up the Negroes of Selma.

Father Oulette asked the Archbishop's permission to demonstrate. The permission was refused, but he was permitted to continue his work with the voting-registration drive.

Last September the priest underwent two major surgical operations and was still convalescing during the massive demonstrations in Selma in March.

"But when priests and nuns came in from all over the country," he said "I did all I could to help. I told them who the responsible leaders were. I particularly watched over the sisters to see that they did not jeopardize lives by acting imprudently. A couple of times, I raised the roof about their being placed in dangerous situations."

Archbishop Toolen did not approve of the Northern clergy's demonstrating in Selma last March. He told a St. Patrick's Day audience that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was "dividing the people."

"I do not believe that priests are equipped to lead groups in disobedience to the laws of the state," he said.

Priests and nuns, he said, "are out of place in these demonstrations—their place is at home doing God's work."

The 79-year-old Archbishop Toolen is not a segregationist. In April, 1964, he ordered that all the Catholic schools in Alabama be integrated by September, 1965.

When Father Galligan asked why his Edmundite confrere was being ordered out of the diocese, Archbishop Toolen said that he did not have to give a reason, he just wanted him out.

"He said that I was a good priest, but that I was too wild on this racial question. But I never disobeyed one of his orders. I never demonstrated. I felt, though, like a man who had been allowed to walk out to the middle of a stream and then was forbidden to swim in either direction," Father Oulette said.

Archbishop Toolen yesterday was unavailable for comment.

Chattanooga Times — Housing Sec — (Sa)

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1965.

SOUTH PARK AREA TO PLAN CLEANUP

Residents Meet Tuesday at Wesley Center to Talk Over Drive

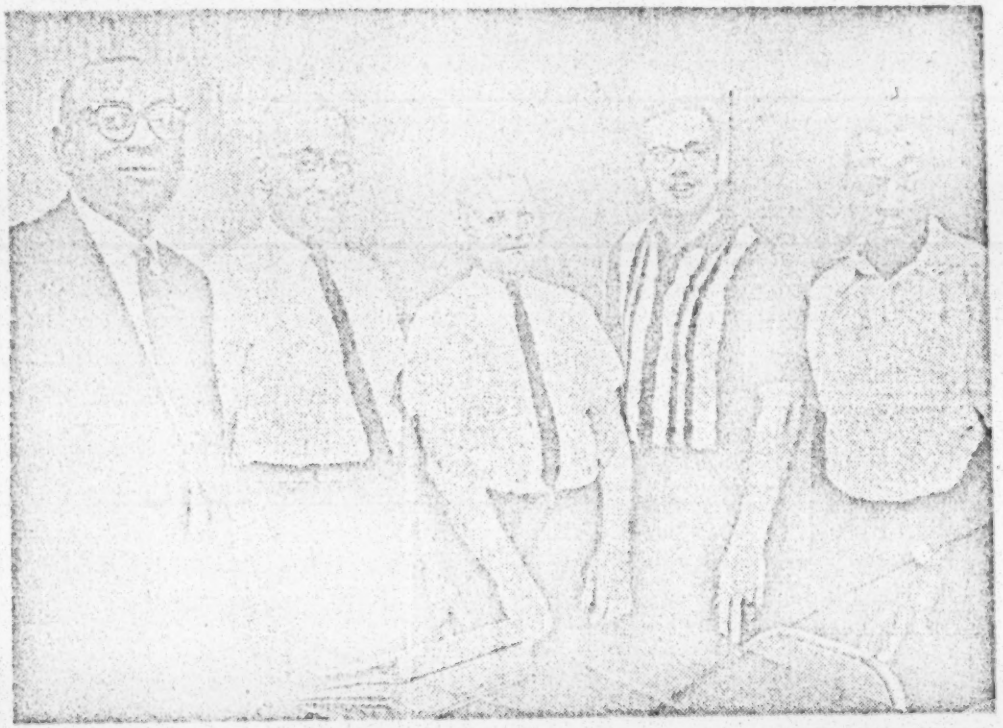
Final plans for a community-wide cleanup-paintup and renovation program in the south Highland Park area will be shaped next Tuesday at 7:30 p.m., when residents of the area—bounded roughly by Willow Street, Bailey Avenue, 23rd Street and Washington Street—are invited to Wesley Community Center, 1024 Main St., to form a community organization.

Lois Whitley Jr. is chairman of the committee directing the organization. William E. Davis is vice chairman, James Hampton, treasurer, and Lemmie E. Thomas, chaplain.

Miss Pearle Edwards, director of Wesley Center, is active in assisting with the program. Don (Chuck) Smith, program worker at the center, is also cooperating.

Pendell Meyers, representing the Scenic Cities Beautiful Commission, has been advising the committee. SCBC does not undertake the program as one of its own projects, but offers counsel and advice.

Dilapidated, dingy buildings, accumulations of rubbish and overgrown property are among the conditions residents of the area hope to correct. It is intended to be a long-range, continuing program, concerned not only with correcting existing problems, but with prevention of new ones, the announcement said.



—Times Staff Photo by Harold Haven

AREA RENOVATORS: Responsibility for renovation of a large area in south Highland Park is assumed by the above committee of residents of the neighborhood. From left are Lemmie E. Thomas, chaplain; Lois Whatley Jr., chairman of the group; William E. Davis, vice chairman; Don (Chuck) Smith, program worker at Wesley Center, and James Hampton, treasurer. Formal organization will take place at a mass meeting next Tuesday at 7:30 p.m.

The Journ... Has Served ... For Se... ...abor

Morgan C. Stanford
1431 Candler Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Journal of Labor

OLDEST WEEKLY LABOR NEWSPAPER IN THE SOUTH DEDICATED TO THE INTEREST OF ALL WORKING PEOPLE

Enjoy the BEST
Attend The MOVIES
M.P.M.O., Local 225

VOL. LXX NO. ... ATLANTA, GEORGIA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1965 Price Seven Cents

It Is Our Re... For The Development... ...man Talent

By J. O. MOORE
President, Atlanta, Ga. Labor Council AFL-CIO

Change today is a constant, never-ending phenomenon for us. It is almost a certainty that the generation now in our schools and colleges will go through a lifetime of technological innovations. When you consider that some 90 per cent of the research scientists who have ever lived are still alive—And that about half of all the research and development money spent in all the history of the United States was spent in the last eight years—you can grasp the extent to which technological change has accelerated our need to move aggressively on the serious problem of training and development.

With the month of September and the start of a new school term upon us, President Johnson has appealed to organizations in every segment of American life to support a nationwide campaign to encourage young Americans to return to school this fall.

The labor movement has every reason to heed this appeal, and to assist in every way possible. The President estimates that during the coming school year more than 750,000 youngsters will drop out of school without a high school diploma. In the age of automation and ever-accelerating technological advance, these boys and girls are courting almost certain economic disaster for their future lives.

They will find themselves qualified for little less but unskilled work, and with each passing year, the amount of that type of work available declines sharply. A high school education has become almost a necessity as preparation for any kind of meaningful job.

The labor movement has been perhaps the most ardent and effective supporter of governmental measures to remedy unemployment, eradicate poverty, and strengthen the Nation's educational structure. The goal has been a purposeful and rewarding life for every American.

Part and parcel of that goal must be an education which equips all of our citizens to meet the demands imposed by today's jobs and those that will come with the jobs of the future. This objective, however, cannot be legislated.

It can only be attained through a national, voluntary effort to convince our young people to remain in school until they have fulfilled the highest possible level of education of which they are capable. The President's plea deserves the strong support of trade unionism everywhere.

All young people between the ages of 14 and 18 are asked to think — think — think. Don't stay away from school! If already out of school and no work—go back! The best chance for a job is for those with high school training. Father, Mother, Friend: Give this note to the boy or girl who does not like school. "If you don't like school, you might not like work." Bosses don't like School Dropouts. Be a School Dropin!

Stewart Avenue Methodist Church To Hold Homecoming

Stewart Ave. Methodist Church will hold its HOMECOMING Sunday, September 12, at 11 a.m.

After the morning message, which will be delivered by Reverend Charles L. Middlebrooks, a former pastor, dinner will be spread under the tent. Members and former members are cordially invited to attend.

J. O. Moore In Georgia Baptist Hospital for Operation

J. O. Moore, president of the Atlanta, Ga. Labor Council and secretary of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, underwent surgery in Georgia Baptist Hospital Thursday, September 9. Mr. Moore is in room 384.

His many friends wish him a speedy recovery.

Harper, Coker And Lee To Attend Conference In San Francisco

Virgil B. Harper, financial secretary-treasurer of Plumbers and Steamfitters Local Union No. 72, accompanied by R. L. (Bob) Coker and M. A. Lee, will leave Saturday to attend the National Conference of the Retirement Pension group, which will meet in San Francisco. They expect to be back in Atlanta next Thursday.

Representatives from all over the United States will assemble for this Conference.

Tom C. Palmer, executive manager of Mechanical Contractors Association and Joel Howell, manager of Huffman Wolfe Company will represent management at the Conference.

If You Like Progress - Give A Buck To COPE

If you like what Congress has been doing — passing progressive laws to help working people and the nation—here's a tip: It would be a smart idea to do what you can now to make sure Congress goes right on enacting needed legislation.

And what you can do now is give a buck to COPE, the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. Your dollar, united with other dollars contributed to COPE by union members, will be used to help re-elect in 1966 the liberal congressmen who have been going to bat for you this year.

This is the only assignment for dollars contributed to COPE, to help finance liberal candidates—our friends—in their campaigns.

Is it worth a buck? Figure it out for yourself on the basic of the achievements of the liberal 89th Congress. Here is part of its record:

"RIGHT TO WORK" REPEAL
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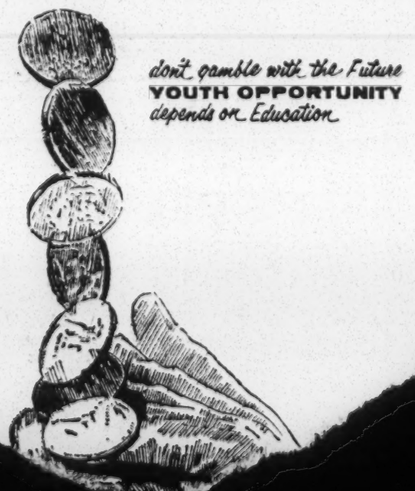

Death Of The Atlanta Times Is Unfortunate And Tragic

By CHARLIE HOUSTON

A tragic event happened in Atlanta on the last day of August. Directly or indrectly its aftermath will be felt by every resident of the metropolitan area.

The Atlanta Times is dead, and once more Atlanta and its surrounding area will be without competition in the daily newspaper field.

The Times did not die a natural death. It was murdered.

Incompetence and inexperience in the management and editorial divisions were primarily responsible for the "assassination."

Ignorance of the mechanical facts of newspaper publishing coupled with staggering extravagance also played parts in the paper's demise.

To the uninitiate, the extravagance was visible in the number of overstuffed, luxuriously furnished executive suites. These suites were fully as ornate as those provided for members of the Congress of the United States. (Perhaps there is a connection there.) Unfortunately, there was no free-spending Uncle Sam to pick up the tab.

The Times took off like a supersonic jet. It is unfortunate that the pilot or pilots were hardly qualified to fly a Piper Cub.

Those responsible for many costly purchases had little or no practical knowledge of the efficency and practicability of the equipment they were buying.

The paper had larger editorial and advertising department staffs than many dailies of twice its size. There was a dearth of able and skilled reporters and writers.

The composing room—cost at least a hundred thousand dollars more than was necessary. The money was wasted in the purchase of "the latest" in typesetting machines. Ten of them, in fact, which cost around $30,000 each. These "what no hands" wonders are more or less in the experimental stage. They do not, and cannot, live up to the claims made by high-pressure salesman "working" on a purchaser possessed by little knowledge of composing room composition. In The Times composing room seldom were more than five of the machines in operation at one time. The others were down for various reasons, usually mechanical.

One member of the original board of directors, himself a printer, owner of a successful union-manned commercial plant, and also publisher of a profitable construction industry magazine, tried to get The Times to buy more practical and economical typesetting equipment. He was the only experienced member on the board, but none would listen to him. When he saw the officials were determined on a policy which could only prove wasteful and extravagant, he promptly resigned. There is little doubt that the same waste existed in all other departments.

It is our hope that The Atlanta Times is only moribund, not dead; that by some miracle it may be resurrected and restored to a vigorous life with a middle-of-the-road policy replacing the far-right, ultra-conservative viewpoints of the past.

RUNOFF FOR CITY-WIDE PRIMARY SET FOR THURSDAY, SEPT. 16 DO NOT FAIL TO VOTE

The runoff for the City Primary will be held Thursday, September 16, 1965.

Atlanta, Ga. Labor Council COPE endorsed the following candidates as friends of the working people and best qualified for ...
citizens of the City of At...

FOR ALDERMEN
...

Douglas Wood, Fourth Wood
Cecil Turner, Sixth Ward
FOR BOARD OF ED...
Glenn Frick
CITY EX...
CO...

Dirksen Fights Repeal Of 14(b)

By ED TORBUSH
Member ATU #48

Good old Senator Everett Dirksen from Illinois is at it again. He came on the NBC News on TV Thursday evening, Sept. 9, to tell all us admitted union members that he will fight the repeal of Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley to the death. He will filibuster against its passage, although he deplores the use of the filibuster as a parliamentary device when it is used by the Senate members from the South, the Deep South, that is. Well, did he not fight every piece of legislation that he had a chance to fight which would help the working people of the United States to have a little say-so about their destiny? Of course, he is opposed to us. He fought Medicare down the line ,he has ridiculed the men and women in organized labor many times by his quick jumps to the defense of Big Business in the interest of helping them to continue to control the laboring men and wome nof this country.

The Hon. Mr. Dirksen has long been a membe rof America's most exclusive Closed Shop, the Senate of the United States of America. The working conditions are the finest, the pay is excellent, fringe benefits have long included a wonderful pension plan, and their own Medicare program certainly has outstripped anything available outside government ranks.

Imagine a man serving in our most exclusive closed shop (one theoretically controlled by the people's vote) turning on the working people of this great country to the end that he votes and works against their best interests and along with the desires of the C of C, the NAM and other select groups dedicated to the suppression of labor organizations, such as the American Medical Association, etc., while their groups arrogate for themselves the most complete form of the closed shop known to the world!

Members of organized labor! When will all of us get up off our lazy derrieres and stage a march on Congress second to none eve... carried out in pursuance of t... right of self-rule for the w... people of the United S... personally am ready!... and tired of ...
bers ...

Peter E. Terzick, General Treasurer United Brotherhood Of Carpenters, To Address Labor Council October 13th

Peter E. Terzick, General Treasurer United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, will address the Atlanta Georgia Labor Council, AFL-CIO at the first regular meeting to be held on Wednesday night, October 13th, 1965. Announcement was made by Council secretary R. J. (Bob) Butler.

Communications were received from Judge Luther Alverson, Judge Jeptha C. Tanksley and Judge Sam Phillips McKenzie, Superior Court Judges, acknowledging letters received from the Council in regard to the fact that no labor representative was appointed on the Grand Jury Commission.

Each expressed willingness upon the next vacancy to consider labor's recommendations.

Judge Harold R. Banke of the Superior Court, Clayton Judicial Circuit, wrote a note of appreciation for the endorsement given him by the Council while he was under consideration for the U. S. District Judge.

Judge Banke stated that he had been informed that he was finally evaluated as number 2 on the list of eight recommended by the Senators.

Two communications, addressed to vice-president Harry Bexley were received, one from Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner, concerning labor's opposition to the legislation to give home rule to the District of Columbia, and the other from Congressman James A. Mackay.

Congressman Weltner stated that he is inclined to favor this legislation, as he feels it is now time to give the people of the District of Columbia a voice in their own government and the government of the United States. He expressed surprise by the position taken by the Atlanta Georgia Labor Council, and stated that he would be greatly interested to know the reasons for opposing this legislation.

Delegate J. C. Whitley of Fire Fighters Local 134 said the reason for the opposition was that the City Employees would lose all their benefits and would have to start from scratch.

Congressman James A. Mackay, in his communication, stated that he had not committed himself on this issue and enclosed pro and con information which he said he wished Mr. Bexley and others would study and advise him of their conclusions.

Following the reading of a letter from W. H. Montague, Sr., president of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, in which he stated the Georgia State, AFL-CIO would like to sponsor a one day Labor School to discuss Central Bodies and their functions; Civil Rights; Workmen's Compensation-Unemployment Insurance; COPE and legislative matters; Community Services and Collective Bargaining, a motion was made and passed unanimously to support such a school.

President Montague stated that if there is enough interest to warrant a school, top notch instructors from the AFL-CIO Educational Department and probably from the Educational Department staff of international unions could be obtained.

A request was made by President Montague in another communication for all local unions and Centarl Bodies, affiliated with the Georgia State AFL-CIO to prepare all the information on all of the on-the-job accidents which have happened as far back as recorded, due to the lack of safety devices and precautions.

This information is necessary in order to properly draw a general

(Continued on Page Two)

Open House At EOA Neighborhood Center ...nomic Opportunity Atlanta's

...ighborhood
new Center ...
E...

Human Relations Council Assails Integration Plans

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD 9/29/65

Special to The Post-Herald

HUNTSVILLE, Sept. 28 — "Freedom-of-choice plans for school desegregation show little promise of effecting in Alabama the purpose and intent of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc., said today.

This is the major conclusion of a "Special report" which has been sent to the U.S. Office of Education and to school superintendents in Alabama by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Prepared by its staff, the report was adopted by the organization's board of directors.

The report does not suggest possible revisions or alternatives.

Discrimination Forbidden

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbids racial discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The Alabama Council report points out that, according to the Office of Education's statement of policies, this part of the law "prohibits the extension of Federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated system of schools based on race." In order to continue to receive such assistance, "school officials must eliminate all practices characteristic of such dual or segregated school systems."

"Freedom-of-choice desegregation plans are not likely to attain this purpose, the Council's paper says, because "as long as certain schools can be understood by a community to be 'the Negro schools,' Negro students are being discriminated against, no matter if they are allowed to transfer to 'the white schools'."

The report interprets the results of the first year of school desegregation under Title VI as tending to confirm that freedom-of-choice plans leave too much responsibility for school desegregation up to Negro parents who may be vulnerable to social and economic pressures and reprisals.

"Under the conditions prevailing in Alabama," the report says, "a freedom-of-choice plan would say, in effect, 'This school system will now make an exception to the rule for all Negro children whose parents insist upon it'."

The Office of Education's regulations, although allowing freedom-of-choice plans, are quoted by the Alabama Council as stating: "The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

Few Negroes Integrated

After pointing out that freedom-of-choice plans are basically similar to plans allowed by the courts, the report finds that Alabama's four largest cities, all under-ordered plans for at least the third year, had few Negro students in school with whites this Fall—despite the added impetus of Title VI requirements. Birmingham had 53, Mobile, 39, and Montgomery, 32. Figures were not available from Huntsville, but last year there were only 31.

The school system with the largest number of transfers, the report said, was Florence, with 142.

The Alabama Council estimates the total number of Negroes enrolled in formerly white schools in the state at between 1000 and 1200. This is only about one-third of one per cent of the total Negro school population of approximately 300,000.

This is not a good start, the paper points out, when there are only three years to complete elimination of the dual school system—especially in view of the fact that about half of the districts desegregated all 12 grades this year.

Compared to the number of Negroes in school with whites in other Southern cities, "the cities of Alabama have managed only a token of tokenism," the report says.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, with headquarters in Huntsville, is an association of more than 1000 Alabama citizens. Its stated purpose is "to attain through research and education, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

Pat - If I've already sent you this, I apologize. Can't remember!
Ed

ACCORDING TO RIGHTS ACT HUNTSVILLE NEWS 9/29/65

Report says plan ineffective

"Freedom-of-choice plans (for school desegregation) show little promise of effecting in Alabama the purpose and intent of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

That is the major conclusion of a "special report" which has been sent to the U. S. Office of education and to school superintendents in Alabama by the Alabama Council on Human Relations which is headquartered at 2809 Governor's Dr., SW, Huntsville. Prepared by its staff, the report was adopted by the organization's board of directors on Saturday.

The report does not suggest possible revisions or alternatives.

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The report interprets the results of the first year of school desegregation under Title VI as tending to confirm the widely-expressed fear that freedom-of-choice plans leave too much responsibility for school desegregation up to Negro parents who may be vulnerable to social and economic pressures and reprisals. "Under the conditions prevailing in Alabama," the report states, "a freedom-of-choice plan would say, in effect, 'This school system will now make an exception to the rule for all Negro children whose parents insist upon it'."

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The Alabama Council on Human [illegible] Relations, [illegible] association [illegible] Alabama residents. Its stated purpose is "to attain through research and [illegible] equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

Wiley A. Branton Speaks In Montgomery, October 2

9/29/65 BIRMINGHAM WORLD

Wiley A. Branton, Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, will speak on "The Rationale of the Voting Rights Act" at a conference to be held Saturday, October 2, in Montgomery.

The President's Council is composed of most of the Cabinet members and heads of major Federal agencies, with the Vice President serving as Chairman. The Council has the responsibility of coordinating the activities of the Federal Government in the field of civil rights.

Mr. Branton was formerly Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. The Project was engaged in research relating to the causes for low registration of voters in eleven Southern States.

Others appearing on a panel at the conference will include:

Howard Gliskstein, General Counsel of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;

William T. Atkinson, State Voting Examiner, U. S. Civil Service Commission;

Mrs. Martha Witt Smith, Chairman of the Public Relations Committee of the Alabama Board of Registrars Association and Chairman of the Madison County Board of Registrars.

The conference, which will begin at 10:00 a. m., in the Jefferson Davis Hotel, will be sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Executive Director of the organization is J. Edwin Stanfield.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a biracial organization of Alabama citizens. Its purpose is to attain, through research and education, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama.

Among other participants in the statewide conference will be members of civil rights organizations, the Natinal Citizens Committee for Community Relations, the Alabama Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, and the executive committee of the Alabama Board of Registrars Association.

The purpose of the conference, according to Mr. Stanfield, is "to clarify the provisions of the Voting Rights Act and to obtain information about problems and difficulties which have been encountered both by those seeking to register and by Boards of Registrars trying to comply with the law."

"In the process the council hopes to clear up misunderstandings and reduce tensions," Stanfield added. "Too much heat and not enough light has been generated in Alabama. We feel that people who cannot at all agree with each other's views of actions can at least try to understand why the other person thinks and acts as he does."

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Alabama Council Sponsors Voting Rights Conference

ALA. JOURNAL 9/30/65

The Alabama Council on Human Relations will sponsor a conference on the 1965 Voting Rights Act at the Jefferson Davis Hotel Saturday. The meeting will begin at 10 a.m. and continue until 4:30 p.m.

J. Edwin Stanfield, executive director of the Huntsville-based council, said 350 persons are expected to attend

Featured speakers will be Wiley Branton, executive secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; Howard Glickstein, general counsel for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; William T. Atkinson, state voting examiner for the U.S. Civil Service Commission, and Mrs. Martha Witt Smith, chairman of the public relations committee of the Alabama Board of Registrars Association.

Stanfield said developments in voter registration will make this conference particularly significant."

Civil Rights Group Blasts State Plan

ALABAMA JOURNAL 9/29/65

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP)—Desegregation plans allowing freedom of choice will be ineffective in carrying out integration in Alabama schools, the Alabama Council on Human Relations said today.

The conclusions of the civil rights organization were drawn in a special report released today and sent to the U.S. Office of Education and to school superintendents in Alabama.

The report, adopted by the group's board of directors Saturday, said, "As long as certain schools can be understood by a community to be 'the Negro schools' Negro students are being discriminated against, no matter if they are allowed to transfer to 'white schools'."

The council said freedom-of-choice plans are basically similar to plans allowed by the courts. The report said Alabama's four largest cities, all under court-ordered plans for at least the third year, had few Newro students in school with whites despite requirements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The group estimated the total number of Negroes enrolled in formerly white schools at between 1,000 and 1,200. "This is only about one-third of one per cent of the total Negro school population of approximately 300,000," the report said.

"The cities of Alabama have managed only a token of tokenism," the document stated.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, headquartered in Huntsville, has more than 1,000 members.

Alabama Officials Get Credit For Voter Rights

ALABAMA JOURNAL 10/2/65

A 100 years after the Civil War every effort must still be made in order that the South becomes part of the United States of America.

So said Attorney Wiley Branton, Executive Secretary of the President's Council of Equal Opportunity, today to more than 200 persons meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel

The one-day conference on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is designed to explain the Act rather than making plans to enforce it. Branton, who in three weeks will join the staff of the Justice Department, in no way spoke for the department today, he said.

"We are working for people to come together everywhere over this land of ours without feeling odd or discriminated against," he stated.

"It is rather ludicrous to discuss the Voting Act of 1965 with you people gathered here," he said, "because your state and its officials have contributed more to its passage than any other in the U.S."

"They didn't want the act," he stated, "but they so aroused the conscience of the nation and the ire of the President that its (the 1965 Act) passage was immediate."

What happens in Alabama effects all the U.S. and with the fast communications, the entire world, he said. With the great conflict between the Communist and American ideology, how can we (the U.S.) convince people over the world that our way is best with things happening such as in Selma, people in European countries ask, he said.

Branton travelled for more than five weeks in Europe on an unplanned trip telling Europeans who stormed the embassies with questions, what was happening in the South.

State registrars have promised to abide by the act, he said, but the psychological effect on the Negro who has tried to register with these same people over the last 10 or more years, is quite apparent, he said.

"There are many incidents where people (Negroes) have stood all day in line awaiting to register and then been turned away with 'come back next time.' But next time," he said, "is two weeks away in Alabama."

"SUNDAY NOTEBOOK" COLUMN

While in Georgia

CONTRASTING REPORTS on school desegregation came from Alabama and Georgia last week. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations was complaining that "freedom-of-choice plans (for school desegregation) show little promise of effecting in Alabama the purpose and intent of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," Georgia School Superintendent Claude Purcell was saying that "the local people are carrying out their pledges in good faith. They are doing what they committed themselves to do to comply with the law."

Georgia Board of Education figures indicated that more than 9,000 Negro students now attend over 435 integrated Georgia schools. The Alabama Human Relations Council estimated the number in Alabama at between 1,000 and 1,200.

BHAM NEWS 10/3/65

File

Pat, thought you might be interested in this.
gb

JDN
9/29/65

Cox Refuses To Order Buildings Integrated

By W. C. SHOEMAKER
Daily News Staff Writer

A federal judge has refused to order desegregation of a group of publicly owned buildings in Canton.

District Judge Harold Cox, in an order filed in Jackson today, said he "confidently believes" officials of the offices involved "intend in good faith to comply with federal law in the future."

A group of Negroes had asked for a temporary injunction ordering desegregation of facilities at the Madison County Courthouse, the Canton Municipal Library, the Canton City Hall, and the county office of the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

The Negroes also protested lack of tables and chairs in the library, guns they said the county registrar kept in his office and records kept according to race by two justices of the peace headquartered in the courthouse.

Cox said segregation signs had been removed from the offices at the time the suit was heard.

DISMISSES COMPLAINT

He dismissed a complaint that the justices of the peace office doors were decorated with Citizens Councils decals. "These officials themselves have vested rights under the constitution to join any organization of their choice and to be proud of this choice," Cox wrote.

Regarding segregation of JP files by race, he said "it cannot be easily conceived as to any possible right of any one of these plaintiffs that could be or is infringed by the method in which the Justices of the peace keep their records, even though they may designate or identify them as colored."

GUNS NON-FUNCTIONAL

He noted that Negroes had complained of two "non-functional antique guns" in the county registrar's office which he said "seem to frighten or intimidate some of these timid plaintiffs." and Negroes complaints that the registrar was "discourteous to and abusive of" Negroes who try to register.

Cox said he had dismissed similar complaints against the registrar in an earlier suit and noted that most questions raised were moot because federal registrars have since moved into Canton.

He ruled that lack of chairs of tables in the library discriminates against no one.

A library need not "even be provided in whole or in part unless the municipality decided to do so," he said.

Cox dismissed the complaint against the ASCS office manager and said he found "no imperative need" for an injunction.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File

South Evading, Defying Rights Act, Group Says

94.8% of Negro Students Still Attend Segregated Schools, Race Council Charges

BY JACK NELSON

Times Staff Writer 10/31/65

ATLANTA — Through evasion and defiance of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the South has managed to keep 94.8% of its Negro students in all-Negro schools, the Southern Regional Council reported Saturday.

After surveying the 11 states of the old Confederacy, the council declared that the percentage of Negro students attending desegregated schools is less than 1% in three states, less than 2% in two states, and less than 3% in two others.

The council, a civil rights organization highly regarded for its research reports, called for stringent enforcement of Title 6 of the 1964 act which provides for withdrawal of federal aid from school districts that fail to desegregate.

Figures Noted

The report notes that the U.S. Office of Education, after a "hurried sampling survery," announced last month that 92.5% of Negro students were still in segregated schools.

The council reported that the education office figures were obviously in error in Alabama and North Carolina.

But regardless of which desegregation figures are considered — the education office's or the council's—the performance in the South "falls far short of what the law calls for, or what most observers expected during the first year," the council said.

Integration Lags

The region has 2,891,000 Negro children. Only 2% were in desegregated schools during the 1964-65 school year.

The council reported that desegregation percentages ranged from .25% in Alabama to 20% in Texas. Other states follow:

Arkansas, 2.5; Florida, 5.9; Georgia, 1.3; Louisiana, .68; Mississippi, .34; North Carolina, 2.1; South Carolina, 1.5; Tennessee, 9.1, and Virginia, 11.3

"In order to have their grants from federal funds certified," the report said, "a majority of school districts made false claims that the money would be spent only on a non-discriminatory basis."

Most of the falsification has been done through "freedom of choice" plans, the council reported.

Shift Burden

Under such plans the student and his parents theoretically can apply and expect admission to any school of their choice in the district.

Such plans, long under fire from civil rights organizations, shift the burden of initiating desegregation from school officials to Negro parents, leaving them vulnerable to economic intimidation and terrorism.

The council reported that many Negro parents who finally saw in the 1964 act a chance for their children to get "equal education" found instead "disillusionment . . . pressures and indignities no individuals should have to bear."

Officials and Parents

"Some school superintendents met with parents whose children applied for transfers," the council said, "and told them the Negro children probably would come home many days with black eyes from beatings the Negro parents should hold themselves responsible for."

Other pressures, according to the report, included: threats that Negro students would be demoted or lose credits; threats that Negroteachers would be fired; publication of the names and addresses of Negroes applying for transfers, thus inviting intimidation; cross burnings, shootings into Negro homes and other acts of intimidation.

File

Clipping from

The New York Times

Date November 3, 1965

To Enforce Existing Rights Laws

To the Editor:

Please help us correct one misapprehension arising out of coverage of the report on the double standard of justice for whites and Negroes in the South issued Oct. 18, by the Southern Regional Council and the Southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The report did not support the current suggestions for new laws making it a Federal offense to murder civil rights workers, and establishing a special Federal civil rights police force.

The position of the report is that failure to achieve impartial administration of state and Federal law already on the books is the real problem. It urges basic reform of Southern law enforcement, including selection of juries on a truly representative basis.

If such reform can be achieved, the new legislation would not be needed. If not, there seems little likelihood that the proposed legislation would improve the situation.

The proposals could make it worse, having potential of their own for abuse. PAT WATTERS

Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Oct. 26, 1965.

St. Petersburg Times

Sunday, November 14, 1965

PERSPECTIVE

• Editorials • Education • Travel • Columns

SECTION D

myself find it difficult to accept criti-
sm, especially if it is real criticism,
rofound criticism, criticism which forc-
me to think again."

The intellectual looked at us almost
ith pity. Being capitalists, we would
nd it difficult, he said, but Communists
ere naturally free from all prejudice in
eir own favor. "It arises from the dif-
rence of our social systems."

"It arises naturally from the social
ystem . . ." That is another stock Chi-
ese phrase. Everything in Communist
hina is right, and it is right naturally.

Inverted Values

Even if the Chinese feel no need to understand us, do we wish, or need, to understand them? Surely we do. China is the oldest and greatest civilization of Asia. After two centuries of helplessness it has become a new nation, a great power of the future, 700-million strong.

Neither in history nor in politics can it be ignored. Too often, because it is remote, we push it aside as an abstrac-

(Please see RED CHINA, 4-D)

An Indictment: A Double Standard Of Justice

Since passage of the Voting Rights Act, the civil rights revolution in America has taken a new direction. Negroes seek a remedy for the dual system of justice in the South. Here is a report on the causes of the shift from the Southern Regional Council.

—Times Art by Joe Tonelli

In The All-White Courts Of Much Of The South, The Negro Expects Little Justice

If the public could ever plead ignorance to the double standard of justice in the South — one brand of justice for the white man, another for the Negro — that time is past. On television and on the front pages of newspapers, the stories have come.

An FBI informant testifies that he was in the same car with three Ku Klux Klansmen as they shot to death Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a Detroit housewife, on an Alabama highway. The jury does not convict the first defendant charged in the crime — not even of manslaughter. While waiting for a new trial the Klansmen rush off to a Klan rally in North Carolina to sign autographs, openly confident that any new trial will end the same way. It did.

A HAYNEVILLE, Ala., community leader named Tom Coleman shoots down two civil rights workers at midday. Jonathan Daniels, a seminarian, dies at once and the Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a priest, is critically wounded. The trial, reportedly turned into a circus, ends with Coleman acquitted.

The Liuzzo and Daniels cases were not isolated incidents, and Negroes can only reflect bitterly when white men — Southerners and Northerners alike — advise them, as they often do, to stop street demonstrations and take their grievances into the courts.

The Liuzzo case was not an isolated incident. From the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 through the spring of 1965, at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers died at the hands of racists in the South. Only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. During the same periods, "justice" was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by Negroes. Two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. Four Negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

IN MANY AREAS of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes. It exists from birth to death. It exists in the day - to - day brushes with "the law": the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases.

To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policemen and the courts as enemies.

More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing "radicalism" and "anarchy" in the civil rights movement.

Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution? How widespread is dual justice and what is its impact?

DUAL JUSTICE SURVIVES because presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. It survives because the judicial network, federal, state, and municipal, is still one of the most segregated institutions in America. It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and through the ill-concealed contempt of many courts and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens.

Consider the case of Andrew Wansley at Lynchburg, Va. In the winter of 1963, when he was only 19 years old, he was accused of raping two women, one white and the other Japanese, and of stealing $1.36 from one of the victims.

THE WHITE WOMAN was unable to identify Wansley — a Negro — as her assailant. Police, however, after a private talk with Wansley succeeded in getting a confession. The Japanese woman positively identified Wansley. The youth admitted to having sexual relations with the Japanese woman — not once but on several occasions. All-white juries deliberated, and handed down two death sentences for rape and a 20-year prison term for the $1.36 robbery.

Wansley must have reflected bitterly on the knowledge that three months before in the same court room, a white man had received only a five-year sentence for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl.

Was this an isolated incident? Statistics amassed by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons answer, "No." Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by Southern courts.

The wrath of Southern judges and juries also falls on Negroes who are convicted of night-time burglaries and robberies. Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for this capital offense. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a Southern or border state.

NEGROES ACCUSED of minor crimes also have reason to fear their day in court. On the surface, the Negro would appear to receive equal justice in the traffic courts of many cities.

A white man and a Negro stand before the traffic judge. Both are first offenders and both are found guilty of driving under the influence of intoxicating beverages.

The judge pronounces a standard prescription for the malady: 12 months or $150.

It appeared equal, but was it? The Negro earns $1.25 an hour when he can find work. He cannot raise the equivalent of three weeks salary. He goes to jail for a year.

The white man earns $250 a week as a certified public accountant, hands over three days pay eagerly, and walks from court praising a benevolent judge.

Another judge sentenced a Negro woman to "$35 or 12 months in prison" for public drunkenness. She entered prison on July 12, 1963, and with time off for good behavior was released on May 24, 1964.

"CASH register justice" is widespread in the South. The poor of both races suffer from it, but the Negro, being the poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12-month period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy per cent of these were Negro.

As serious as they sometimes become, fines and bail are only small parts of the problem faced by the indigent Negro before the bar of justice. The problem of finding and hiring an attorney can be an acute one for Negroes. Often the Negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court - appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case.

Even when they have the money, Negroes may find it difficult to find an attorney to represent them. They can cost an attorney his law practice and result even in ostracism by his community.

IN THE SPRING of 1965, Warren C. Fortson, an established attorney in Americus, Ga., and the brother of Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson, agreed to defend two Negro teen - agers identified with civil rights against charges of fornication and touched off a storm of protest that, along with milder resentment of his role in calling for a biracial committee, ultimately forced him to leave the city.

In the trial, one patrolman testified in detail to lurid acts which he said he witnessed. Under cross examination, another law enforcement officer conceded he was standing beside the patrolman and saw nothing more than heavy petting.

The two teenagers were convicted by the court and sentenced to reform school. Fortson, for his role in the case, was convicted by the public and forced to leave the city.

WARREN FORTSON'S story, of course, is not unique. Another attorney, Paul Johnston, agreed to defend a government undercover agent against a Ku Klux Klan attorney. His decision cost him his membership in one of Birmingham's most prosperous law firms, a firm which still includes his father and a brother.

With or without adequate counsel, the Negro must often face a hostile judge. Many Southern judges are, of course, scrupulously fair. Others seem to view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy.

JUDGES ARE OFTEN inclined to be lenient with whites who are charged with

(Please see THE DOUBLE, 4-D)

. . . Florida Checkerboard

Florida's standard of justice on a racial basis is a checkerboard kind of thing. Civil rights leaders in the state differ in outlining the degrees of severity with which justice is molded to fit the feelings of an area.

THEY SAID Negroes charged with offenses against whites invariably draw the maximum penalties provided by law, while whites charged with offenses against Negroes receive minimum sentences, if they are convicted at all. White courts are also lenient in cases of Negroes accused of crimes against other Negroes.

Frank Peterman, a St. Petersburg Negro lawyer, said there are "islands of freedom" for the Negro in Florida courts, with Pinellas County being one of those islands. He said the judges and attorneys are fair, and it is not uncommon to have a Negro in a jury box.

THE CLOSER YOU MOVE to the Alabama and Georgia borders, and in "boondock" areas, pigmentation justice becomes stronger.

Tobias Simon, Miami attorney, associated with many civil rights cases, says Negroes do suffer injustice in Florida courts. A race case is an uphill fight for the Negro, he contends. "It is just about as hard to convict a Klansman in a Florida race case as it is in Alabama," he said.

The failure of the Florida courts, and the courts of other Southern states, to discharge their obligations in a fair manner, Simon said, has resulted in the encroachment by the federal courts into matters — such as civil rights cases — which properly should be the domain of the state judiciary.

AN INDICTMENT

The Double Standard Of Southern Justice

FROM 1-D

offenses against Negroes and harsh with Negroes accused of crimes against whites.

In New Bern, N.C., during June of 1965, three white men — one of them an Exalted Cyclops in the Ku Klux Klan — admitted bombing a Negro funeral home and two cars which were parked outside a Negro church. They have yet to serve a day in prison. A superior court judge handed down suspended sentences.

In Georgia, a 75-year-old white woman, jaywalking after being warned repeatedly by police, walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro and was killed. Officials were reluctant to file charges against the Negro, but ultimately did so after pressure from the woman's family.

Rather than face an all-white jury, the Negro elected to appear directly before the judge. He lost his gamble. The judge sentenced him to five years in prison. A police official called the sentence a "raw deal" and termed the woman's death "strictly" accidental, but the words didn't help the Negro.

DESPITE THE outrageous outcome of his case, the Negro may have been wise to prefer a judge rather than a jury. Southern juries tend to be all-white and, all too often, inclined to support other whites in legal clashes with Negroes.

Take for example, the killing of Clinton Melton, a Negro in Glendora, Mississippi, in the delta, by a white man named Elmer Kimbell, a close friend of the man who had been acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till, also a Negro.

Robert Penn Warren wrote in his book, Segregation, "When the Lions Club met three days after the event, a resolution was drawn and signed by all members present: 'We consider the taking of the life of Clinton Melton an outrage against him, against all of the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi, as well as against the human family . . . ' And the town began to raise a fund to realize the ambition of the dead man, to send his children to college . . ."

"But," Warren added, "the jury that tried Elmer Kimbell acquitted him."

Of all the forces that urge the Negro away from the American democracy, none is more vicious or more effective than the dual system of justice.

The white officials of several Southern states have expressed alarm at the growth of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro protective league that advocates carrying arms and shooting back when white racists attack. The dismayed officials miss an important point. The reason for the popularity of the Deacons among Negroes is the Negro's experience with the white man's justice.

In too many places, the Negro cannot depend on the police for protection and, when an occasional terrorist is arrested and brought to trial, the Negro can be confident that the white court will turn the offender loose or punish him so lightly that the penalty is interpreted as quiet approval of terrorism.

THERE ARE no easy solutions to the Negro's problems anywhere and that is particularly true in the area of equal justice. But it is clear that several steps must be taken before any real progress can be expected.

To begin at the top, the President of the United States needs to find men for federal judgeships who do not owe their political careers to the same system that perpetuates dual justice. Some of the most notorious appointments to the bench have been made by liberal Democratic presidents, simply because a president is loath to violate the tradition of letting these appointments be made, in fact if not in name, by the ruling Democratic apparatus in the one - party states of the South.

(One solution was proposed yesterday by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which recommended a new federal law making it a crime to harm or threaten persons engaged in civil rights activities.)

IT IS obvious on the face of it that dual justice could not exist, at least with its present excesses, if the American bar had taken aggressive action to end it.

At best, attorneys in most areas of the South have been shy in accepting controversial cases involving Negroes, thus allowing the full wrath of segregationists to fall on a handful of Negro and "liberal" white attorneys.

There is a desperate need for national and Southern bar associations to begin enforcing their ethical codes in a manner which will guarantee that Negroes will be able to choose from a broad range of attorneys.

FINALLY, the people of the South must be fully aware that they have this sickness among them, and that it must be cured. White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution. Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's.

The ultimate responsibility is with the people to assure liberty and justice for all — in the South and across the nation wherever dual justice prevails.

HAYNEVILLE'S TOM COLEMAN
. . . acquitted.

KLANSMAN COLLIE WILKINS
. . . acquitted.

BARRON'S

35 CENTS — *National Business and Financial Weekly* — NOVEMBER 15, 1965

"Where Did You Come From..."

A Report on "Students for a Democratic Society"

Recent outbreaks of left-wing extremism hold profound significance for anyone with a stake in the nation's future. In the accompanying report, Alice Widener sheds some badly needed light on the historic origins of today's unrest, on the deepseated roots of the "new" radicalism. Mrs. Widener is a syndicated columnist and publisher of U.S.A. Magazine.

IN the aftermath of the student revolt at the University of California in Berkeley last year, a shocked and bewildered American public asked about the youthful rioters. "Where did they come from? What kind of background have they?"

In August, when dozens of students, accompanied by some Ivy League professors, defied the law in the District of Columbia, penetrated the White House to stage a sit-in, and attempted to break through police barricades at the Capitol, the stunned general public again asked about the demonstrators and practitioners of civil disobedience, "Where did they come from?"

This same question was on the lips of onlookers in New York City and other communities this fall. As I stood on a street corner, observing the astonished faces of bystanders and watching the aggressive young leftists parade, the first line of a poem learned in childhood flashed sardonically through my mind—"Where did you come from baby dear?" ("Out of the everywhere into the here.")

* * *

Trying to recall the next line, I was aware of the origin of a group in the forefront of youthful leftist activities in this country, Students for a Democratic Society. It is the legitimate offspring of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy.

For 60 years, the League has been training young Americans in the leftist way they should not go. Today, it seems, many of them will not depart from it — the laws of the U.S. government notwithstanding.

At home, after the parade of more than 10,000 radicals in New York City ended I went to my library where several shelves are stacked with League for Industrial Democracy official publications, dating from 1911, six years after the group was first organized as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS), to 1965, when it commemorated its 60th anniversary with the pamphlet, "60 Years of Democratic Education."

It was in 1924 that the ISS changed its name to League for Industrial Democracy (LID), the term "socialist" having become abhorrent to most Americans, who were outraged by a series of bombings and other violent acts committed by anarchists and Marxist radicals after World War I. It was these terrorist activities which led to the "Palmer raids" ordered by the then U.S. Attorney General.

The term "industrial democracy" is to be found in the April-May 1919 issue of the official ISS publication, in an article by the late Alexander Trachtenberg, then a member of the Yale University chapter of the ISS, and later head of the Communist publishing house, "International Publishers," in New York City.

In 1919, Alexander Trachtenberg wrote for the ISS (later LID) publication: "The Russian revolution is the heritage of the world. It must not be defeated by foreign militarism. It must live, so that Russia may be truly free and, through its freedom, blaze the way for industrial democracy throughout the world."

For decades, the League for Industrial Democracy exerted tutelage over its progeny in the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), educating them into thinking about such things as government ownership of the means of production and Marxist "production for use and not for profit."

The 1965 pamphlet contains a brief history of the League for Industrial Democracy by its executive director emeritus, Harry W. Laidler, who writes:

. . ."The LID, first known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (ISS), was born in the first decade of the twentieth century . . . for 16 years the ISS conducted its pioneering educational work within and without the country's college campuses, through its college and city chapters, its scores of lectures, its pamphlets, summer conferences, annual conventions, Carnegie Hall lectures and debates, and other channels . . .

"In 1962 the Executive Committee of the SLID voted to change the name of the League's student affiliate to the Students for a Democratic Society. The SDS is now the largest intercollegiate society on the American campus and, under the secretaryship of C. Clark Kissinger, is doing yeoman service in the field of civil rights, peace, academic freedom and community organization among the poor . . .

"The general society since World War II has continued with vigor and effectiveness . . . Tom Kahn, author of The Economics of Equality is now the League's able executive . . . Michael Harrington, author of The Other America, to whom great credit is due for his outstanding work in pressing for the present war on poverty, was elected Chairman of the Board . . .

As an "educational" organization, the League for Industrial Democracy has long enjoyed tax-exempt status granted by the Internal Revenue Service, and has used part of LID funds to subsidize the student offspring organization, Students for a Democratic Society. But this year the SDS activist role in a liberal-radical coalition jeopardized the LID's tax-exemption.

On October 4, the LID and Paul Booth, national secretary of SDS, announced "for tax reasons" the amicable severance of SDS from the parent LID, because the student department's action programs now "transcend" the tax-exempt "educational" role of the parent. Temporarily, therefore, the silver cord tying together adult and youth socialist groups has been cut. But the two ends might be knotted in December, when another parent-offspring meeting is scheduled to consider possible reconciliation.

Apparently the ideological dissension between parent and offspring is not too serious. The severance seems to be mostly for material reasons. It isn't logical to assume otherwise, for the LID has been well aware of what its "children" were doing.

* * *

Concerning Students for a Democratic Society, offspring of the socialist LID of which he is chairman, Michael Harrington wrote in a column (for the New York Herald Tribune) datelined February 21, 1965, Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"I talked to some American Narodniks at the University of Michigan last week.

"The original Narodniks were Russian students who, in the summer of 1874, went out to preach a mystical populism to the peasants. Whenever some one asked where they were going they said, 'To the Narod' (meaning) to the people.

"The young students at Ann Arbor with whom I spoke were activists of the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) at Ann Arbor, sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. They have already accomplished more than their Russian forerunners. But they and an increasingly larger number of students on the campus have embraced the Narodnik principle: To the people."

Mr. Harrington explained that members of ERAP work in the slums, in the South and among "the American poor." He predicted for ERAP in the 1960s an organizing power in the big city poor, black and white, similar to CIO organiz-

Continued on Page 8

In This Issue

ARTICLES

ENGINE BOOSTERS
Improved Diesels Have Powered Their Way Into Tractors and Trucks 3

STATE OF THE COINAGE
The Treasury Is Betting Heavily Against Gresham's Law 5

DIVERSIFIED PFIZER
The Old Drug Maker Has Expanded Into Promising New Fields 9

IT'S ALL VELVET
Textile Mills Are Counting on a Long Stretch of Prosperity 11

DEPARTMENTS

THE TRADER 4
THE WORLD AT WORK 7
COMING FINANCING 27
SPEAKING OF DIVIDENDS 29

DEPARTMENTS

NEWS AND VIEWS OF INVESTMENTS
American News 25
Microdot 25
White Cross Stores 26
Stephenson 27
COMMODITIES 30

STATISTICAL SECTION

MUTUAL FUNDS 32
COMPLETE STOCK QUOTATIONS 33
REGIONAL, FOREIGN SECURITIES . 46
OVER-THE-COUNTER MARKET 47
BOND QUOTATIONS 51
MARKET LABORATORY 53
PULSE OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE . 54
SECONDARY DISTRIBUTIONS 54
NEW HIGHS AND LOWS IN STOCKS . 55

". . . Baby Dear?"

Continued from Page 1

ing power among factory workers in the 1930s.

There are other new SDS paths strikingly similar to the official Soviet Communist Party subversive strategy of going "to the people" over the heads of their legal government and in defiance of it. This strategy is openly described in the Communist pamphlet, "The United Nations" published in Bombay, India. There is no doubt that SDS is practicing the revolutionary Narodnik strategy, as Michael Harrington openly boasts.

On October 24, 1965, the New York Daily News reported that President Johnson had taken to task, from his hospital bed, the protestors against the American commitment to save South Vietnam from communism. The News added:

". . . Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach disclosed that the Justice Department is probing the antidraft movement.

"Katzenbach said the Students for a Democratic Society was but one of many New Left groups being investigated. . .

"Booth (Paul Booth, national secretary of SDS), announced that the society was expanding to enlist even high school students. In addition to encouraging youths to file as conscientious objectors, he said, SDS members are to picket draft board offices, distribute pacifist tracts, attack local draft boards as "undemocratic" and recruiters and officer trainees as "war criminals."

On October 25, the New York Journal-American reported on the "Beat the Draft" movement's activities in the city high schools, and quoted from a newsletter distributed by the Committee to End the War in Vietnam:

"We are excited about the proposal offered by Todd Gitlin of SDS on the setting up of information centers for confused draftees and young men about to be drafted, informing them of all the alternatives to fighting in Vietnam — moral, legal and technical—open to them."

Who is Todd Gitlin and where did he come from? The League for Industrial Democracy knows very well; its 60th anniversary commemorative pamphlet lists "Todd Gitlin" as a member of the LID board of directors.

Concerning his special talents, there is an enlightening article "by the Editors" in the spring 1965 issue of the publication, "Studies on the Left." This issue was distributed widely at the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars, held this fall at Columbia University (Barron's, September 27).

It discloses that ". . . a songsheet distributed by the National Office (of SDS), 'Songs of Vietnam,' containing four familiar songs with new words written by Todd Gitlin, Nanci Gitlin and Paul Potter, was sent out in an internal SDS mailing. . . . Several individuals at Beekman Street (headquarters in New York City for Liberation magazine, Student Peace Union, War Resisters League, Fellowship of Reconcilation) saw the sheet and took violent objection to one chorus of a revised Freedom Song, with words by Todd Gitlin. The verse began with 'No strategic hamlets. No strategic hamlets around me.' The offending chorus continued, 'And before I'll be fenced in, I'll vote for Ho Chi Minh, Or go back to the North and be free.' "

What Students for a Democratic Society wants to accomplish — reports Steven Kelman in the New Leader—is the creation of "an independent national organization of the poor." SDS calls this kind of social-political organization, "participatory democracy."

Another view of the LID's offspring is presented in the September-October 1965 issue of the publication, "Young Socialist." On page 22, it reports: "Student to speak on Vietnam trip: Carl Oglesby, president of SDS, will be touring college campuses this fall, speaking against the Vietnam war. During his visit to South Vietnam this summer, he was able to talk with members of the (Communist) National Liberation Front, and will be able to give a first hand account of what is taking place."

It is interesting to note the description of SDS president Carl Oglesby as a "student" in Young Socialist. He is otherwise described as "30, dropout, playwright, technical writer" in a caption under his photograph in the New York Times Magazine, November 7, 1965, which carried a lead article on the SDS by Thomas R. Brooks. In a Times' footnote, the author of the article is described as "a freelance writer specializing in labor and politics." No mention is made by the Times of the highly pertinent fact that Thomas R. Brooks is a member of the executive committee of the League for Industrial Democracy, parent of SDS.

As a "parent" reporter on the New Left "student" organization, Mr. Brooks is indulgent, fondly referring to SDS "youngsters," though all SDS staff members to whom he alludes are of voting age or well past it. According to author Brooks, Carl Oglesby, SDS president, charges that the American war effort to save South Vietnam from Communist enslavement is being fought "under the banner of cold-war colonialism." Evidently Mr. Oglesby is not against all wars, for Thomas R. Brooks reports, "SDS is not a pacifist group. 'We're not against violence,' Oglesby told me."

SDS is neither pacifist nor against violence. And it is not anti-Communist, for it is perfectly willing to accept the cooperation of Communists in the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party, in the May 2 Movement, and in the extremist "New Radicals" sponsoring Young Socialist magazine.

Despite the cooperation of SDS with out-and-out pro-Communist radicals, Thomas R. Brooks of the LID executive committee implies in his New York Times article that SDS and LID might perhaps be reconciled in December, when SDS will hold a membership conference to discuss the question of "coalition." This — Thomas R. Brooks writes — is a choice between "the DuBois Clubs, M2M, etc. on the one hand, or the LID, the AFL-CIO, Socialist Party and Reform Democrats on the other." Mr. Brooks reports: "The parental League for Industrial Democracy has been asked to participate."

What has LID participation in the making of the SDS political "choice" got to do with tax-exempt "educational" activity? Nothing, obviously. It is purely socialist political activity in the guise of "education," a technique practiced by the League since its inception.

Toward the end of World War II, the man who founded the LID in 1905—Upton Sinclair — addressed the League's 40th anniversary symposium on "The Task Ahead." That task was thus projected by Mr. Sinclair, who said: "Production for use and not for profit — you, friends of the League for Industrial Democracy, are not frightened when you hear that slogan. The private owners of industry are frightened, but that is because they do not understand what is happening, and cannot see that the world can get along without private owners of industry."

Today it is not only the private owners of industry who are frightened at what the left is doing. The U.S. government itself and the vast majority of Americans are shocked at the activities of young leftists who—say the Secretary of State and other high U.S. officials—create the impression in Peking, Hanoi and Moscow that the American people are not solidly behind their troops in Vietnam and thus encourage the enemy to prolong the war.

And yet, what Upton Sinclair said in 1945 is true in 1965, for it seems that the leaders of American industry, and the innocent bystanders watching young and old socialists demonstrate against U.S. foreign policy, still "do not understand what is happening."

LID executive committee member Thomas R. Brooks quotes a statement by SDS president Carl Oglesby that the student organization has been receiving money from "richies" and from "friendly institutions."

Congress should find out who are the rich individuals and friendly institutions helping to subsidize the Students for a Democratic Society in their antidraft campaign, their attempts to create a social revolution through their Economic Research and Action Project among "the poor," their illegal efforts to halt troop trains, their marches and their campus revolts.

Mr. Brooks says the SDS annual budget for 90 chapters and a national staff of executives is $80,000. On such a budget, where do SDS leaders get the money needed to play a leading role in such undertakings as the "mass anti-Vietnam demonstrations" of October 15 and 16.

Where did Carl Oglesby get the money to go to South Vietnam last summer to confer with the Communist enemy in the National Liberation Front? Who in Washington obtained for him the hard-to-get permission to go there?

Obviously, the facts about where the money for SDS comes from are not now evident. Just as obviously, however, the facts about where the SDS itself comes from are.

Students for a Democratic Society—the "youth" organization working for social revolution in our nation —comes directly from the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, which set out 60 years ago to abolish capitalism in the U.S. by means of "promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism" among college men and women.

MIDWEST MEMO TO SITE-SEEKERS:

"Compare the transportation facilities you'd have here . . . not only air, rail and interstate highways, but the mighty Ohio River, too. Another reason to PIN IT DOWN TO the 3-state Greater CINCINNATI Area."

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File

'Sleeper' Bill May Hit Southern Industry

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Chicago Daily News Service

AUSTIN, Tex., Jan. 15—An unemployment compensation bill with the innocuous title of H.R. 8282 is a sleeper on the congressional docket for 1966.

This is one of three bills that would weaken the sales talk of Southern states in their recruitment of Northern industry.

The other two proposals are well known, and Southern defenses have been mounted against them. One is the bill to repeal state right to work laws, which are used as a competitive lure in the South for new plants. The other would strengthen and broaden the minimum wage act, with maximum impact on the South.

The bill for revamping the federal - state unemployment compensation system—H.R. 8282—would have tremendous repercussions, national and regional, if adopted as introduced by the Johnson administration.

H. R. 8282 would bring another substantial increase in Social Security taxes, to build up the trust funds from which unemployment compensation is financed. The tax for unemployment compensation is paid entirely by the employer.

THE BILL also would supplement the trust funds of the unemployment compensation system with direct appropriations from the federal government, at the rate of about $500 million annually, to increase benefits.

Finally, H.R. 8282 would yank out the inequities that have been installed in state unemployment compensation systems, particularly in the South, for competitive advantages over states with more generous provisions for compensation.

The far-reaching implications of H.R. 8282 for the South have been generally overlooked, possibly because the right to work issue and the threat of drastic revisions in minimum wage coverage have preoccupied the interested parties.

And the fact that chairman Wilburn Mills, D-Ark., of the House Ways and Means Committee, has cosponsored H.R. 8282, may have given Southerners a false sense of security. Mills is a trustworthy conservative.

THE INCREASE in federal payroll taxes for the proposed improvement in unemployment compensation would lift the present maximum of $93 per year for each worker to $174.44 in 1967 and $205.59 in 1971.

This will come as a jolt to many employers who are just now trying to swallow the 1966 increases in social security taxes for higher old age benefits and for Medicare. This increase, which became effective on Jan. 1, lifts the maximum from $174 to $277.20, (employer and employe each pay this amount.)

At present, an employer of four or more people in most industries pays a rate of 3.1 per cent on the first $3,000 of a worker's earnings.

Under H.R. 8282, the taxable base would be increased to $5,600 in 1967 and to $6,600 in 1971.

The tax itself would be increased a mite, from 3.1 per cent to 3.115 per cent.

The increase in the tax rate would amount to $8.40 per worker in 1967 and to $9.90 per worker in 1971.

UNDER THE provisions of H.R. 8282, the federal government would make grants from its general revenue equal to the amount of revenue raised by the slight tax increase of .015 per cent.

It sounds small, but it would soon amount to a steady contribution of $500 million or more per year, direct to the state unemployment compensation systems, to augment benefits.

H.R. 8282, in addition to improving the benefits for unemployment compensation, would extend its protection to about 5 million people not now covered. These would mainly include employes of small firms, nonprofit organizations, and workers on large farms.

The removal of inequities in the different state systems would be done through the manipulation of the credit provisions of the federal tax laws.

At present, an employer gets a credit of 2.7 per cent of his federal tax if he is making payments into a state unemployment compensation system that has been approved by the federal government. That credit is available no matter how poor the state system may be today.

ONE OF THE subtle purposes of H.R. 8282 is to reduce that credit for employers in states that do not meet a new and higher standard of benefits as established by the federal government. This part of the bill would revoke an important premium now enjoyed by employers in some southern states.

The disparities in the operation of state unemployent benefit laws are entwined in a jungle of rules for eligibility, benefits, penalties, and methods for computing compensation.

But some idea of the spread between states can be seen in an official document of the U.S. Department of Labor, comparing the different systems.

In some southern states, the minimum and maximum weekly payments, and the time range in which they are available, are as follows:

Alabama, range of $12 to $38 weekly, from 13 to 26 weeks; Arkansas, $15 to $38, range of 10 to 16 weeks; Florida $10 to $33, range of 10 to 26 weeks; Georgia, $8 to $35, range of 9 to 26 weeks; North Carolina, $12 to $42, period of 26 weeks; Mississippi, $8 to $30, range of 12 to 26 weeks.

A few of the northern industrial states have the following ranges in their systems:

MICHIGAN, $10 to $72, range of 10 to 26 weeks; Ohio, $10 to $53, range of 20 to 26 weeks; Illinois, $10 to $70, range of 10 to 26 weeks; New York, $10 to $55, flat period of 26 weeks.

In presenting the administration bill before the House Ways and Means Committee, Sec. of Labor Willard Wirtz was careful to avoid any harsh words about the competitive advantages some states have made in their unemployment compensation systems.

But the lines in his statement were pretty widely spaced, and it was easy to read between them.

He told the congressmen, for example, that state unemployment compensation tax rates were low in some areas, "not only because of low unemployment, but also because under the state law benefits are low in amount, or short on duration, or because eligibility for benefits is restricted."

SECRETARY Wirtz explained that the states, under H. R. 8282, would be required to pay weekly benefits amounting to at least 50 per cent of a worker's average weekly wage. This standard would be raised so that the benefit would represent two-thirds of the statewide average weekly wage by 1971.

A glance at the benefit computations indicates that this provision would have impact on all 11 states of the Deep South.

As southern employer associations and politicians read H.R. 8282 more closely, the telephone lines to their lobbyists and congressmen in Washington will probably start buzzing with agonized calls.

The Sunday Star
WITH DAILY EVENING EDITION
28. ★★★★ S WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 8, 1966
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The Evening Star Newspaper

nson Asks Moon

—Star Photographer Byron Schumaker

Mr. and Mrs. Willis Smiley of Dallas County, Ala., stand in front of a rural polling place near Selma after casting the first votes of their lives last Tuesday. He is 85; she is 74.

—Star Photographer Byron Schumaker

Mr. and Mrs. Willis Smiley of Dallas County, Ala., stand in front of a rural polling place near Selma after casting the first votes of their lives last Tuesday. He is 85; she is 74.

The Meaning of Selma

By HAYNES JOHNSON
Star Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala.—A dirt road winds off the Jeff Davis Highway, through the cotton fields of the Black Belt and past a grove of pecan trees sheltering a wooden shack with a tin roof. It stops at the Tyler Union High School for Negroes.

"We didn't have anything but a building until a few weeks before the election. Then the supplies started coming in," said B. W. Dawson, the Negro principal. "I think there has been a basic change. I think they are actually trying to meet our problems. I believe they are trying to give us what we need. I believe that.

"The vote will help. Now, they come and say, 'If I'm elected I'll put a road up to your house.' Now they're saying they'll actually do it. And the city government will change. At least they will listen. At least the offices will be open like they ought to be.

"Your sheriff will be the sheriff of all the people and not just a select group, and your probate judge—at least now you can go in and see him.

"Yes, within a year or two you're going to see a new Dallas County, a Dallas County like it ought to be, a Dallas County where people are proud to be.

Haynes Johnson was awarded the Pulitzer Prize last Monday for his reporting of the 1965 civil rights demonstrations in Selma, Ala., and their aftermath. He returned to Selma last week to write this special report.

"This election set a good pattern."

What he was saying underscores the major historical fact that has come out of the Black Belt last week. Power, political power, now has come to the Negroes of the rural South. To the Negro, it is a power that means he is somebody, at last. If he is not yet on a plane with the white man, at least he is on the way up.

White politicians and businessmen know, whether they say it publicly or not, that after Tuesday, May 3, 1966, when Negroes voted in large numbers for the first time since Reconstruction, they must deal with the black man in the South.

All the Rebel yells that rang out across Alabama last week are not going to obscure that.

"Well, we had them registered all right, but this week they came out and voted," said a Negro. "Now, they know we'll vote."

As the high school principal pointed out, the new political power brings with it change, large and small: In a street being paved or a road being built in the all-Negro sections; in a new set of school textbooks, in access to officials and, most important, in attitudes.

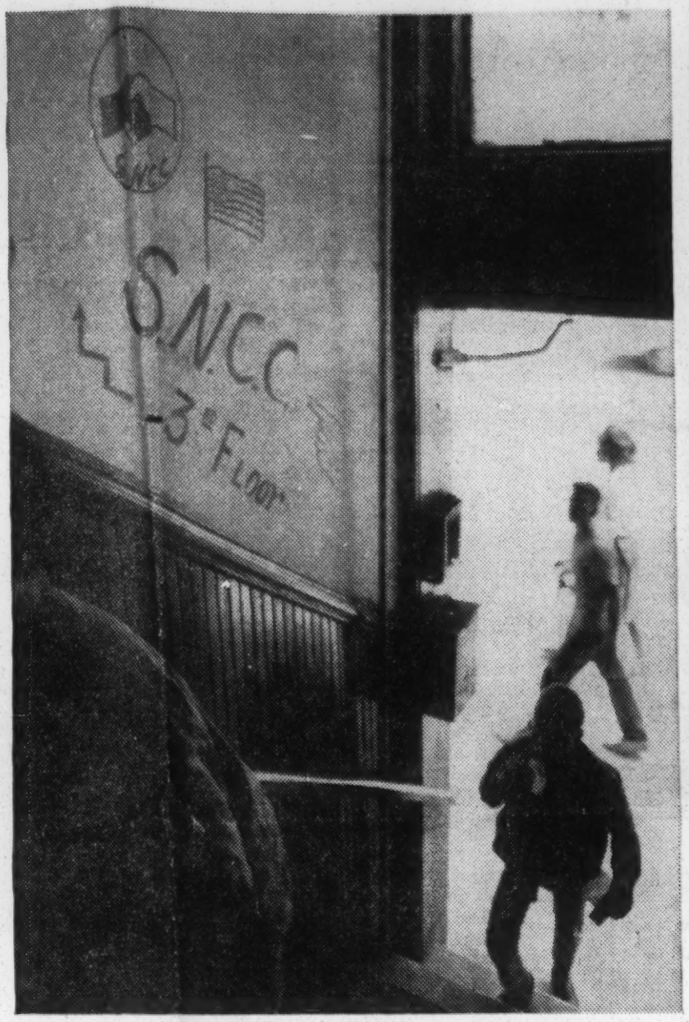
William E. (Big Bill) Lee, the sheriff of Greene County, spelled out the lesson after he won his primary race Tuesday by defeating a Negro, Thomas Gilmore.

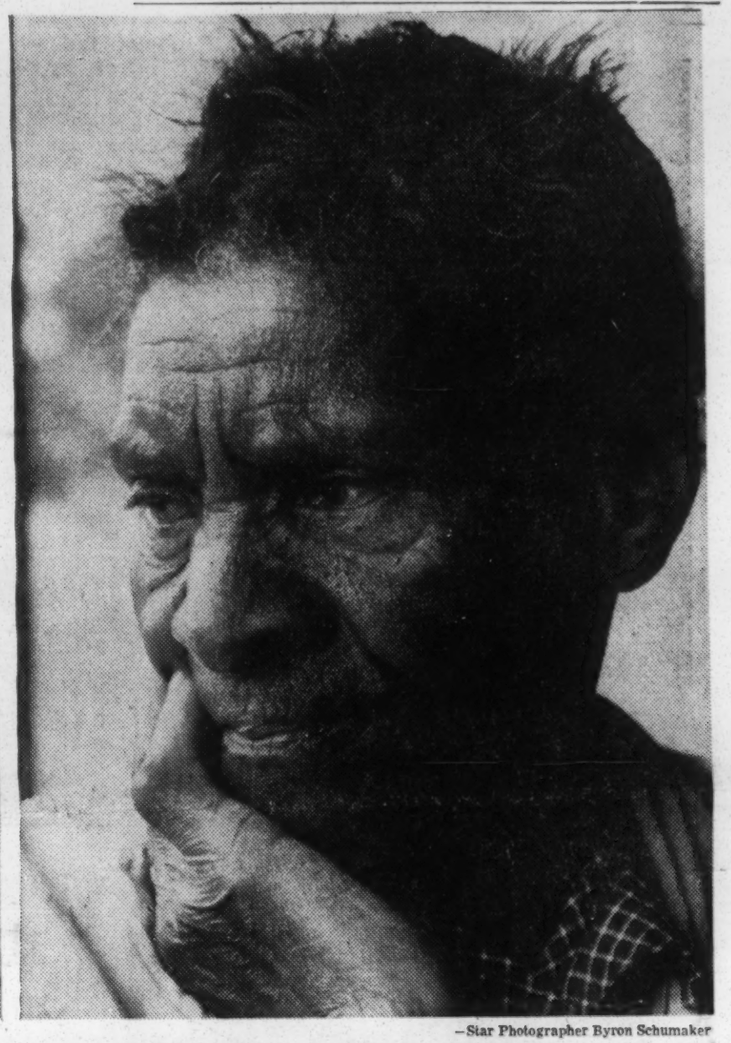
"I got about 850 colored votes," said Lee, who once played football for the Green Bay Packers. "I'm certainly thankful for their votes because I couldn't have won without them."

Another white politician, who asked not to be quoted by name, gave another side of the story. He, too, won. But he never would have, he said, if he had not gone directly to the Negroes and

See SELMA, Page A-9

File





—Star Photographer Byron Schumaker

SELMA MIRRORED THE SOUTH LAST WEEK AS ITS NEGROES VOTED, WATCHED AND PONDERED THE FUTURE.

Selma: Vote Brings Power to the Southern Negro

Continued From Page A-1

solicited their support. He asked for their help quietly, for he did not want to alienate his white backers.

He told of a white friend who also had run for office.

"He came to me and asked me to speak to the Negroes for him," he recalled. "He said, 'Just call them on the phone and tell them I'd like their support.' And I told him I couldn't do that. That was something he had to do for himself. But he kept asking me and asking me and I finally told him, 'Look, Tom, you're going to have to make this move yourself. Nobody can do it for you. Just go on over and sit down with them. You don't have to make a big noise about it. But you sure had better do it.' "

His friend never went, and he lost.

New South Emerges

These incidents don't mean that the problems of the past vanished overnight for the Negro. Nor does it mean that the Negro now sees the end of his struggle in the South. But a new South is more sharply in focus today because of what took place last week in the old strongholds of segregation.

Nowhere is that more evident than here in Selma, in the heart of the Black Belt. For Selma, the city where the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was born, again is a symbol — this time of the changing South. Its problems, its people, its attitudes, its efforts at change point up some of the currents flowing through the South today.

History was capricious with Selma. By all rights, Selma should have been merely one of countless rural trading centers with access, through the Alabama River, to a water route to the Gulf Coast.

A hundred years ago last spring the Union forces made Selma the site of one of the last battles of the Civil War. From the bluffs of the river you can still see the marks on old brick buildings, reminders of that day when Yankee troops burned the city. The marks from that conflagration left a deep imprint on Selma and its people.

Selma, slumbering for nearly a century, hardened into fixed attitudes. The whites were stubborn, determined to resist change. When the Negro civil rights drive began more than a year ago, Selma's white population was dealt a severe shock.

Could Not Win

For them, the demonstrations forced a recognition that change was going to take place. Grudgingly, reluctantly, bitterly, Selma's white leaders finally faced the undeniable and unwelcome fact: Fight though they might, they could not win their battle.

For the Negroes, and for the national civil rights groups, that was their finest hour, a period of selflessness and soaring principle. Their freedom songs and their freedom march stirred people around the world.

But later the Negroes suffered the inevitable let-down. After the stirring days of spring their unity was broken by discord, bickering and hints of scandal. Like the whites, they went through a period of re-examination.

In the aftermath of Selma the Dallas County Voters League, the organization that led the local civil rights movement, came under sharp attack from within and without. Charges were made about mismanagement of funds, inadequate book-keeping and accounting procedures, and general laxness of administration.

Since then, the Voters League has been reorganized. Is books are carefully audited, is leaders are in closer contact with the people. Confidence has been restored. The proof came in the massive turnout Tuesday after the Voters League ran a major vote education campaign.

Tuesday was the last chapter of the Selma story; whatever happens next belongs to a new book for the South.

From the beginning, when the Negroes began campaigning for the vote leaving here just like the young Negroes. The whites, they've got an aging population, too."

Stripped of the race question, the problems of Selma came down to such basics as poverty, disease, ignorance. While the Negroes hold the statistical margin in these unwelcome categories, poverty and its handmaidens are no respecter of color. Whites, too, are poor.

A year ago the Chamber of Commerce here liked to tell reporters about the good side of Selma. In its metropolitan area were 75 churches, 15 public schools, one university center, a public library, industries, four banks, three railroads, two bus and six motor freight lines.

The Other Side

There are other, less flattering, figures. Dallas County, of which Selma is the county seat, has a population of 56,667, half of it rural, half of it Negro. Fifty-two percent of the families in

from the past. The Negro attitudes now are clear to all. They no longer hide behind what their poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, called the "mask that grins and lies."

For whites—that is, whites with education—the change in attitudes is more difficult to gauge. Prejudice still runs deep. Acceptance comes slowly, as a talk with a white minister in Selma indicated.

He was interviewed in his book-lined study in the center of the city. He spoke quietly and reflectively about the events of the past year.

"The more sensitive Christians strongly disliked what was going on," he said, "although they scarcely knew everything that was happening. At that time we were in a prayer retreat and the sensitive Christians had a deep prayerful, searching, deep personal humility and a desire to let God's will overrule personal feelings in these matters. And I personally thought God's spirit was with us in those prayer sessions, and I felt a response on

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Tuesday was the last chapter of the Selma story; whatever happens next belongs to a new book for the South.

From the beginning, when the Negroes began campaigning for the vote early last year, the sole objective of the Selma civil rights movement was participation in the political process. The demonstrations, the bloodshed, the marches, the emotion that caught the attention of the world—all culminated in the election.

Those results demonstrated again the Negroes' new power: Sheriff Jim Clark, Selma's symbol of segregation, lost the vote count to his rival Wilson Baker, a racial moderate who had the almost unanimous support of the Negroes. Although Clark is challenging the election procedures, the thousands of Negro ballots cast clearly held the margin of victory or defeat in Dallas County.

Common Problems

While it would be naive to suggest that now, because of the election, a new era of racial harmony has begun here, it is nevertheless true that men of both races are quietly discussing their problems. They are finding that they have common problems, problems that do not stem only from the question of race.

"You know," said one Negro after the election, "the Clarks and Wallaces, their day is going faster than they think. It's just like a dying man. He can muster up a little strength in his dying hour and put on a big last show, but when that's done that's all of it. He's gone.

"Now I've been saying it's time to stop getting at each other's throat. Of course the things that happened last year, well, we wouldn't be where we are now without them, but we can't continue to live in a crisis.

"I think a lot of the white people know that. And they know something else. They know that the whole economy through here's made up of whites and Negroes, and they know we can't be divided and still have any kind of progress. And that's a fact. And that's where we've got our problems today.

"The tragic thing down here is that we haven't got a very good middle class, black or white, and you know a good middle class is the salt of any society. The young whites have been

itan area were 75 churches, 15 public schools, one university center, a public library, industries, four banks, three railroads, two bus and six motor freight lines.

The Other Side

There are other, less flattering, figures. Dallas County, of which Selma is the county seat, has a population of 56,667, half of it rural, half of it Negro. Fifty-two percent of the families in Dallas County earn less than $3,000 a year. There are 2,585 families earning less than $1,000 a year.

Of those over 65, more than 51 percent receive old-age assistance. A staggering total of 77.4 percent of those examined for military service were rejected for health or mental reasons. In the county, 38 percent of the people over 25 years old have less than an eighth grade education.

In Selma itself, 43 percent of all housing units are substandard.

Translated into human terms, these figures mean someone like Bessie Watts, age 13, a Negro, who sat on the porch of the two-room shack she shares with eight other children and a grandmother. Bessie was holding the youngest child in her arm and saying, "I had to stay home from school today." But in fact Bessie rarely goes to school. She doesn't seem to care. She is unable to express anything she hopes to accomplish in her lifetime.

Her grandmother was asked where Bessie's father was. "He's staying with another woman down the road," she said. "He ain't working. He ain't doing nothing."

Bessie's grandmother was one of those thousands of Negroes who voted for the first time in her life. She walked from her shack across the fields more than a mile to the polling place.

Fear Lessens

In a score of interviews, not one Negro expressed fear about the future. A year ago, during the march from Selma to Montgomery, many of those same Negroes were hesitant even to wave at the marchers from their shacks.

One man, after voting in a rural hamlet, mentioned the possibility he might be thrown off his land. It has happened in the Black Belt. When asked what he would do if that occurred, he said:

"If the man tells you to move out because you voted, we got nowhere to go. We'll go sleep down under the tree with the rattlesnakes if we have to."

To anyone who knows the Deep South, such expressions from Negroes in rural areas are startling departures

spoke quietly and reflectively about the events of the past year.

"The more sensitive Christians strongly disliked what was going on," he said, "although they scarcely knew everything that was happening. At that time we were in a prayer retreat and the sensitive Christians had a deep prayerful, searching, deep personal humility and a desire to let God's will overrule personal feelings in these matters. And I personally thought God's spirit was with us in those prayer sessions, and I felt a response on God's part.

"Really, I anticipated more bloodshed than there was here because I thought the radical element would have a freer hand. So I was very much encouraged, even though I was saddened by the violence and the death of (the Rev. James) Reeb (the white Unitarian minister clubbed to death on Selma's streets). But you can't always stop that. But even so, I think we came through it."

A Silent Issue

In his own case, he never discussed the civil rights issue or any problems from the pulpit. It was, as he said, "a silent issue."

But now, he said, he sees a change in attitudes in Selma. The vote has made an impact.

"I think that some people were really impressed that the Negroes, the older Negroes they know personally and who weren't pushing the civil rights movement, they were impressed that the Negroes did vote. And they would see that these Negroes were thrilled to vote.

"I also think it surprised them that some Negroes even voted for conservative candidates."

Then he said:

"They're thinking for themselves, some of them."

One of the older Negroes in Selma, a man who has given leadership and direction over the years and who was instrumental in bringing Martin Luther King here, takes the long view.

He is only one of many here who looks ahead to the day, after all the ugliness and bitterness has passed into history, when Selma, Ala., will move forward with the New South.

"It's working itself out faster than you and I think," he said. "Because we've lived through it we might be more cautious in our predictions But it's going faster. Now there's one thing that I've appreciated most that's come out of this movement: the Negro people now have a sense of manhood. They've been down and oppressed and they had that state of mind, but they're coming out of it fast.

"The millenium isn't here yet, but I'm not a pessimist."

recipient countries, rather than on some arbitrarily-set figure. Nevertheless, it seems clear that one-half of 1 percent of our wealth is not enough for a program which offers so much hope for peace and progress.

It is clear that the American labor movement takes a direct interest in foreign aid, not merely as a bystander, but as a participant in the national effort to spread democracy, economic well-being, political stability, and peace throughout the developing world. We are providing funds and we are sending some of the most qualified men in the American labor movement to serve abroad as needed, often in uncomfortable and even dangerous posts.

From whatever angle the question is considered, it is clear that we can and must provide adequate levels of foreign aid. Recognizing this, the AFL-CIO Executive Council called upon the House and Senate to "take prompt and favorable action on the President's request." We urge again that the Congress approve the requests, and, where needed, add to them.

—From testimony by the AFL-CIO on foreign aid legislation before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

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Official Weekly Publication of the
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AFL-CIO Headquarters: 815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Telephone: NAtional 8-3870

Subscriptions: $2.00 a year; 10 or more, $1.50 a year

Vol. XI **Saturday, May 14, 1966** **No. 20**

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STAM FOR AFL-CIO NEWS

Lesson in Alabama:

Broad Coalition Key to Progress For Negroes, Liberals in South

The following is excerpted from an article in the May 14 issue of The New Republic by Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council.

BY THE NEW MATH of southern politics, with Negroes in such a state as Alabama showing impressive voting strength for the first time, there had been reason to expect that Mrs. George (Lurleen) Wallace would have had to face a run-off election. To gain a majority she had to get her 51 percent from 84.5 percent of the electorate, based on the likely assumption that none of the 16.5 percent of the total vote that is Negro was hers. And that is the lowest estimate of the Negro vote, based on inflated figures which give many counties more than 100 percent of eligible whites registered. Actual voting strength of Negroes was nearer 25 percent.

That Mrs. Wallace carried far more than half of the white vote shows the appeal of her husband's brand of conservative politics. The Wallace campaign was not as overtly racist as his past pronouncements and record, a mark of the influence of the new Negro vote. But Alabamans, as they say, knew where the Wallaces stood. She (he) appealed to all whites, not merely the worst.

The Negro vote went, as expected, to Richmond Flowers. He got it mainly by asking for it, something none of the other nine candidates would do openly. It gave him second place. That victory-in-defeat helps offset somewhat the election's general encouragement of racism-as-usual in southern politics. For in the high expectations of the campaign, Negro leaders and voters were faced with a dilemma that will be common throughout the South—whether to support a man who openly identifies with them and thereby hurt his chances with white voters, or to support a covertly friendly candidate (Carl Elliott, in this case) whose chances with the whites and of winning are better.

In choosing the former course, Alabama Negroes set a precedent which will be noted by politicians and perhaps followed by Negroes of other states. The decision doomed efforts for a coalition between moderate and liberal white elements and Negroes. Labor supported Elliott, and the Johnson Administration was said to favor him —to no avail.

There were some who said the heavy vote for Wallace in the primary was meant merely to show Negroes how things stand, and that much of the segregationist vote will now go to the Republican candidate in the general election in the fall, Rep. James Martin. That seems problematic at this moment.

They voted long and hard. In Birmingham, where more Negroes (61,637) are registered than in all of the black belt, blocks-long lines lasted until nearly midnight. In white and Negro precincts very heavy turnouts were recorded across the state. In the smaller towns, where there is only one polling place, whites and Negroes stood one behind the other, well integrated to vote against or for that integration.

There was no violence of note. Not that things were friendly: At Bessemer, a steelworking town, a Negro approached a white outside the polling place and asked him politely which line he should get in. "I wouldn't tell you," the white answered.

BUT IN A STATE where racial violence and killings by whites have been frequent, on this day, at least, there appeared to be a new way of settling disputes—democracy. The segregationists won the count, but they won it in a free and open election. (The Justice Dept. with its 350 federal poll-watchers in the state seemed satisfied at the end of election day that no flagrant irregularities had occurred. However, they were studying reports of the poll-watchers for indications of scattered irregularities.)

The highest hope had been that, democracy having come for the first time in any real sense to a state like Alabama, the South would be done with its Wallaces.

The results fall short of that: democracy had not fully come—something less than half the eligible Negroes are registered; the 100-percent increase in Negro registration in less than a year had a low starting point. But as elsewhere in the South, the political calculations of men like Flowers are based as much on potential as on the new math of actual Negro voting strength.

There is no gainsaying the meaning of a victory like that of Wallace. It is that the Negro vote alone cannot save the South. Perhaps Alabama is the only state where whites are so overwhelmingly wed to the old ruinous politics. But perhaps too there will now be many more candidates willing to "do a Flowers." And they won't have to run their wives.

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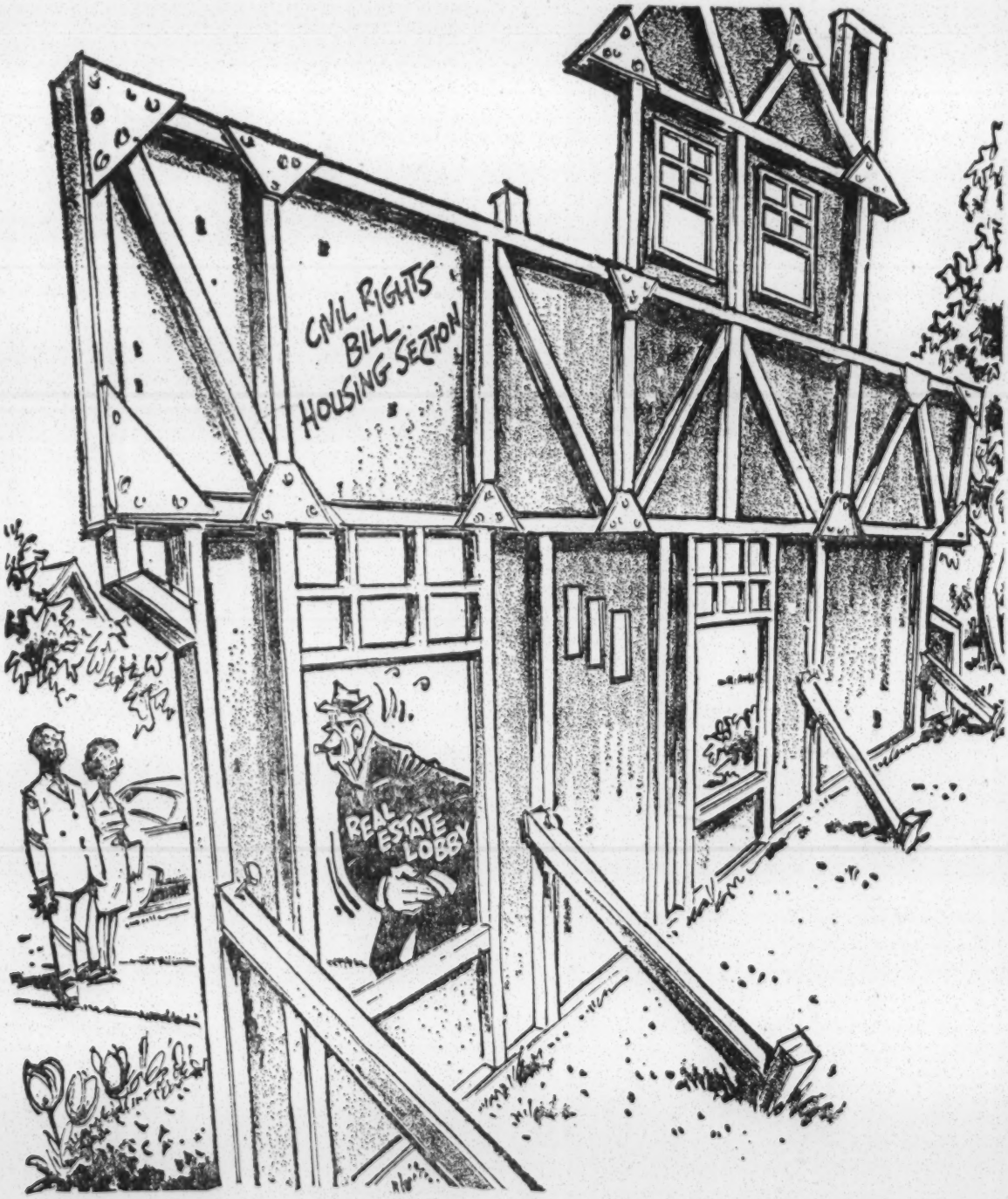

Conrad, The Los Angeles Times

"I forgot a key . . . But, you get a pretty good idea what the house is like from out here."

File

Evasion of School Integration in South Called U.S. Scandal

12-19-66

SRC spec. file

BY JACK NELSON
LA Times Staff Writer (front page)

ATLANTA—The Southern Regional Council Sunday called the evasion of school desegregation by southern school and public officials more of a national scandal than "the lawlessness of violent racist gangs."

In a lengthy report, the council declared that the "poor performance" of the South in the second year of enforcement of Title 4 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for school desegregation "remained the strongest rebuttal of the southern complaint that the Office of Education has been overzealous in the matter."

The council, a biracial civil rights organization highly regarded for its research reports, questioned whether federal education officials have been diligent enough in enforcement of Title 4, which provides for halting of federal aid to schools that fail to make adequate progress toward elimination of dual school systems.

The Office of Education, the council said, has settled in many instances for tokenism and gradualism in enforcing the provisions.

Several northern congressmen recently have joined southern public officials in criticizing the office for its enforcement of guidelines, which prescribe minimum, but rather flexible standards for compliance. The standards include suggested minimum percentages of Negroes attending previously all-white schools.

The council declared that segments of the southern education and political establishments avoided significant desegregation during the current school year partly by "diverting attention in Congress from the failure in ending segregated dual systems to fears of forced racial violence."

The education office's guidelines would not have ended dual schools

Please Turn to Page 9, Col. 1

SCANDAL

Continued from First Page

"even if perfectly applied," the council reported, because they were intended only as instruments for a significant beginning toward that end.

The council declared that the guidelines were not fully implemented in the five Deep South states where the proportion of Negroes attending previously all-white schools ranges from 2.4% in Alabama to 6.6% in Georgia.

Pointing out that the Supreme Court declared more than 12 years ago that dual school systems are prima facie unconstitutional, the council declared:

"The record of many southern school and public officials and the publics they serve has been one of avoiding and evading this clear-cut dictum of the basic law of the nation.

"Such mistreatments of the legal system by these 'best people' has been far more a national disgrace and scandal than the notorious lawlessness of violent racist gangs comprised of the 'worst people' of the area."

Pressure Factor

Pressure for strong enforcement of desegregation guidelines, the council said, was weakened by political pressures on school administrators, fear of white backlash and confusion about the intent of Congress in Title 4.

The report suggested there is "considerable need" for Congress to clarify its intent in the title.

The emergence of racism among northern white mobs has given encouragement to the advocates of resistance in the South, according to the report.

"Many southern segregationists believe that the rest of the country has come to agree with them on racial matters and that it will not be long before federal pressures for desegregation will dissolve," the report said.

Textile Industry Charged With Discrimination

Jan 13 67

By Thomas Pepper
Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE — The southern textile industry "has an extremely poor record on Negro employment," a government - sponsored "forum" here was told yesterday.

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, a Negro economist and president of Clark College at Atlanta, Ga., said, "The industry has a vicious history of discrimination and outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force" in various plants.

Improvement is particularly needed, Henderson said, in the employment of rural Negroes who no longer work on farms. Negroes in larger cities have a variety of job opportunities to choose from, he said, but rural Negroes are especially dependent on textile mill jobs because in many small towns this is the only source of factory employment.

Henderson was one of 14 speakers at a "forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry of North and South Carolina, sponsored by the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The word "forum" was chosen because the commission said it simply wanted to gather information from all parties concerned. Under the ground rules, no charges of discrimination against individuals, companies, or unions can be made in public during the two-day session. About 160 people were at the opening meeting.

Ten leading textile firms, their principal trade association, state and local government agencies, civil rights groups and unions were invited to present their views. But most of the firms and the American Textile Manufacturers Institute decided to boycott the session. The institute said it preferred a private meeting.

Although only one industry spokesman, an official of the Du Pont Corp. of Wilmington, Del., spoke yesterday, numerous industry representatives, including men from Cone Mills and Burlington Industries in Greensboro, were in the audience.

Companies were not alone

See Forum, P. 18, Col. 4

Forum Told About Hiring Practices

Continued from Page 1

in receiving criticism. Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that unions and the N. C. Employment Security Commission discriminate against Negroes. The ESC fails to refer Negroes to textile mill jobs, he said.

Alexander and other Negro civil rights spokesmen, including Charles McLean of Winston-Salem, a full - time NAACP employe, urged the commission to find ways to cut off federal programs to the textile industry. They referred to tariff and quota agreements that restrict imports to protect the domestic industry, and to defense contracts.

A speaker from the U. S. Department of Commerce, also a Negro, said that the textile industry is at a serious disadvantage in competition with foreign firms, and that widespread imports would hurt the chances for increased Negro employment in the industry.

Textile Industry Criticized

Paul Swaity, a vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, castigated the textile industry for manufacturing poverty as well as textiles.

He said his union welcomes any employe regardless of race and that because of this, management appeals to racial prejudice in campaigns against union organization.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman asked Swaity whether Negroes are generally more apt than whites to support unions in the southern

for manufacturing poverty as well as textiles.

He said his union welcomes any employe regardless of race and that because of this, management appeals to racial prejudice in campaigns against union organization.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman asked Swaity whether Negroes are generally more apt than whites to support unions in the southern textile industry.

Swaity said successful civil rights drives have made Negroes more sympathetic to unions than they used to be. He added that 10 years ago hardly any Negroes were employed at textile mills.

In an interview later, Swaity said the Negroes' inclination to join unions probably makes companies more reluctant to hire them.

Shulman, asked whether this observation by Swaity is true, said, "I hope not."

Pro-Union Sentiment

Shulman said he has to assume that companies willingly obey laws that prohibit discrimination against Negroes and against people sympathetic to unions. He also said he would hate to think that pro-union sympathies by Negroes would hurt their chances for employment in textile mills.

Henderson, Alexander and others said the textile industry needs to make more use of federal manpower training programs, in which the government pays part of the cost of on-the-job training. A labor Department speaker said the textile industry uses very little of these funds.

At the beginning of the program, several commission staff members reviewed the studies that prompted the commission to schedule the "forum."

Commission speakers alternated between a "hard sell," when the head of the compliance division reminded the audience of the commission's responsibilities under the law, and a "soft sell," when the regional director from Atlanta outlined various plans some companies have voluntarily used to recruit and employ more Negroes.

Changes Approach

Textile Industry Defends Hiring

By Thomas Pepper Jan 1967
Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE — Changing its mind, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute asked yesterday to speak at a government-sponsored "forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry of the Carolinas. The institute said it is willing to discuss programs "for the benefit of all Americans, regardless of race."

F. Sadler Love, secretary-treasurer of the ATMI, the textile industry's principal trade association, spoke near the end of two days of public hearings here before the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This is the government body charged with enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits racial discrimination in any company with more than 25 employes.

The ATMI had indicated earlier it would boycott the meeting because a public session might encourage "unfounded and irresponsible accusations." The ATMI had said it preferred a private meeting.

Statement Offered

But after a day and a half of public statements, most of them critical of the industry, Love told commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman that he wanted to make a statement, an informed source said.

In planning the "forum," the commission wanted participation from all elements concerned with Negro employment in the textile industry—companies themselves, the trade association, state and local government agencies, civil rights groups, unions and individual Negroes who have sought employment.

The word "forum" was chosen because the commission said it wanted to gather information and not hold a judicial or semi-judicial inquiry.

Employment Increases

In his statement, Love sought to emphasize the high percentage increases in Negro employment in the textile industry since passage of the Civil Rights Act. He quoted figures from the commission's own studies, and called these increases "encouraging." Earlier, commission economists said the percentage increases are high because the industry began with a low number of Negroes employed.

Love also said the education and manpower training systems should educate and train Negroes for textile work. The systems are run and paid for by the government. Implicitly, he was answering those who had called on the textile industry to let more Negroes participate in on-the-job training.

These previous witnesses, called for improved educational programs and acknowledged the Negroes' own need for self-improvement, but they stressed industry's responsibility and said it is willing to train whites on-the-job.

Love emphasized the intense competition facing the textile industry, at home and abroad. The industry trains thousands of people each year, he said, but "it does not have the facilities to train the hundreds of thousands of others who lack adequate employment because they lack adequate training."

Earlier yesterday, Watts Hill Jr., chairman of the State Board of Higher Education and president of Home Security Life Insurance Co. of Durham, said equal employment programs in industry could succeed only if top management actively backs them.

Extraordinary recruitment programs, such as visits to predominately Negro high schools and colleges, are needed to reach the Negro community, he said.

Compensation Needed

On education, Hill said compensations for Negroes are needed today to make up for 100 years of unequal expenditures. "Who can say that there would or would not have been equal achievement had the treatment been equal all along? We do not know and never will," Hill said.

Speaking as an executive, Hill said his own company's experience in integration shows that the "apprehension of what might happen always exceeds the reality." Because of progress in the recruitment programs in the last few years, Hill said his company now gets as many Negro as white applicants and about the same percentage of qualified applicants from each race.

Six Negro workers and several ministers told of unsuccessful attempts to get jobs in textile mills or of higher wages going to whites for identical work.

Miss Willie Mae McCrimmon, an 18-year-old high school graduate, said she was refused a job about the time a newspaper in her county advertised 200 openings.

See Textile, P. 12, Col. 5

mining the differences.

Textile Group Says Hiring Is Not Biased

Continued from Page 1

Mrs. Annie Lou Harris, a former business student at Winston-Salem State College, said the company she applied to simply said her application would be kept on file.

Dr. Emory Via, director of labor programs for the Southern Regional Council, a research-oriented civil rights organization in Atlanta, Ga., told the commission that the textile industry, because of its prominence in the economic, social, and cultural life of the Carolinas, can take the lead in integration. Nondiscrimination now is required by law, he said and "fairness can no longer be satisfied with statements of good intentions."

Mrs. Sarah Herbin of the North Carolina fund, an anti-poverty agency at Durham, called for a concrete commission-followup. She deplored public meetings that only increase the frustrations of Negroes and she criticized the industry for wanting "super - Negroes" with higher qualifications for a job than whites.

KOLD DRAFT

Textile Industry Seemed On Defensive at Forum

File

Jan 1967

By Thomas Pepper
Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE — "Wild Accusations Flare at EEOC Forum" read a banner headline in a weekly trade newspaper for the textile industry, published here Friday.

The headline and main story were about a public forum on Negro employment in the textile industry of North and South Carolina, sponsored by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

It was apparent that the industry regarded the event as a promotion stunt, designed to pressure companies into hiring and upgrading more Negroes.

A News Analysis

Officially, the commission denied any intention to pressure. It said it simply wanted an exchange of information from all parties concerned, and it used the word "forum" to avoid the word "hearing" or any connotation of a judicial or semijudicial inquiry.

Unquestionably, however, the commission did create an event. And the event gathered information that would otherwise be hard for the press to get.

Just as the industry foresaw, economists and laymen alike charged that the industry discriminates against Negroes — both in the low number of Negroes employed and in the kinds of jobs they are given.

But like any business, the commission has a job to do, and it is entitled to try the same kind of promotional gimmicks that business and industry use.

Actually, the forum was more than a mere promotion stunt. It was an ingenious way for the commission to apply pressure on an industry to do more toward making genuine equality of opportunity a reality. Beforehand, and again in a closing statement, commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman said the group would hold similar forums elsewhere in the country and for other industries.

With a limited budget and very few investigators in its 10 regional offices, the commission has to use some technique to do its job, which is to enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This prohibits racial discrimination in any company with more than 25 employes.

Moreover, while the commission held up the "stick" of its complaint investigations, it also did everything possible to hold up the "carrot" of urging voluntary action toward equal opportunity. The commission knows that voluntary action by companies is a far more effective way to achieve gains than case-by-case investigations.

Industry Attitude

What remains unclear at the end of this forum is why the textile industry had to appear so uncooperative—first by saying it would boycott the meeting and later, when it did make a statement, by referring to alleged "malicious and irresponsible accusations" against the industry.

According to one participant, in private conversation, the whole meeting might just as easily have turned into a great "whitewash," with the industry looking like a model of progress.

In his view, last week was the best possible time for the textile industry to appear at any such forum. Before 1964, nobody could complain, except morally, if the industry was overwhelmingly white. Next year, the standards of performance will be even higher than they are now. Hence, he reasoned, the industry was foolish not to parade several new and upgraded Negro employes before the commission as "proof" of recent progress.

Even the commission's own study, the basis of the meeting, he said, can be interpreted in two ways: Emphasis on its finding that a low number of Negroes are employed in the textile industry, or its finding that astronomical percentage gains have been made since 1964. These gains are large, it was pointed out, because the industry began from a very low base.

By boycotting the meeting (except for one executive from the Du Pont Corp. of Wilmington, Del., who gave examples of Negro recruitment by his firm), the industry surrendered the floor to civil rights groups, who naturally emphasized the low numbers of Negroes employed.

Appeared on Defensive

When the industry finally did speak, through its trade association, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, it appeared on the defensive even as it cited the very percentage increases that, with proper emphasis, could have made the industry look good.

Except for a union charge that the industry manufactures "poverty" as well as "textiles," the participant said there were no really irrelevant points brought up, however much the industry disliked the points.

Hence, he reasoned, the industry's pouting against alleged "sensationalism" probably was caused by a need to satisfy a hard-line faction of executives who opposed any participation in the session.

As Justification

And, in a sense, the industry had to complain about "sensationalism" as a justification for its earlier prediction of "unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

By participating so reluctantly, and only after adverse publicity, the industry did not come out of the forum "smelling like a rose." With other tactics, it might have.

There were several poignant incidents at the meeting:

—Mrs. Sarah Herbin, a 10-year veteran at seeking job opportunities for Negroes, criticized industry executives for wanting "light-skinned" Negroes. With considerable understatement, she said, "I'm not sure what these employers were really asking for." After the laughter subsided, Mrs. Herbin, a Negro, said she herself had not said anything about "miscegenation."

—Mrs. Herbin also said she longed for the day when Negroes no longer lacked the self-confidence to apply for jobs on their own—without needing "middle-men" like herself.

—Col. Clifton M. Craig, North Carolina commissioner of welfare, was interrupted for his pronunciation of the word "Negroes," which, when he said it, sounded like "Nigras." Craig apologized and placed emphasis on the final sound.

—Dr. Luther Holcomb, vice chairman of the commission and former executive director of the Greater Dallas (Tex.) Council of Churches, said many textile executives are deacons and elders in their churches and that churches hold the key in influencing individuals to take further action toward equal opportunity.

—The Rev. Howard McClain, executive director of the South Carolina Christian Action Council, responded to Holcomb's point by saying that textile executives had taken the lead in the peaceful integration of Clemson College in 1963. Ministers should reinforce such acts by commending them, McClain said.

—Courtney Siceloff, secretary of the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, said that if the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission lacked the power to get the industry to participate fully in a forum, it probably needed a stronger law behind it. He advocated specific, numerical quotas for Negroes in plants.

Moore's Greetings

David S. Coltrane, chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, brought greetings from Gov. Dan Moore and told the commission, "You may all be assured of the governor's interest in this conference and the employment of qualified people irrespective of race."

In the end, the forum managed to create the publicity it sought.

In his closing statement, Shulman said the meeting was "fruitful because there has been an exchange of information."

"I do not know yet whether it has been a success," he said. That, he added, will depend on the effectiveness of the follow-up the commission and others agree to and act upon.

Why?

Judge Cox Cancels A Grand Jury

The action of Federal Judge Harold Cox in cancelling a Grand Jury this week is shocking and not easily understood. The jury was to have heard evidence in seeking indictments against the fourteen persons accused of murdering NAACP leader Vernon Dahmer of Hattiesburg and eighteen persons accused in the slaying of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia. The cases should have been brought to justice long ago.

If there is any person in the world in whom prejudice and discrimination is inexcusable certainly it is a Federal judge — and if there is any place in the world where prejudice and discrimination cannot be tolerated it is a Federal court.

Judge Cox has laid himself wide open to suspicion and criticism on both counts. If a report of two well known Washington columnists is true, Judge Cox has not only exhibited prejudice in an official capacity but has actually taken a hand in impeding justice in his own court.

Evans and Novak reported in their "Inside Report" column of January 10 that Judge Cox, shortly after Christmas called a Justice Department lawyer into his chambers and presented him with this proposition: "I'm not going to call any grand jury in the murder cases until the Justice Department requests a grand jury to investigate CDGM (Child Development Group of Mississippi."

The newsmen said, and we quote, that "to equate what at the worst may be embezzlement with premeditated murder is ludicrous." They also stated "Cox's intransigence undermines cooperative effort between the Federal government and Governor Paul Johnson's administration to make clear that murder — even murder of a civil rights worker—is a crime in Mississippi." (See full column on editorial page.)

The action of Judge Cox is not funny in any manner—it is shocking and deplorable. It is a sad but eloquent commentary on justice, Mississippi style. It is bad enough that local and district courts have historically made a mockery of the law in cases involving racial crimes, but in a Federal court it is intolerable.

In attempting to dictate to the U. S. Justice Department on the CDGM matter Judge Cox is clearly interfering in matters that are none of his business — and that branch of the U. S. government should waste no time in dealing with him.

Continued respect and confidence for Federal courts demands that Federal judges conduct themselves and the courts with dignity, honor and integrity at all times.

Any suggestion, even implied, that a Federal judge is reluctant to bring to justice the killers of those four people in Mississippi is abhorrent to every decent citizen of the state.

Judge Cox should act immediately to clear himself of any suspicion of wrong doing.

Through Hazel Eyes

By HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale dentist who is state president of the Mississippi Chapter of the NAACP, became last week the first Negro to speak to college students on the campus of Mississippi State University at Starkville. He had previously spoken on the Ole Miss campus at Oxford.

So many students came out to hear Mr. Henry at Starkville the meeting place had to be moved to accommodate the crowd. He spoke under the sponsorship of the campus chapter of Young Democrats.

This must have been a unique experience for many of these college boys and girls — their first exposure to any Negro other than a cook, maid or handyman. (How narrow the world they have been brought up in—and how broad and difficult the world in which they are going to have to make their way!)

Henry told the MSU audience that 175,000 Negroes were registered to vote in Mississippi at the end of 1966.

At the end of 1965 there were only 20,000. He said registration of Negroes and the increased voting of this minority group will bring about some changes in Mississippi.

Specifically, Henry expects improved educational opportunities, economic opportunities and employment conditions. He was quoted as saying:

"We can anticipate political support on the state and national level for legislation aimed at ending poverty and generally improving the lot of the poor man."

Henry said the tradition of injustice for Negroes in some courts will probably be the most difficult practice to change but that pressure from voters could also accomplish this.

Henry may be right in what he says—but we think it's going to take a lot more than 175,000 Negro voters in Mississippi to make any real change in the overall situation in Mississippi. Not until the number of Negro voters is doubled or more will Negroes have any real political power in the state.

Of course there are a few counties in the state (including Holmes) where the number of Negro voters is already greater than white. But whether the Negroes go out and vote remains to be seen. (In Holmes County the percentage of Negroes voting in the Congressional elections was a little higher than that of the whites—so it appears that in this county, a least, the Negroes will vote in meaningful numbers.)

1967 is general election year in Mississippi. This is the year in which new officials will be elected in all local, district, county and state offices—everything from Justice of the Peace and Constable to governor of the state.

Only those persons who are properly registered by July 7 will be eligible to vote in either election — the Primary election in August or the general election in November.

If there are any among our readers who want to have a voice in electing the officials who govern us and control our lives they'd better get registered now.

Those persons who are horrified at the thought that former governor Ross Barnett could be returned to office next January (and there are thousands of white Mississippians who feel this way) should lose no time in doing something about it.

One thing they can do is to make certain they and all of the people they can influence get registered to vote.

The only effective weapon for making certain that qualified people are elected to office is the vote — and the men and women we elect to office determine the quality of our life.

One thing certain: Mr. Barnett makes no pretense about the kind of administration his would be. He is definitely alongside Georgia Governor Maddox and Alabama Governor Lurleen-George Wallace. Mr. Barnett appered at the inauguration of both looking pleased as punch.

If Mississippi wants to continue to shadow box the Federal government and try vainly to maintain a world that no longer exists, it can elect Mr. Barnett governor again.

And if Mr. Barnett is elected again, Mississippi will deserve him—just as Georgia and Alabama today deserve the governors they have.

The people of my native Alabama succumbed to hysteria — the same type of hysteria we had in Mississippi when Mr. Barnett was governor—and the people of Georgia went to sleep at the switch.

The Northside Reporter, Jan. 19, 1967

File

Inside Report

Federal Judge Seems To Be Blocking Indictments Of Accused Murderers

By Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak
In The Delta Democrat-Times

WASHINGTON — The U. S. Government's long and gradually successful effort to bring the rule of law to rural Mississippi has entered a new crisis putting the Justice Department on a collision course with a federal judge.

With no hint of warning, Judge Harold Cox of Jackson—perhaps the most uncompromising segregationist on the federal bench today—cancelled plans to summon a grand jury in Jackson next Monday to consider civil rights murder cases. The government is seeking 14 indictments in the murder of Negro Vernon Dahmer at Hattiesburg and 18 indictments in the notorious slaying of three civil rights workers at Philadelphia.

What apparently set off the mercurial Judge Cox was the Johnson administration's decision, under liberal-labor pressure, to reverse itself and refund the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) — a headstart program controlled by blackpower advocates.

Thus, shortly after Christmas, Cox called a Justice Department lawyer into his chambers and presented him with this proposition: I'm not going to call any grand jury in the murder cases until the Justice Department requests a grand jury to investigate CDGM.

Quite apart from indisputable irregularities in CDGM, it is ludicrous to equate what at the worst may be embezzlement with premeditated murder. More to the point, Cox's intransigence undermines cooperative efforts between the federal government and Gov. Paul Johnson's adminstration to make clear the murder — even murder of a civil rights worker—is a crime in Mississippi.

What makes Cox's failure to summon a grand jury particularly regrettable is that it coincides with boasts by Mississippi Ku Klux Klan leaders throughout the recent election campaign that they had a "fix" on in Washington to protect the accused killers—Klansmen from prosecution. Although rank-and-file Klansmen in Mississpipi generally backed Republican Prentiss Walker, their leaders switched in mid-campaign to Sen. James O. Eastland.

It should be stressed that high-placed officials in Washington do not believe for one instant that Eastland and Cox, honest men as well as militant segregationists, would stoop to a conspiratorial deal with the Klan in order to obstruct justice. But the mere rumor of such a deal frays and undercuts the rule of law.

Actually, the postponement of the grand jury is quite in character for Cox, an old college roommate of Eastland who was President John F. Kennedy's first appointment to the judicary —a step necessary to unlock the federal judgship bill from Eastland Senate Judiciary Committee.

Cox's running feud with the Justice Department hit a peak in 1964 when he cited a U. S. attorney for contempt of court for refusing to bring perjury charges against two Negro witnesses. Ever since that contempt citation was overruled by a higher court in January, 1965, Cox has been convinced the Justice Department will prosecute whites but not Negroes.

In mid-1965 Cox collided with the Justice department over the civil rights killings. He ruled that the accused civil rights slayers could not be prosecuted by the federal government (under a statute carrying a maximum 10-year sentence) but must be handled by the state courts. Overruled on that point by the U. S. Supreme Court, Cox last year tossed out indictments in the two cases on the ironic grounds that Negroes were excluded from the grand jury lists.

It can be said that the federal government has no intention of appeasing Cox by pledging to investigate CDGM (though, in fact, just such an investigation by the Justice Department's criminal division eventually may be made).

Nor will indefinite delay by Cox be tolerated. Hopefully, he will relent and summon a grand jury. If he doesn't, it is entirely likely that the federal government will invoke a rarely-used procedure by seeking from the Fifth U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans a mandamus action forcing Cox to act.

For the eye of Mississippi are on that courtroom in Jackson.

Unless the accused murderers are indicted soon, the considerable progress toward law and order in that state since the long, hot and unhappy summer of 1963 may be wiped away.

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JOURNAL

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Red-Rooted Council Aids Knox Group

The Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations has received funds from an organization founded by a onetime regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of the party's national committee.

J. R. Rutter, president of the Greater Knoxville group, in a letter dated June 6, 1966, announced a $2400 grant had been received from the Southern Regional Council which has headquarters in Atlanta.

OPERATED BY BRADEN

The Southern Regional Council was founded by James E. Jackson Jr., who was also instrumental in the organization of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which is now operated by Carl Braden under the name of Southern Conference Education Fund.

A Communist Daily Worker of Dec. 1, 1951, described Jackson as "this stalwart Marxist . . . . Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and member of its national committee."

The Greater Knoxville group has been in the news recently by cosponsorship of a meeting held here this week along with East Tennessee Civil Liberties Union, the Citizens for Progress and the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Church. This meeting was held in defense of the controversial Highlander Center here and the announced subject was "Free Speech and the Highlander Center."

LABELED RED FRONT

When the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee labeled the Southern Conference for Human Welfare a Communist front, the name was changed to SCEF and it continued to operate at the same address and the same phone number in New Orleans. It was headed for many years by Dr. James Dombrowski, who with Myles Horton, president of Highlander, Don West, onetime Communist Party director for North Carolina, and Rev. John Thompson, now pastor of the Community Congregational Church at Berkely, Calif., who is still a board member of Highlander, founded the original Highlander Folk School at Monteagle.

Berkeley, Calif., is the home of the University of California branch where many demonstrations, including antiwar ones, have been held in the past several years.

Braden, now executive director of the Southern Conference Education Fund, transferred the main offices to Louisville after he took over from Dombrowski. Braden served a one-year federal prison term for a conviction of contempt of Congress for refusing to discuss his Communist activities before an investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The US Supreme Court upheld the conviction and the sentence.

LINKED TO HIGHLANDER

The Greater Knoxville Human Relations group is not only tied to the Southern Regional Council and the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, but is also closely associated with Highlander, Citizens for Progress and the East Tennessee Civil Liberties Union by interlocking members or officers.

Article X of the bylaws of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations states: Cooperation. This council shall cooperate with the Southern Regional Council, other state councils on human relations and groups which share the purposes and concern of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Council is holding its annual meeting Saturday and Sunday in Nashville and the principle speaker on the schedule is Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Field Foundation, which has contributed liberally to the Tennessee Council.

The Tennessee Council's newsletter of May-June 1966 reported that on "June 14 the Field Foundation gave a two-year extension of our grant and increased the amount over our previous grant from $15,000 to $25,000."

From Louis S. Sinclair
1721 Saxton Ave
Knoxville, Tenn 37915

for retraction - see next page

THE KNOXVILLE JOURNAL
Knoxville, Tennessee
February 1, 1967

Journal Erred On SRC Origin

In its issue of Jan. 28, The Knoxville Journal on this page stated that the Southern Regional Council was founded by James E. Jackson Jr., once Southern regional secretary of the Communist Party and a member of its national committee. The story was based on an article appearing on Dec. 1, 1954 in the Communist Daily Worker which credited Jackson also with having had a hand in founding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The charge that the Southern Regional Council was founded by Jackson The Knoxville Journal has subsequently found to be untrue and is pleased to retract the charge and to extend its apologies to the Southern Regional Council, its officers and members, and to readers of this newspaper.

The Journal was duped by the claim of the Communist Daily Worker which, describing Jackson in its issue of Dec. 1, 1954 as "this stalwart Marxist," asserted: "He participated in the formation and building of the Southern Conference for Human

Continued on Page 2, Col. 5

SRC Origin Story In Journal In Error

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Welfare, the Southern Regional Council."

Protests as to the inaccuracy of the story were received from J. R. Rutter, president of the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, and from TVA Director Frank E. Smith, a member of the council at this time.

It appears that an inaccuracy identical with this one which appeared in The Journal also was published in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on Aug. 21, 1958. An editorial in the Richmond paper, subsequently published, provides a recital of the actual beginnings of the Southern Regional Council and is reproduced herewith:

A Race Agency And The Facts

"Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in the Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons, of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

"Mr. Simmons stated in the article appearing in our paper on Aug. 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an 'offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as Communist front.' He also said : 'The Communist Daily Worker openly boasted that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the US Communist Party, was a cofounder of the regional council.'

"Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N.C., in October 1942, on the call of Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and Dr. P. B. Young, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that 'separate but equal' be made a reality.

"Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

"We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well intentioned and patriotic southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

"As to the allegation of the Communist Daily Worker that James E. Jackson, chief of the southern branch of the US Communist Party, was a cofounder of the Southern Regional Council, there is nothing to support this.

"A James E. Jackson is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk Journal and Guide as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. Jackson did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The Daily Worker's statement that he was a founder is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

"The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the council. He was succeeded in 1945 by Paul D. Williams, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. Mr. Williams was succeeded in that year by Marion A. Wright, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

"It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for 7 years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

"While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

"It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation —sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

"That is where we stand today."

The incorporators of the SRC, according to TVA Director Smith, were Arthur J. Moore, Methodist bishop of Georgia; Ralph McGill, then editor of Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Rufus E. Clement; Dr. Charles S. Johnson; and Dr. Howard W. Odum. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization

President Rutter, of the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, asserts that a man by the name of James E. Jackson Jr. did attend the Durham meeting referred to in the Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial, but the minutes of that meeting reflect no participation on his part.

File

the primary.

In Black Belt—

Co-op runs into snag over grant

B'ham News 4-1-67

SELMA (AP)— The Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association (AFCA), in its efforts to obtain a half-million dollar antipoverty grant, has run into opposition.

Selma Mayor Joe T. Smitheran and Probate Judge B. A. Reynolds Friday said there are many unanswered questions about the economic feasibility of the program and about the funding of such a structure as SAFCA.

The two have urged mayors and probate judges from a 10-county area to fight the efforts being made by the SAFCA for the antipoverty grant.

THEY SAID the SAFCA represents itself as a group of low income farmers in 10 Black-Belt counties who are seeking funds to organize a collective engaged primarily in the production of vegetable crops.

Shirtley Mesher, listed as one of three coordinators in the application for funds, has spearheaded the program, they siad.

Rep. Bill Nichols and local leaders conferred on the matter Thursday and Nichols has arranged a Washington meeting for next week on the issue.

Smitherman and Reynolds said the SAFCA program application involves Dallas, Choctaw, Greene, Hale, Lowndes, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter and Wilcox Counties.

"We certainly feel that any agricultural program underwritten by the Office of Economic Opportunity should at least carry a feasibility endorsement of such professional agriculture agencies as the Extension Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farmers Home Administration and others," Smitherman and Reynolds said.

Birmingham News

2 Front Page
Grant to
Against "Black Power"
Group

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Doug Cater

Families Denied Aid on Technicalities Are in Direst Need, Burson Declares

By ACHSAH NESMITH

The families in the direst need in Georgia are those who have been denied welfare aid because of "technicalities" in regulations, according to William Burson, state director of Family and Children Services.

Most of these rejected people were "caught in the employable mother or substitute father reglations," Burson added.

Because he is a defendant in court cases challenging both regulations, he deals with them in a gingerly way when asked whether he thinks they are good rules.

"I have some reservations about whether they achieve what is intended," he said.

Neither is required by law, either state or federal, he acknowledges, but, "We are tied to the availability of funds. Where there is not enough money to go around, somebody does without. The law requires that we set regulations and that if we give out more money than we have, we'd have to cut everybody across the board later to make up for it."

"I don't think any woman is so bereft of moral sensibilities that she would have a child for a small profit," he says of the "substitute father" regulation. His predecessor, Mrs. Bruce Schaefer, often said she didn't believe any woman would have a child just for welfare assistance because the amount was so small it wouldn't be worth it.

"We're dealing with people who are the least qualified morally, socially and economically to deal with biological forces," Burson said. "I can't see any profit to society from punishing the children for the sins of the parents.

"I see nothing wrong with requiring a mother whose children are properly cared for — I emphasize properly cared for — to take a job and support those children."

STUMBLING BLOCK

But he admits that "properly cared for" is one of the biggest stumbling blocks. Many mothers every year who work but cannot work out a day-care plan that is satisfactory end up with lower salaries than they would be entitled to on welfare and are not eligible for partial grants. Others cannot take jobs because they cannot work out day care for their children.

"We've hardly scratched the surface in day care," he said. "We have to have it if we are going to stress employable mothers. We can pay for care but we can't establish centers for it, and there aren't nearly enough."

He said that using AFDC mothers in day-care centers to care for the children of other AFDC mothers would seem a logical solution, providing needed extra income for all concerned and making them as independent as possible as well as providing adequate care for the children.

HAS MONEY PROBLEMS
William Burson

NOT GEORGIA

But Georgia can't do this, because to get federal money both the mothers working in day-care centers and the working mothers whose children are staying there must get 100 per cent of their budgeted needs.

Georgia does not provide 100 per cent of the budgets the department makes for its families, which include maximums that often are below realistic figures at best. The budget for a large family may go well over $200 a month, but the maximum benefit is $154.

Burson, who is also state director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, feels much can be accomplished by the anti-poverty agency, and hopes funds for it will not be cut back by Congress.

PRAISES OEO

"We wouldn't have food programs in the 48 counties that have them if we didn't have OEO," he said. But he considers Head Start OEO's greatest hope.

"Head Start can lift the eyes and hearts of these children, give them a broader vision of their own worth and capacity," he said. "They can't develop broader goals unless (these goals) are instilled somewhere. If a child doesn't get it in the home, he must have someone to show him life as it could be for him."

SHOULD DECIDE

He considers the community-action concept as American as "barn raising. It's not a foreign concept. I think the people who need help should decide how that help can best be done. Its' the same principle as local government.

"But we've had too much injection of philosophy. We lost a number of good Head Start programs because of rigid specifications from the regional and national level. . . . To insist that they not use a Negro school where the white school was barred just denied the advantages of Head Start to Negro pupils. It's very short-sighted sociology."

"I don't think you can force a parent to send his child to Head Start, but I think those who will come should have the opportunity. That's the American way of liberty."

Police Guests Shed Tears

BRATTLEBORO, Vt. (AP) —A group of junior high school students was given a tour of the police headquarters at Brattleboro, and before the tour was over the kids were in tears.

Police unlocked a storage cabinet for tear gas canisters and, a bit too late, discovered some of the canisters were leaking.

FOOD STAMP DIRECTOR REPORTS

Few Counties Try Starving Out Negroes

Some counties in Georgia are trying to "starve out" unskilled Negroes, the state director of Family and Children Services said in an interview.

"There's a definite attitude in some areas of this state to starve these people out—not to starve them to death but into relocating to cities," William Burson said.

"Where there were one-horse farms there is nothing and where there were large farms with many workers there is mechanization. These people were marginal at best when they were working with their hands in the soil," he added.

"During the depression of the 1930s there was a broad spectrum of, if not poverty, then genuine need. Now it's narrowed down to the hard core of people with basically no means of getting out. It's almost a question of black and white now, and in some areas community attitude has hardened. I hate to think it's wholly racial in nature, but that's certainly a big part."

Burson jumped in with both feet when he assumed his new post, trying to get food programs, either surplus commodities or food stamps, set up in every Georgia county. Some 69 counties had no program when he took over.

"The reception we get is in direct proportion to the need. Where less than 10 per cent of the people need it, we generally are received cordially. Where the percentage is high, the reception is different, generally. The greatest need for food is in counties with the lowest public assistance caseload," he added.

"Economics is certainly a factor, but we're only talking about a few thousand dollars a year. Any county willing to state in writing that it can't provide the money (to administer the program), the Department of Agriculture will pick up the tab. But not one county has done that. I think even the poorest can scrape it up," he said.

Since he started his intensive program, the number of counties without a program and which have not applied for one has dropped to 48, and he thinks it can be brought down to less than 20. A conference on feeding hungry Georgians has been scheduled this month, and he and his staff having been making personal visits to counties with no program.

Local merchants often object to commodity programs as cutting into their market, but food stamps bring money into the county and let needy people purchase more food than they could otherwise.

"We hear much about those with taverns cashing in food stamps for beer and whisky, but finding one is like putting your finger on a blob of quicksilver. I don't think it's happened more than a few times, if ever. Our experience is that if one merchant is doing it, the others will tell on him."

A grocer who does such a thing would be warned the first time, and the next time would have his certification to cash food stamps lifted and be subject to prosecution.

County officials who don't want a food program "always get into a religious strain—'The poor you have with you always.' I point out that Christ told the rich young men to sell all he had and give it to the poor, and that the Lord didn't ask who was deserving and who was undeserving when he fed the loaves and fishes. When the children of Israel didn't like the manna He gave them quail, and nobody asked who was deserving and who wasn't."—ACHSAH NESMITH

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THE NE

RIBICOFF PROPOSES URBAN RESHUFFLE

He Would Realign Agencies Handling U.S. Aid to Cities

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 — Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff urged today a broad reshuffle of key Great Society programs to strengthen the Government's attack on the manifold problems of the nation's cities.

In what amounted to an indictment of much of the present Federal approach to the cities, the Connecticut Democrat recommended in a speech on the Senate floor:

¶That new authority be given the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

¶That the major antipoverty programs of the Office of Economic opportunity be transferred to other agencies.

¶And that the Government's scattered manpower programs be brought together under a

Continued on Page 17, Column 2

Ribicoff Asks Wide Reshuffling To Improve U.S. Aid to Cities

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

single agency in the Department of Labor.

He suggested as well that Congress keep a closer watch on Great Society programs. He said he would introduuce legislation to establish an "Office of Legislative Evaluation" in the General Accounting Office to give Congress a systematic review of the effectiveness of programs administered by the Excutive branch.

Mr. Ribicoff's 56-page speech covered every major aspect of the urban dilemma except for mass transportation.

It represented the Senator's personal attempt to condense and translate into legislative proposals six weeks of hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization. Mr. Ribicoff is chairman of the subcommittee.

Hundreds of Suggestions

The hearings, which took place in August and December, received wide attention. They provoked controversy more than once, and elicited hundreds of suggestions from 70 witnesses on how to improve the quality of urban life in America.

Congress, concerned now with improving the efficiency of antipoverty programs, is likely to be responsive to the Senator's suggestions for Government reorganization.

In addition to those ideas, Mr. Ribicoff proposed many other measures, including:

¶A 10-year, $50-billion plan to eliminate and rebuild the 4.5 million substandard housing units that now exist in the nation's metropolitan areas.

¶A $2-billion program to provide public service jobs for "men and women who cannot find jobs in the private sector."

¶A system of guarantees and subsidies for private businesses and banks willing to invest their resources in slum areas.

¶The creation, in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, of an "institute for urban development" to examine ways of reducing the costs of housing by improving construction technology.

A program of "neighborhood development corporations" to carry out slum improvement with active citizens participation.

End of Era Seen

The Senator's suggestions were tied together by one basic theme —that the Great Society programs of President Johnson represented "The end of an era," and that the time had come for a new approach to social problems.

"As the problems of the 1930's forced the Federal Government to reorganize," he said "so the problems of the second half of the Twentieth Century demand that the Government be mod-

The New York Times

Abraham A. Ribicoff

would also be transferred to the Labor Department.

In addition, Mr. Ribicoff recommended the eventual transfer of the antipoverty agency's key community action program to the Department of Housing and Urban Development—an agency the Connecticut Democrat criticized as "top-heavy with brick and mortar" but "weak in the social aspects" of community development. He said the transfer of the community action program would give the housing agency a "social content" it now lacked.

Would Retain Agency

Mr. Ribicoff insisted, however, that he was not recommending the dissolution of the antipoverty agency, which, he said, should remain in business "to continue what it can do better than any other agency of government: innovate and experiment."

Mr. Ribicoff placed heavy emphasis on the creation of jobs as a means of achieving what he called "the competent city of tomorrow."

He aid he would introduce legislation to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 so that businesses willing to move into slum areas could qualify for aid and borrow money at interest rates reduced by private lenders whose loans were guaranteed.

Mr. Ribicoff said he would also recommend the establishment of a Public Service Employment Opportunities Administration in the Department of Commerce to enable the Federal Government to function as an "employer of last resort." He said there was a potential of 5.3 million new public service jobs that the unemployed could perform.

Hopes 'It Will Never End'

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A program of "neighborhood development corporations" to carry out slum improvement with active citizens participation.

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"As the problems of the 1930's forced the Federal Government to reorganize," he said "so the problems of the second half of the Twentieth Century demand that the Government be modernized again."

The main flaw in the New Deal-Great Society approach, the Senator declared, is that it is "Programmatic—not systematic —in nature. For 35 years we have acted as if each individual problem in our society—large or small—could be solved by passing a new program."

Some Methods 'Irrelevant'

However, he went on, some of the old methods were outmoded and "irrelevant," while others could be merged to produce better results.

To this end, Mr. Ribicoff said, he will introduce legislation embodying a proposal made earlier this year by the President's National Manpower Policy Task Force.

The proposal would consolidate in the Labor Department manpower programs now scattered among 10 separate organizational units in three departments, with a combined budget of about $2.1-billion a year.

The chief victim of this move would be the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the antipoverty program. The agency would lose the Job Corps and work-training, work-study, work experience and adult basic education programs. Certain work-relief and manpower training programs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare tomorrow."

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Hopes 'It Will Never End'

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, was asked yesterday how many years it would take to complete all Great Society programs. "I like to think it will never end," he replied. "I like to think of the phrase, 'Great Society,' as a way to improve our aspirations."

Mr. Gardner, speaking at the Foreign Correspondents Center, said that progress creates it own problems. Thus, he said, "environmental pollution" arises from technological advances, and problems can be expected to accompany the development of artificial body organs and the control of weather and heredity.

Boston Mayor Critical

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 (AP) —Mayor John F. Collins of Boston said today that Mr. Ribicoff's criticism of urban programs would "serve nothing and no one."

Mr. Collins, here for a panel discussion on urban affairs, declared: "Senator Ribicoff can serve his nation well by continuing to explore the pending programs in a constructive manner and determine how they may best be carried out. There is no point in characterizing and emphasizing the mistakes of the past."

Chestnut Hill Left on left Lawrence Hall

File Lawrence Hall JA 4 9 1970

The Panther

Wellesley Versus Clark

During and since my Junior year at Wellesley College, the most recurring question asked of me is "how do Wellesley and Clark compare?" Of course, this is a very broad question, and in order to answer it intelligently, it has been broken down into several aspects: (1) academic life, (2) social life, (3) students' attitude, (4) administration's attitude.

Before I proceed, however, I must warn that this article is not intended to be merely factual; it is a plea for reform which, in my estimation, is our (Negro Colleges) only hope for survival. The time has passed when the dual standard recognized a good Negro College and a good White College; now there are good colleges or poor colleges. The irony in this is that we demanded the abolition of the dual standard, and now that it has disappeared, we still cling to outmoded ideas and beliefs on the grounds that our students are "different," and have to be treated in a certain manner. People with this view are the Ku Klux Klan's and other extremist groups best propaganda agents!

Audrey Thomas

I do not propose that we emulate Wellesley because I do not think that Wellesley is the ultimate in educational development. In fact, in many ways it is too superficial and tradition bound, but I do think that we can profit by re-evaluating ourselves in light of some aspects of Wellesley College.

Returning to my comparison of Wellesley and Clark, I would like to begin with the academic life at the two colleges. Wellesley is on the honor system which entails unproctored examinations and sealed, take-home examinations. By taking a sealed exam, a student is allowed to take the exam to her own room and is trusted to adhere to the time limit and, of course, she is on her honor not to use outside help.

The examinations at Wellesley, unlike most exams at Clark, are essay type. The emphasis is placed on analysis, not mere facts and memorization. There are only two exams per year; the mid-term and the final. Most courses require from one to three papers each term. Sometimes this emphasis on paper writing causes neglect of class reading assignments and less interesting class discussions.

Because the reading requirement in most courses is so heavy, it is necessary to read constantly in order to keep a reasonable pace with the lectures. Whereas Clark usually requires one basic

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Because the reading requirement in most courses is so heavy, it is necessary to read constantly in order to keep a reasonable pace with the lectures. Whereas Clark usually requires one basic textbook, most courses at Wellesley assign several paperbacks in order to give divergent views. These books are placed on library reserve for those students who are unable to purchase them.

Classes meet, except for a few lab courses, only twice a week for seventy minutes. Wednesdays and Saturdays are used mostly for studying, catching-up, paper-writing or personal endeavors. Class roll is never checked. It is left to the student's discretion as to how many cuts she can afford.

I was most impressed with the academic freedom of both professors and students at Wellesley. It is a common occurrence for a professor to contradict an author and assert his own opinion. By the same token, a student feels no qualms about voicing her disagreement with a professor. A student's grade might suffer if he voices disagreement with certain professors at Clark.

Wellesley's reputation as an educational institution par excellence has perhaps contributed to the bourgeois snobbery in some of the girls. Being admitted to Wellesley is an end in itself, and some of these very intelligent young ladies are surprisingly unaware and apathetic about conditions outside of their narrow worlds. Too many of them strive to make everything they say reverberate with profundity, while often overlooking the obvious and fundamental — and sometimes the best answer.

On the other hand, Clark students have a tendency to do just the reverse. They too often accept the most readily available answer without exploring for a deeper meaning.

Concerning the social life of the two colleges, there is not very much to compare. At Wellesley there are numerous lectures, concerts, mixers, etc. offered during the year which are attended on a voluntary basis. The Wellesley girl's social life is her private concern. If she desires, she may take a weekend in Cambridge (home of Harvard and M.I.T.), drive down to Yale, go skiing, take an over-night, or entertain her date in the dormitory, coffee house, society house without prior consent from officials.

The curfew is one A.M. during the week and two A.M. on Saturdays. A young lady may be out until eleven P.M. every night without signing out. There are no restrictions about riding in cars. Most court cases are handled by students.

Clark seems to be moving slowly in the direction of more freedom for students. However, I do not think that this slow pace is entirely the fault of the administration. Student apathy will never foster progress. As long as you are content with a second rate professor because that is an easy "A," or as long as you would rather break a rule than try to get it changed, who can *you* blame?

This brings in the attitudes of the students and administration of the two colleges. The Wellesley student is serious about her work. The girl who studies hard is admired by her fellow students. This is not the case at Clark, where a studious person is often the butt of jokes and a social outcast. With this type of attitude it is

(*Continued on Page 3*)

Wellesley Versus Clark—

(*Continued from Page 2*)

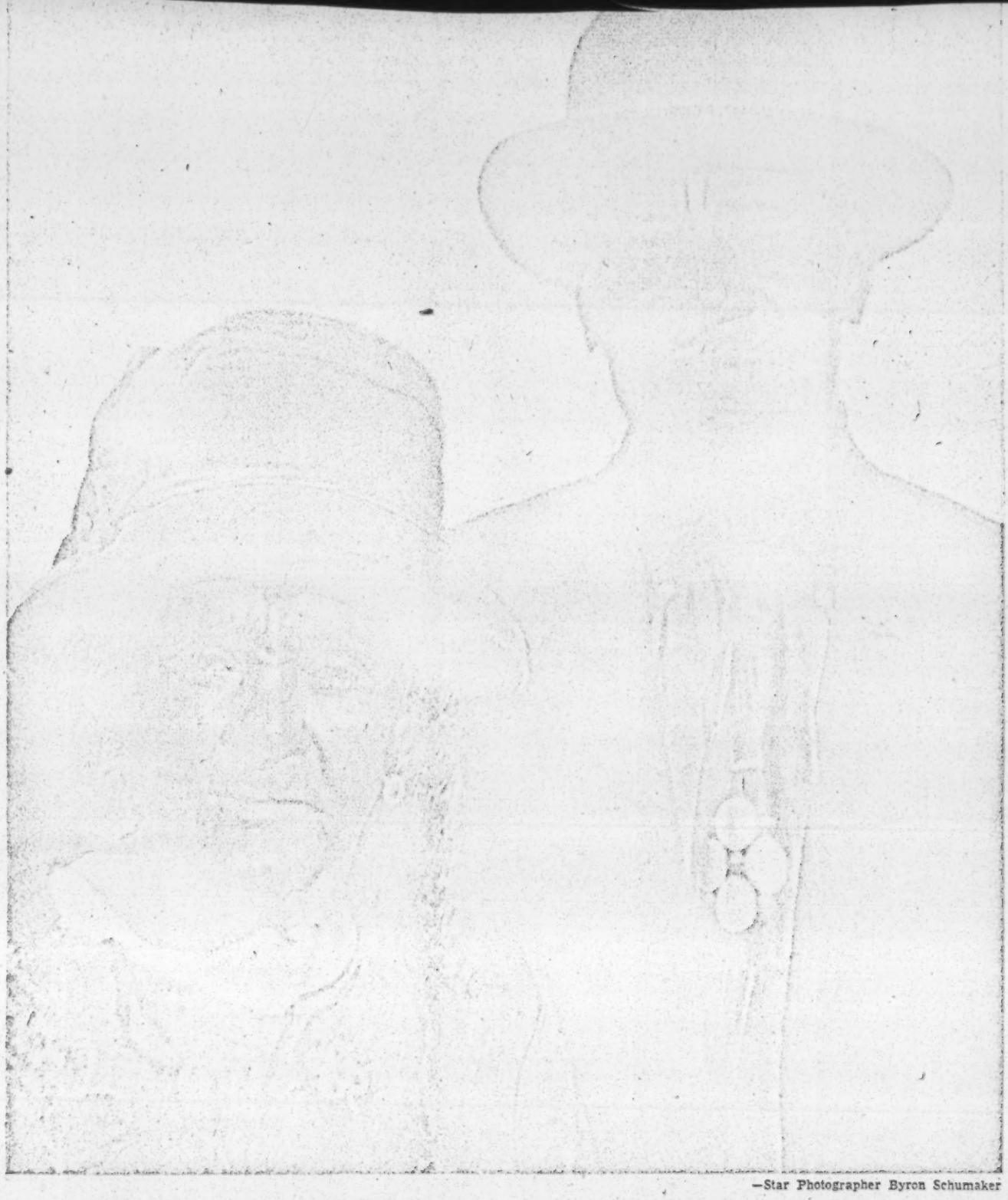
easy to understand why cheating is so rampant especially when the goal of too many students is just "to get over."

The administration at Wellesley, conservative as it is, still recognizes the students as responsible adults and treats them accordingly. The basis of the student-administration relation is based on mutual trust.

At Clark in the past, some of the administration's views would make Goldwater seem radical! However, I feel that the new leadership if supported by all concerned, can reform the remaining Uncle Toms and Nervous Nannies who see change as an evil omen.

Our administration must trade its baby-sitting role for one of advisor and friend to the students. Paternalism will not prepare us for survival in the world today. We realize that life is hard, so why try to protect us from it? It will only make it harder for us in the long run, and it certainly will not make our job of "catch-up" (with the White Race) easier.

I believe that Clark is a potentially good college (more potential than good at this point, however) and it would be a shame if the students and administration fail to get together and solve these problems which all stem from inadequate communication, lack of trust, apathy, and plain ole stubbornness.



—Star Photographer Byron Schumaker

Mr. and Mrs. Willis Smiley of Dallas County, Ala., stand in front of a rural polling place near Selma after casting the first votes of their lives last Tuesday. He is 85; she is 74.

The Meaning of Selma

By HAYNES JOHNSON
Star Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala.—A dirt road winds off the Jeff Davis Highway, through the cotton fields of the Black Belt and past a grove of pecan trees sheltering a wooden shack with a tin roof. It stops at the Tyler Union High School for Negroes.

"We didn't have anything but a building until a few weeks before the election. Then the supplies started coming in," said B. W. Dawson, the Negro principal. "I think there has been a basic change. I think they are actually trying to meet our problems. I believe they are trying to give us what we need. I believe that.

"The vote will help. Now, they come and say, 'If I'm elected I'll put a road up to your house.' Now they're saying they'll actually do it. And the city government will change. At least they will listen. At least the offices will be open like they ought to be.

"Your sheriff will be the sheriff of all the people and not just a select group, and your probate judge—at least now you can go in and see him.

"Yes, within a year or two you're going to see a new Dallas County, a Dallas County like it ought to be, a Dallas County where people are proud to be.

Haynes Johnson was awarded the Pulitzer Prize last Monday for his reporting of the 1965 civil rights demonstrations in Selma, Ala., and their aftermath. He returned to Selma last week to write this special report.

"This election set a good pattern."

What he was saying underscores the major historical fact that has come out of the Black Belt last week. Power, political power, now has come to the Negroes of the rural South. To the Negro, it is a power that means he is somebody, at last. If he is not yet on a plane with the white man, at least he is on the way up.

White politicians and businessmen know, whether they say it publicly or not, that after Tuesday, May 3, 1966, when Negroes voted in large numbers for the first time since Reconstruction, they must deal with the black man in the South.

All the Rebel yells that rang out across Alabama last week are not going to obscure that.

"Well, we had them registered all right, but this week they came out and voted," said a Negro. "Now, they know we'll vote."

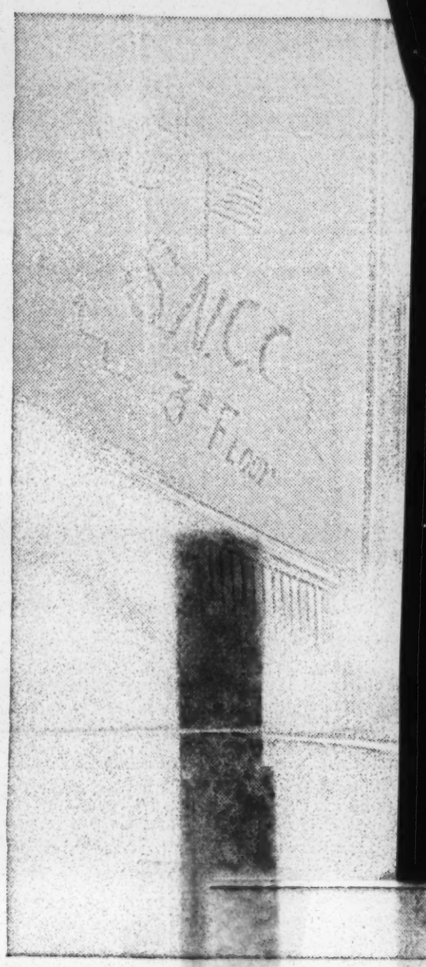
As the high school principal pointed out, the new political power brings with it change, large and small: In a street being paved or a road being built in the all-Negro sections; in a new set of school textbooks, in access to officials and, most important, in attitudes.

William E. (Big Bill) Lee, the sheriff of Greene County, spelled out the lesson after he won his primary race Tuesday by defeating a Negro, Thomas Gilmore.

"I got about 850 colored votes," said Lee, who once played football for the Green Bay Packers. "I'm certainly thankful for their votes because I couldn't have won without them."

Another white politician, who asked not to be quoted by name, gave another side of the story. He, too, won. But he never would have, he said, if he had not gone directly to the Negroes and

See SELMA, Page A-9



—Staff Photographer Byron Schumaker

SELMA MIRRORED THE SOUTH LAST WEEK AS ITS NEGROES VOTED, WATCHED AND PONDERED THE FUTURE.

Selma: Vote Brings Power to the Southern Negro

Continued From Page A-1

solicited their support. He asked for their help quietly, for he did not want to alienate his white backers.

He told of a white friend who also had run for office.

"He came to me and asked me to speak to the Negroes for him," he recalled. "He said, 'Just call them on the phone and tell them I'd like their support.' And I told him I couldn't do that. That was something he had to do for himself. But he kept asking me and asking me and I finally told him, 'Look, Tom, you're going to have to make this move yourself. Nobody can do it for you. Just go on over and sit down with them. You don't have to make a big noise about it. But you sure had better do it.' "

His friend never went, and he lost.

New South Emerges

These incidents don't mean that the problems of the past vanished overnight for the Negro. Nor does it mean that the Negro now sees the end of his struggle in the South. But a new South is more sharply in focus today because of what took place last week in the old strongholds of segregation.

Nowhere is that more evident than here in Selma, in the heart of the Black Belt. For Selma, the city where the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was born, again is a symbol — this time of the changing South. Its problems, its people, its attitudes, its efforts at change point up some of the currents flowing through the South today.

History was capricious with Selma. By all rights, Selma should have been merely one of countless rural trading centers with access, through the Alaabma River, to a water route to the Gulf Coast.

A hundred years ago last spring the Union forces made Selma the site of one of the last battles of the Civil War. From the bluffs of the river you can still see the marks on old brick buildings, reminders of that day when Yankee troops burned the city. The marks from that conflagration left a deep imprint on Selma and its people.

Selma, slumbering for nearly a century, hardened into fixed attitudes. The whites were stubborn, determined to resist change. When the Negro civil rights drive began more than a year ago, Selma's white population was dealt a severe shock.

Could Not Win

For them, the demonstrations forced a recognition that change was going to take place. Grudgingly, reluctantly, bitterly, Selma's white leaders finally faced the undeniable and unwelcome fact: Fight though they might, they could not win their battle.

For the Negroes, and for the national civil rights groups, that was their finest hour, a period of selflessness and soaring principle. Their freedom songs and their freedom march stirred people around the world.

But later the Negroes suffered the inevitable let-down. After the stirring days of spring their unity was broken by discord, bickering and hints of scandal. Like the whites, they went through a period of re-examination.

In the aftermath of Selma the Dallas County Voters League, the organization that led the local civil rights movement, came under sharp attack from within and without. Charges were made about mismanagement of funds, inadequate book-keeping and accounting procedures, and general laxness of administration.

Since then, the Voters League has been reorganized. Is books are carefully audited, is leaders are in closer contact with the people. Confidence has been restored. The proof came in the massive turnout Tuesday after the Voters League ran a major vote education campaign.

Tuesday was the last chapter of the Selma story; whatever happens next belongs to a new book for the South.

From the beginning, when the Negroes began campaigning for the vote early last year, the sole objective of the Selma civil rights movement was participation in the political process. The demonstrations, the bloodshed, the marches, the emotion that caught the attention of the world—all culminated in the election.

Those results demonstrated again the Negroes' new power: Sheriff Jim Clark, Selma's symbol of segregation, lost the vote count to his rival Wilson leaving here just like the young Negroes. The whites, they've got an aging population, too."

Stripped of the race question, the problems of Selma came down to such basics as poverty, disease, ignorance. While the Negroes hold the statistical margin in these unwelcome categories, poverty and its handmaidens are no respecter of color. Whites, too, are poor.

A year ago the Chamber of Commerce here liked to tell reporters about the good side of Selma. In its metropolitan area were 75 churches, 15 public schools, one university center, a public library, industries, four banks, three railroads, two bus and six motor freight lines.

The Other Side

There are other, less flattering, figures. Dallas County, of which Selma is the county seat, has a population of 56,667, half of it rural, half of it Negro. Fifty-two percent of the families in Dallas County earn less than $3,000 a year. There are 2,585 families earning less than $1,000 a year.

Of those over 65, more than 51 percent receive old-age assistance. A staggering total of 77.4 percent of those examined for military service were rejected for health or mental reasons. In the county, 38 percent of the people over 25 years old have less than an eighth grade education.

from the past. The Negro attitudes now are clear to all. They no longer hide behind what their poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, called the "mask that grins and lies."

For whites—that is, whites with education—the change in attitudes is more difficult to gauge. Prejudice still runs deep. Acceptance comes slowly, as a talk with a white minister in Selma indicated.

He was interviewed in his book-lined study in the center of the city. He spoke quietly and reflectively about the events of the past year.

"The more sensitive Christians strongly disliked what was going on," he said, "although they scarcely knew everything that was happening. At that time we were in a prayer retreat and the sensitive Christians had a deep prayerful, searching, deep personal humility and a desire to let God's will overrule personal feelings in these matters. And I personally thought God's spirit was with us in those prayer sessions, and I felt a response on God's part.

"Really, I anticipated more bloodshed than there was here because I thought the radical element would have a freer hand. So I was very much encouraged, even though I was saddened by the violence and the death of (the Rev. James) Reeb (the white Unitarian minister clubbed to death on Selma's streets). But you can't always stop that. But even so, I think we came

Selma civil rights movement was participation in the political process. The demonstrations, the bloodshed, the marches, the emotion that caught the attention of the world—all culminated in the election.

Those results demonstrated again the Negroes' new power: Sheriff Jim Clark, Selma's symbol of segregation, lost the vote count to his rival Wilson Baker, a racial moderate who had the almost unanimous support of the Negroes. Although Clark is challenging the election procedures, the thousands of Negro ballots cast clearly held the margin of victory or defeat in Dallas County.

Common Problems

While it would be naive to suggest that now, because of the election, a new era of racial harmony has begun here, it is nevertheless true that men of both races are quietly discussing their problems. They are finding that they have common problems, problems that do not stem only from the question of race.

"You know," said one Negro after the election, "the Clarks and Wallaces, their day is going faster than they think. It's just like a dying man. He can muster up a little strength in his dying hour and put on a big last show, but when that's done that's all of it. He's gone.

"Now I've been saying it's time to stop getting at each other's throat. Of course the things that happened last year, well, we wouldn't be where we are now without them, but we can't continue to live in a crisis.

"I think a lot of the white people know that. And they know something else. They know that the whole economy through here's made up of whites and Negroes, and they know we can't be divided and still have any kind of progress. And that's a fact. And that's where we've got our problems today.

"The tragic thing down here is that we haven't got a very good middle class, black or white, and you know a good middle class is the salt of any society. The young whites have been

year. There are 2,585 families earning less than $1,000 a year.

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In Selma itself, 43 percent of all housing units are substandard.

Translated into human terms, these figures mean someone like Bessie Watts, age 13, a Negro, who sat on the porch of the two-room shack she shares with eight other children and a grandmother. Bessie was holding the youngest child in her arm and saying, "I had to stay home from school today." But in fact Bessie rarely goes to school. She doesn't seem to care. She is unable to express anything she hopes to accomplish in her lifetime.

Her grandmother was asked where Bessie's father was. "He's staying with another woman down the road," she said. "He ain't working. He ain't doing nothing."

Bessie's grandmother was one of those thousands of Negroes who voted for the first time in her life. She walked from her shack across the fields more than a mile to the polling place.

Fear Lessens

In a score of interviews, not one Negro expressed fear about the future. A year ago, during the march from Selma to Montgomery, many of those same Negroes were hesitant even to wave at the marchers from their shacks.

One man, after voting in a rural hamlet, mentioned the possibility he might be thrown off his land. It has happened in the Black Belt. When asked what he would do if that occurred, he said:

"If the man tells you to move out because you voted, we got nowhere to go. We'll go sleep down under the tree with the rattlesnakes if we have to."

To anyone who knows the Deep South, such expressions from Negroes in rural areas are startling departures

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A Silent Issue

In his own case, he never discussed the civil rights issue or any problems from the pulpit. It was, as he said, "a silent issue."

But now, he said, he sees a change in attitudes in Selma. The vote has made an impact.

"I think that some people were really impressed that the Negroes, the older Negroes they know personally and who weren't pushing the civil rights movement, they were impressed that the Negroes did vote. And they would see that these Negroes were thrilled to vote.

"I also think it surprised them that some Negroes even voted for conservative candidates."

Then he said:

"They're thinking for themselves, some of them."

One of the older Negroes in Selma, a man who has given leadership and direction over the years and who was instrumental in bringing Martin Luther King here, takes the long view.

He is only one of many here who looks ahead to the day, after all the ugliness and bitterness has passed into history, when Selma, Ala., will move forward with the New South.

"It's working itself out faster than you and I think," he said. "Because we've lived through it we might be more cautious in our predictions But it's going faster. Now there's one thing that I've appreciated most that's come out of this movement: the Negro people now have a sense of manhood. They've been down and oppressed and they had that state of mind, but they're coming out of it fast.

"The millenium isn't here yet, but I'm not a pessimist."

Pat Watters
The Journal

BOOK REVIEW

BY ORVILLE PRESCOTT

(C) 1962 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

NEW YORK, OCT. 21 -- LAST NIGHT MOST OF US WENT TO BED AND SLEPT ABOUT AS WELL AS USUAL. IN THE EVENING WE HAD WATCHED TELEVISION, OR PARTICIPATED IN POST-MORTEMS ON THE WORLD SERIES OR EVEN READ A BOOK. BUT ONLY A FEW OF US TALKED ABOUT, READ ABOUT, THOUGHT OR WORRIED ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS RACE IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVIES--THE MOST DREADFUL CAUSE FOR WORRY THE HUMAN RACE HAS EVER HAD. WE FLINCH FROM THINKING ABOUT IT BECAUSE IT IS SO DREADFUL, BECAUSE ITS SCIENTIFIC MYSTERIES ARE SO MYSTERIOUS, AND BECAUSE OF A CONVICTION OF IMPOTENCE AND RESIGNATION.

THERE'S NOTHING I CAN DO ABOUT IT. IF I'M GONING TO BE BLOWN UP TOMORROW I MIGHT AS WELL ENJOY TODAY. YET THE FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION IS NEVER ENTIRELY IMPOTENT. OUR LITTLE PART OF PUBLIC OPINION CAN BE INFORMED IF WE WISH IT TO BE. ONE WAY OF BEING WELL-INFORMED ABOUT THE NUCLEAR DOMSDAY THREATENING US ALL IS TO READ A SHORT AND LUCID BOOK CALLED "KILL AND OVERKILL: THE STRATEGY OF ANNIHILATION" (A) BY RALPH E. LAPP.

THIS IS A BOOK THAT SUMMARIZES ESSENTIAL FACTS, SPECULATES CAUTIOUSLY ABOUT GHASTLY PROBABILITIES AND OFFERS A FEW REASONABLE PROPOSALS. LAPP SPEAKS WITH AUTHORITY. A PHYSICIST WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE CREATION OF THE ATOM BOMB, THE AUTHOR OF A TEXTBOOK ON NUCLEAR PHYSICS AND A FORMER ADVISER TO THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, LAPP IS THE AUTHOR OF EIGHT OTHER BOOKS AND OF MANY NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES ON ATOMIC MATTERS.

TODAY, LAPP ESTIMATES, "THE STOCKPILE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS GROWN TO A SIZE SUFFICIENT TO DISPOSE OF LIFE ON THIS PLANET IN SHORT ORDER." THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES CAN DESTROY EACH OTHER'S CITIES AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND "COAT" THE SOIL WITH RADIOACTIVITY. NO LIFE ON EARTH WOULD EXIST EXCEPT THAT OF INSECTS. IF SURVIVORS OF NUCLEAR WAR WAITED UNTIL IT WAS SAFE TO EMERGE FROM THEIR BURROWS, "THE ENVIRONMENT ABOVE GROUND COULD HARDLY SUSTAIN LIFE."

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"NO NATION WOULD WANT TO FEED ITS PEOPLE THE FOOD GROWN ON LAND CONTAMINATED BY SUCH A FALLOUT," LAPP WRITES. "THOSE WHO DID NOT SICKEN AND DIE WOULD LIVE ONLY TO PROPAGATE A RACE PERMANENTLY DAMAGED WITH A CRIPPLING GENETIC INHERITANCE."

SUCH HORRORS WOULD BE THE RESULT OF MASS NUCLEAR WAR AND ARE THE REASONS WHY PEACE IS IMPOSED FROM DAY TO DAY BY A BALANCE OF MUTUAL TERROR. BUT THE MISSILES AND PLANES BEARING NUCLEAR BOMBS COULD BE LOOSED BY ACCIDENT, MISCALCULATION OR THE MADNESS OF INDIVIDUALS. OR THEY COULD BE LAUNCHED OUT OF FEAR, A DELIBERATE DECISION TO STRIKE FIRST TO PREVENT THE ENEMY FROM STRIKING FIRST.

ONE OF THE WORST DANGERS, LAPP NOTES, IS THAT INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES, IF USED AT ALL, MUST BE FIRED QUICKLY--BEFORE THEY ARE DESTROYED BY OTHER INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES. LITTLE TIME IS AVAILABLE TO CHECK RADAR REPORTS, TO INQUIRE IF AN EXPLOSION WAS AN ACCIDENT ("DID YOU MEAN IT?") TO DISCUSS AND CONSIDER. AND LAPP SEES NO JUSTIFICATION FOR OUR PRESENT POLICY OF ADDING TO THE AMERICAN STOCKPILE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS:

"THE QUESTION OF WASTE IS SECONDARY TO THE CENTRAL FACT THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THIS VAST STOCKPILE FOR DESTRUCTION REPRESENTS INSECURITY AND MORTAL DANGER FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. PILING UP MORE TONS OF BOMB MATERIAL, MORE THOUSANDS OF BOMBS, DOES NOT ADD TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES."

"KILL AND OVERKILL" IS CRAMMED WITH CONCISELY PRESENTED FACTS ABOUT: OUR MILITARY RESEARCH PROGRAM NOW FINANCED BY $10 BILLION A YEAR; THE NEW PROFESSION OF SCIENTIFIC WEAPONRY; BLAST, HEAT FLASH, FIRE STORMS AND RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT; VARIOUS KINDS OF MISSILES AND THE QUESTIONABLE VALUE OF ANTI-MISSILE MISSILES.

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LAPP IMAGINES A TYPICAL CALCULATION: "IF COUNTRY A LOSES 30 MILLION DEAD AND 27 PER CENT OF ITS ECONOMY, WHEREAS COUNTRY B HAS 90 MILLION DEAD AND 68 PER CENT OF ITS ECONOMY DESTROYED, THE COMPUTER PRONOUNCES COUNTRY A THE WINNER, ONE WONDERS HOW MUCH CONSOLATION THAT WOULD BE TO COUNTRY A."

THE HOPE OF CIVILIZATION, LAPP BELIEVES, LIES IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. BEFORE THAT END IS REACHED HE SUGGESTS SUCH STEPS AS THESE TO LESSEN THE FEARS AND TENSIONS OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE:

"OUR MISSILE PROGRAM SHOULD BE REVISED TO MAKE IT A TRULY RETALIATORY FORCE RATHER THAN ONE WHICH APPEARS TO BE PREPARED FOR A FIRST STRIKE. THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF DOING THIS WOULD BE TO PLACE OUR MAIN RELIANCE ON A POLARIS FORCE. THE PROGRAM FOR IMC.B.M.' BASED WITHIN THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE CUT BACK SHARPLY AND ELIMINATED ALTOGETHER AS THE OCEAN-DEPLOYED POLARIS FORCE BECOMES AN ADEQUATE DETERRENT.

"OUR DETERRENT FORCE WOULD BE LESS VULNERABLE TO KNOCKOUT BY THE ENEMY. IT WOULD NOT BE IN POSITIONS WHERE IT MIGHT DRAW ATTACK UPON OUR LAND. IT WOULD ALLOW US MORE TIME FOR INVESTIGATION OF ALARMS, THUS REDUCING THE CHANCES OF WAR BY ACCIDENT. IT WOULD PROVIDE MORE UNIFIED COMMAND AND CONTROL OF OUR STRATEGIC FORCE. IT WOULD OBVIATE ANY NEED FOR MAINTAINING U.S. MISSILE BASES ON FOREIGN SOIL."

DASH (A) KILL AND OVERKILL: THE STRATEGY OF ANNIHILATION, BY RALPH E. LAPP, 197 PAGES, BASIC BOOKS, $4.95.

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R. FRANCES KELSEY
Under New Powers

Harvard Psychiatrist Elaborates

MAN'S MENTAL 'ESCAPES' EASE LIFE UNDER PERIL

Special to The Atlanta Journal

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 28 — Man, says a Harvard University psychiatrist, has acquired a set of mental mechanisms by which he is able to live with unwelcome truths even though the truths threaten the existance of a whole civilization. The barriers enable him to enjoy life and to maintain his mental equilibrium.

Dr. Lester Grinspoon, speaking at a session on reactions to nuclear war at the 129th annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, presented six of the major psychological mechanisms used by man to bypass the acceptance of disquieting facts.

DR. GRINSPOON listed the mechanisms:

1. Denial—". . . One of the most primitive and at the same time one of the most important. People are using this mechanism when they manage to ignore or dismiss internal or external events, the perception of which is painful. Common examples are the avoidance of contemplating one's own inevitable death or the reluctance to acknowledge the presence of a fatal disease."

2. Isolation — "When a man can acknowledge the fact that a continued arms race could lead to a nuclear war which might in turn very well mean the death of himself, his family, and millions of his countrymen, without experiencing any more affect than he would upon contemplating the effects of DDT upon a population of fruit flies, then he is probably making use of the defense of isolation. In this way people can be quite facile in speaking about the facts that they and their loved ones would undoubtedly lose their lives should a nuclear war break out."

3. Displacement—". . . A most important mental mechanism which people employ to defend themselves against the facts of a threatened World War III. They unconsciously transfer feeling from its real object, in this case the threat of nuclear war, to substitute objects. The hyperpatriot's concern about 'the enemy,' may, among other things, represent his displaced anxiety about war."

4. Rationalization—"An ubiquitous defense . . . (that) accounts for such common attitudes as, 'It's so terrible it'll never be used,' 'No one's going to be mad enough to start an H-bomb war,' 'I'm sure the President (or premier) and all those generals know more about it than we do,' 'After all, perhaps it's God's will. . . .' Such rationalizations serve to protect the individual from a genuine engagement with the indisputable facts."

5. Intellectualization — ". . . Another of these mechanisms, one not infrequently used alike by those engaged in preparing for war and those involved in peace research. Here an individual appears to have an excellent understanding of the facts, and his grasp of the technical aspects may be most impressive; indeed, he may be an expert. However, all of this knowledge serves to keep him somehow quite distant from the psychological and political actualities. Doctors in their own shop make frequent use of intellectualization; so do strategic thinkers."

6. Dogmatism—"Essential to this mechanism is an air-tight system of beliefs which provides an individual wtih all the answers and does away with uncertainty and anxiety. New facts, however much they may have been distorted, are merely integrated into this system."

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MAN: THE LETHAL FACTOR*

By LOREN EISELEY

THE great Olduvai Gorge in East Africa has been appropriately called the Grand Canyon of human evolution. Here a million, perhaps two million years of human history are recorded in the shape of successive skulls and deposits of stone tools. The elusive story of the long road man has traveled is glimpsed momentarily in eroded strata and faded bone. Olduvai is now famous all over the world. Only to those who have the habit of searching beyond the obvious, however, may it have occurred that this precipitous rift through time parallels and emphasizes a similar rift in ourselves—a rift that lies like a defacing crack across our minds and consequently many of our institutions. From its depths we can hear the rumble of the torrent from which we have ascended, and sense the disastrous ease with which both individual men and civilizations can topple backwards and be lost.

Brooding upon the mysteries of time and change, a great and thoughtful scholar, Alfred North Whitehead, many years ago recorded his thoughts in a cryptic yet profound observation. He said, in brief, "We are...of infinite importance, because as we perish we are immortal." Whitehead was not speaking in ordinary theological terms. He was not concerned in this passage with the survival of the human personality after death—at least as a religious conception. He was, instead, struggling with that difficult idea which he describes as the "prehension of the past," the fact that the world we know, even as it perishes, remains an elusive unfixed element in the oncoming future.

The organic world, as well as that superorganic state which exists in the realm of thought is, in truth, prehensile in a way that the inorganic world is not. The individual animal or plant in the course of its development moves always in relation to an unseen future toward which its forces are directed: the egg is broken and a snake writhes away into the grass; the acorn seedling, through many seasons, contorts itself slowly into a gnarled, gigantic oak. Similarly, life moves against the future in another sense—an evolutionary one. The creature existing now—this serpent, this bird, this man—has only to leave progeny in order to stretch out a gray, invisible hand into the evolutionary future, into the non-existent.

With time, the bony fin is transformed into a paw, a round, insectivore eye into the nearsighted gaze of a scholar. Moreover, all along this curious animal extension into time, parts of ourselves are flaking off, breaking away into unexpected and unforeseen adventures. One insectivore fragment has taken to the air and become a vampire bat, while another fragment draws pictures in a cave and creates a new prehensile

* The Phi Beta Kappa-Sigma Xi Lecture, December 29, 1962.

realm where the shadowy fingers of lost ideas reach forward into time to affect our world view, and with it, our future destinies and happiness.

Thus, since the dawn of life on the planet, the past has been figuratively fingering the present. There is, in reality, no clearly separable past and future either in the case of nerve and bone or within the less tangible but equally real world of history. Even the extinct dead have plucked the great web of life in such a manner that the future still vibrates to their presence. The mammalian world was, for a long time, constricted and impoverished by the dominance of the now vanished reptiles. Similarly, who knows today what beautiful creature remains potential only because of our continued existence; or what renewed manifestations of creative energy our own presence inhibits or has indeed destroyed forever.

As the history of the past unrolls itself before the eye of both paleontologist and archaeologist, however, it becomes evident, so far as the biological realm is concerned, that by far the greater proportion of once living branches on the tree of life are dead, and to this the archaeologist and historian must add dead stone, dead letters, dead ideas, and dead civilizations. As one gropes amid all this attic dust it becomes ever more apparent that some lethal factor, some arsenical poison seems to lurk behind the pleasant show of the natural order or even the most enticing cultural edifices that man has been able to erect.

In the organic world of evolution three facts, so far as we can perceive, today seem to determine the death of species: (1) the irreversibility of the organic process in time; (2) high specialization which, in the end, limits new adaptive possibilities; (3) the sudden emergence of spectacular enemies or other environmental circumstances which overwhelm or ambush a living form so suddenly that the slow adjustive process of natural selection cannot be made to function. This third principle, one could say, is the factor which, given the other two limitations upon all forms of life, will result in extinction. As a drastic example one could point to the destruction of many of the larger creatures as man has abruptly extended his sway over both hemispheres and into many different environmental zones.

The past century has seen such great accessions of knowledge in relation to these natural events, as well as a growing consciousness of man's exposure to similar dangers, that there is an increasing tendency to speculate upon our own possibilities for survival. The great life web which man has increasingly plucked with an abruptness unusual in nature shows signs of "violence in the return" to use a phrase of Francis Bacon's. The juvenile optimism about progress which characterized our first scientific years was beginning to be replaced early in this century by doubts which the widely circulated *Decline of the West* by Oswald Spengler documents only too well. As the poet, J. C. Squire, says, we can turn:

> "the great wheel backward until Troy unburn,
> ...and seven Troys below
> Rise out of death and dwindle..."

We can go down through the layers of dead cities until the gold becomes stone, until the jewels become shells, until the palace is a hovel, until the hovel becomes a heap of gnawed bones.

Are the comparisons valid? The historians differ. Is there hope? A babble of conflicting voices confuses us. Are we safe? On this point I am sure that every person of cultivation and intelligence would answer with a resounding "No!" Spengler, and not the optimists, was right when he prophesied that this century would be one marked by the rise of dictators, great wars, and augmented racial troubles. Whether he was also right in foreseeing our century as the onsetting winter of western civilization is a more difficult problem.

Faustian, space-loving man still hurls his missiles skyward. His tentacular space-probes seem destined to palpate the farthest rim of the solar system. Yet honesty forces us to confess that this effort is primarily the product of conflict, that millions are now employed in the institutions erected to serve that conflict, that government and taxes are increasingly geared to it, that in another generation, if not now, it will have become traditional. Men who have spent their lives in the service of these institutions will be reluctant to dissolve them. A vested interest will exist on both sides of the iron curtain. The growing involution of this aspect of western culture may well come to resemble the ingrowth and fantasies of that ritualized belief in *mana* which characterized late Polynesian society.

It is upon this anthropological note that I should like to examine the nature of the human species—the creature who at first glance appears to have escaped from the specialized *cul de sac* which has left his late existing primate relative, the gorilla, peering sullenly from the little patch of sheltered bush which yet remains to him. I have said that some lethal factor seems to linger in man's endeavors. It is for this reason that I venture to speak to you from a discipline which has long concerned itself with the origins, the illusions, the symbols, the folly as well as the grandeur of civilizations whose records are lost and whose temples are fallen. Yet the way is not easy. As Herman Melville has written in one great perceptive passage:

> "By vast pains we mine into the pyramid; by
> horrible gropings we come to the central room;
> with joy we espy the sarcophagus; but we lift
> the lid—and no body is there—appallingly
> vacant, as vast, is the soul of man"

I have spent a sizable number of my adult years among the crude stones of man's Ice Age adventurings. The hard, clean flint in the mountain spring defines and immortalizes the race that preceded us better than

our own erratic fabrications distinguish our time. There is as yet no sharp edge to our image. Will it be, in the end, the twisted gantrys on the rocket bases, or telephone wires winding voiceless through the high Sierras, or will it be the glass from space-searching observatories pounded into moonstones in the surf on a sinking coast?

What makes the symbol, finally, for another age as the pyramids for theirs—writing for five thousand years man's hope against the sky? Before we pass, it is well to think of what our final image as a race may be—the image that will give us a kind of earthly immortality, or represent, perhaps, our final collective visage in eternity. But it is to the seeds of death within us that we must address ourselves before we dare ask this other final question of what may stand for us when all else is fallen and gone down. We shall not begin with western society, we shall begin with man. We shall open that symbolic sepulchre of which Melville speaks. We shall grope in the roiling, tumultuous darkness, for that unplumbed vacancy which Melville termed so ironically the soul of man.

II

Since the days of Lyell and Hutton who perceived, beneath the romantic geological catastrophism of their age, that the prosaic and unnoticed works of wind and sun and water were the real shapers of the planet, science has been averse to the recognition of discontinuity in natural events.[1] Nevertheless, the rise of modern physics with its emphasis on quantum theory in the realm of particles, and even certain aspects of Mendelian genetics serve to remind us that there are still abroad in nature hidden powers which, on occasion, manifest themselves in an unpredictable fashion. Even on a more dramatic scale no one to date has been quite able satisfactorily to account for that series of rhythmic and overwhelming catastrophes which we call the Ice Age. It is true that we no longer cloak such mysteries in an aura of supernaturalism, but they continue to remind us, nevertheless, of the latent forces still lurking within nature.

Another of these episodes is reflected in the origins of the human mind. It represents, in a sense, a quantum step: the emergence of genuine novelty. It does so because the brain brought into being what would have been, up until the time of its appearance, an inconceivable event: the world of culture. The *mundus alter*—this other intangible, faery world of dreams, fantasies, invention, has been flowing through the heads of men since the first ape-man succeeded in cutting out a portion of his environment and delineating it in a transmissible word. With that word

[1] It should be said in justice to Sir Charles Lyell that in combating the paroxysmal theories which preoccupied his contemporaries he maintained, nevertheless, that "minor convulsions and changes are . . . a *vera causa*, a force and mode of operation which we know to be true."

a world arose which will die only when the last man utters the last meaningful sound.

It is a world that lurks, real enough, behind the foreheads of men; it has transformed their natural environment. It has produced history, the unique act out of the natural world about us. "The foxes have their holes," the words are recorded of the apostle Matthew, "the wild birds have their nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head."

Two thousand years ago in the Judean desert men recognized that the instinctive world of the animals had been lost to man. Henceforward he would pass across the landscape as a wanderer who, in a sense, was outside of nature. His shadow would grow large in the night beside the glare of his red furnaces. Fickle, erratic, dangerous, he would wrest from stone and deep-veined metal, powers hitherto denied to living things. His restless mind would try all paths, all horrors, all betrayals. In the strange individual talents nourished in his metropolises, great music would lift him momentarily into some pure domain of peace. Art would ennoble him, temptation and terror pluck his sleeve. He would believe all things and believe nothing. He would kill for shadowy ideas more ferociously than other creatures kill for food, then, in a generation or less, forget what bloody dream had so oppressed him.

Man stands, in other words, between the two most disparate kingdoms upon earth: the flesh and the spirit. He is lost between an instinctive mental domain he has largely abandoned and a realm of thought through which still drift ghostly shadows of his primordial past. Like all else that lingers along the borders of one world while gazing into another we are imperfectly adapted. It is not only the sea lion from the deep waters that inches himself painfully up the shore into the unfamiliar sunlight. So does man in the deep interior of his mind occasionally clamber far up into sunlit meadows where his world is changed and where, in the case of some few—for such is the way of evolution—there is no return to lower earth. It has taken us far longer to discover the scars of evolution in our brains than to interpret the vestigial organs tucked into odd crannies of our bodies, or the wounds and aches that reveal to us that we have not always walked upon two feet.

Alfred Russel Wallace, Darwin's great contemporary, perceived in 1864 that in man the rise of the most remarkable specialization in the organic world—the human brain—had, to a considerable degree, outmoded the evolution of specialized organs. The creature who could clothe himself in fur or take it off at will, who could by extension of himself into machines, fly, swim, or roll at incredible speeds, had simultaneously mastered all of earth's environments with the same physical body. Paradoxically, this profound biological specialization appeared to have produced an organ devoted to the sole purpose of escaping specialization. No longer could man be trapped in a single skin, a single climate,

a single continent, or even a single culture. He had become ubiquitous. The wind wafted his little craft to the ends of the earth, seeds changed their substance under his hands, the plague hesitated and drew back before his cities. Even his body appeared destined to remain relatively stable since he had become the supremely generalized animal whose only mutability lay in his intelligence as expressed upon his instruments and weapons.

A creature who sets out upon a new road in the wilderness, however, is apt to encounter unexpected dangers—particularly if he ventures into that invisible and mysterious environmental zone, that "other world" which has been conjured up by the sheer power of thought. Man, when he moved from the animal threshold into dawning intellectual consciousness, no longer could depend upon the instinctive promptings which carry a bird upon the wing.

Although it is difficult to penetrate into that half world of the past, it is evident that order, simple order, must have rapidly become a necessity for survival in human groups across whose members the inchoate thoughts and impulses of the freed mind must have run as alarming vagaries. Man must, in fact, have walked the knife-edge of extinction for untold years. As he defined his world he also fell victim to the shadows that lay behind it. He did not accept it like the animal, as a thing given. He bowed to stone, and heard sprites in running water. The entire universe was talking about him and his destiny. He knew the powers and heard the voices. He formulated their wishes for himself. He shaped out of his own drives and timidities the rules and regulations which re-introduced into his world a kind of facsimile of his lost instinctive animal order and simplicity.

By means of custom, strengthened by supernatural enforcement, the violent and impulsive were forced into conformity. There was a way, the way of the tribe. The individual conformed or perished. There was only one way and one people, the tribe. That there were many tribes and many ways into the future no one knew, and at first in the wide emptiness of the world it scarcely mattered. It was enough that there was some kind of way or path. Even the Neanderthals had known this and had provided meat and tools that the dead might need upon their journey.

If we pause and comtemplate this dim and unhistorical age for a moment, it is, as we have intimated, with the thought that it reveals a rift or schism in man's endeavors that runs through his life in many aspects and throughout his history. The great historians, like Lord Acton, have spoken of universal history as "an illumination of the soul." They have ventured to foresee the eventual unification of man and the meeting of many little histories, ultimately, in the great history of man's final unification. It may be so. Yet whether we peer backward into the cloudy mirror of the past, or look 'round us at the moment, it appears that be-

hind every unifying effort in the life of man there is an opposite tendency to disruption, as if the force symbolized in the story of the Tower of Babel had been felt by man since the beginning. Eternally he builds, and across the smooth facade of his institutional structures there runs this ancient crack, this primordial flaw out of old time. We of this age have not escaped it.

Scarcely had man begun dimly and uncertainly to shape his new found world of culture than it split into many facets. Its serenity of expression, its "universal" laws were unfortunately less than those of the nature out of which he had emerged. The customs were, in reality, confined to this island, that hill fort, or the little tribe by the river bank. The people's conception of themselves was similarly circumscribed. *They* were the people. Those who made strange sounds in a different tongue or believed in other gods were queer, and at best tolerated for trading purposes if they did not encroach upon tribal territory.

In some parts of the world this remote life, untouched by self-questioning of any sort, this ancient way of small magical dealings with animals and wood spirits and man has persisted into modern times. It is a comparatively harmless but ensorcelled world in which man's innate capacities are shut up in a very tiny ring and held latent through the long passage of millennia. There are times when one wonders whether it is only a very rare accident that releases man from the ancient, hypnotic sleep into which he so promptly settled after triumphing in his first human endeavor—that of organizing a way of life, controlling the seasons and, in general, setting up his own microscopic order in the vast shadow of the natural world. It is worth a passing thought upon primitive capacities that perhaps no existing society has built so much upon so little.

Nevertheless the rift persisted and ran on. The great neolithic empires arose and extended across the old tribal boundaries. The little peoples were becoming the great people. The individual inventor and artist, released from the restrictions of a low-energy society, enriched the whole culture. The arts of government increased. As wealth arose, however, so war, in a modern sense, also arose. Conquest empires—neolithic and classic—largely erased the old tribalism, but a long train of miseries followed in their wake. Slavery, merciless exploitation such as our paleolithic ancestors never imagined in their wildest dreams, disrupted the society and in the end destroyed both the individual and the state.

There began to show across the face of these new empires not alone the symptoms of a bottomless greed, but what, in the light of times to come was more alarming: the very evident fact that, as human rule passed from the village to the empire, the number of men who could successfully wield power for long-term social purposes grew less. Moreover, the long chain of bureaucracy from the ruler to the ruled made for greater inefficiency and graft. Man was beginning to be afflicted with bigness

in his affairs, and with bigness there often emerges a dogmatic rigidity. The system, if bad, may defy individual strength to change it and simply run its inefficient way until it collapses. It is here that what we may call involution in the human drama becomes most apparent.

There tend to arise in human civilization institutions which monopolize, in one direction or another, the wealth and attention of the society, frequently to its eventual detriment and increasing rigidity. These are, in a sense, cultural overgrowths, excessively ornate societal excrescences as exaggerated as some of the armor plate which adorned the gigantic bodies of the last dinosaurs. Such complications may be as relatively harmless as a hyperdeveloped caste system in which no social fluidity exists, or, on the contrary, as dangerous as military institutions which employ increasingly a disproportionate amount of the capital and attention of the state and its citizens.

III

In one of those profound morality plays which C. S. Lewis is capable of tossing off lightly in the guise of science fiction, one of his characters remarks that in the modern era the good appears to be getting better and the evil more terrifying. It is as though two antipathetic elements in the universe were slowly widening the gap between them. Man, in some manner stands at the heart of this growing rift. Perhaps he contains it within himself. Perhaps, as we have remarked, he feels the crack slowly widening in his mind and his institutions. He sees the finest intellects which, in the previous century, concerned themselves with electric light and telephonic communication devote themselves as wholeheartedly to missiles and supersonic bombers. He finds that the civilization which once assumed that only barbarians would think of attacking helpless civilian populations from the air has, by degree, come to accept the inevitability of such barbarism.

Hope, if it is expressed by the potential candidates for mass extermination in this age of advanced destruction, is expressed, not in terms of living, but in those of survival, such hope being largely premised on the confidence in one's own specialists to provide a nuclear blanket capable of exceeding that of the enemy. All else gives way before the technician and the computer specialist running his estimates as to how many million deaths it takes, and in how many minutes, before the surviving fragment of a nation—if any—sues for peace. Nor, in the scores of books analyzing these facts, is it easy to find a word spared to indicate concern for the falling sparrow, the ruined forest, the contaminated spring—all, in short, that spells a life in nature still to man.

As one of these technicians wrote in another connection involving the mere use of insecticides, and which I here shorten and paraphrase: "Balance of nature? An outmoded biological concept. There is no room for

sentiment in modern science. We shall learn to get along without birds if necessary. After all, the dinosaurs disappeared. Man merely makes the process go faster. Everything changes with time." And so it does. But let us be as realistic as the gentleman would wish. It may be we who go. I am just primitive enough to hope that somehow, somewhere, a cardinal may still be whistling on a green bush when the last man goes blind before his man-made sun. If it should turn out that we have mishandled our own lives as several civilizations before us have done, it seems a pity that we should involve the violet and the tree frog in our departure.

To perpetrate this final act of malice seems somehow disproportionate, beyond endurance. It is like tampering with the secret purposes of the universe itself and involving not just man but life in the final holocaust—an act of petulant, deliberate blasphemy.

It is for this reason that Lewis' remark about the widening gap between good and evil takes on such horrifying significance in our time. The evil man may do has just this added significance about it—it is not merely the evil of one tribe seeking to exterminate another. It is, instead, the thought-out willingness to make the air unbreathable to neighboring innocent nations, and to poison, in one's death throes, the very springs of life itself. No greater hypertrophy of the institution of war has ever been observed in the West. To make the situation more ironic, the sole desire of every fifth-rate nascent nationalism is to emulate Russia and America—to rattle rockets, and if these are too expensive, then at least to possess planes and a parade of tanks. For the first time in history a divisive nationalism, spread like a contagion from the West, has increased in virulence and blown around the world.

A multitude of states are now swept along in a passionate hunger for arms as the only important symbol of prestige. Yearly their number increases. For the first time in human history the involutional disease of a single, modern civilization, that of the West, shows signs of becoming the disease of all contemporary societies. Such, it would appear, is one of the less beneficial aspects of the communications network which we have flung around the world. The universal understanding which has been the ultimate goal sought by the communications people, that shining Telstar through which we were to promote the transmission of wisdom, bids fair, instead, to promote unsatisfied hunger and the enthusiastic reception of irrationalities that embed themselves all too readily in the minds of the illiterate.

Man may have ceased to teeter uncertainly upon his hind legs, his strange physical history may be almost over. But within his mind he is still hedged about by the shadows of his own fear and uncertainty; he still lingers at the borders of his dark and tree-filled world. He fears the sunlight, he fears truth, he fears himself. In the words of Thomas Beddoes who looked long into that world of shadows:

"Nature's polluted,
There's man in every secret corner of her
Doing damned wicked deeds. Thou art, old world
A hoary, atheistic, murdering star."

This is the dark murmur that rises from the abyss beneath us, and that draws us with uncanny fascination.

If one were to attempt to spell out in a sentence the single lethal factor at the root of declining or lost civilizations up to the present, I would be forced to say adaptability. I would have to remark, paradoxically, that the magnificent specialization of gray matter which has opened to us all the climates of the earth, which has given us music, surrounded us with luxury, entranced us with great poetry, has this one flaw: it is too adaptable. In breaking free of instinct and venturing naked into a universe which demanded constant trial and experiment, a world whose possibilities were unexplored and unlimited, man's hunger for experience became unlimited also. He has the capacity to veer with every wind, or, stubbornly, to insert himself into some fantastically elaborated and irrational social institution only to perish with it.

It may well be that some will not call this last piece of behavior adaptation. Yet it is to be noted that only extreme, if unwise, adaptability would have allowed man to contrive and inhabit such strange structures. When men in the mass have once attached themselves to a cultural excrescence which grows until it threatens the life of the society, it is almost impossible to modify their behavior without violence. Yet along with this, as I have remarked, fervid waves of religious or military enthusiasm may sweep through a society and then vanish with scarcely a trace.

It would take volumes to chronicle the many facets of this problem. It is almost as though man had at heart no image, but only images, that his soul was truly as vacant and vast as Melville intimated in the passage I have earlier quoted. Man is mercurial and shifting. He can look down briefly into the abyss and say, smiling, "We are beasts from the dark wood. We will never be anything else. We are not to be trusted. Never on this earth. We have come from down there." This view is popular in our time. We speak of the fossil ape encrusted in our hearts.

This is one image of many that man entertains of himself. There is another left by a man who died a long time ago. I have spoken earlier of the collective symbol a civilization sometimes leaves to posterity and the difficulty one has with our own because of the rapidity with which our technology has altered, and the restless flickering of our movement from one domain of life to another.

A few months ago I read casually in my evening newspaper that our galaxy is dying. That great wheel of fire of which our planetary system is an infinitesimal part was, so the report ran, proceeding to its end. The detailed evidence was impressive. Probably, though I have not at-

tempted to verify the figures, the spiral arm on which we drift is so vast that it has not made one full circle of the wheel since the first man-ape picked up and used a stone.

Now I saw no use in whispering behind my hand at the Club, next morning, "They say the galaxy is dying." I knew well enough that man, being more perishable than stars, would be gone billions of years before the edge of the Milky Way grew dark. It was not that aspect of the human episode that moved me. Instead it was the sudden realization of what man could do on so gigantic a scale even if, as yet, his personal fate eluded him. Out there millions of light years away from earth, man's hands were already fumbling in the coal-scuttle darkness of a future universe. The astronomer was foreshortening time—just as on a shorter scale eclipses can be foretold, or an apparently empty point in space can be shown as destined to receive an invisibly moving body. So man, the short-lived midge, is reaching into and observing events he will never witness in the flesh. In a psychological second, on this elusive point we call the present, we can watch the galaxy drift into darkness.

The materiality of the universe, Whitehead somewhere remarks, is measured "in proportion to the restriction of memory and anticipation." With consciousness, memory, extended through the written word and the contributions of science, penetrates farther and farther into both aspects of time's unknown domain, that is, the past and the future. Though individual men do not live longer, we might say that the reach of mind in the universe and its potential control of the natural order is enormously magnified.

Material substance no longer dominates the spiritual life. There is not time here to explore all aspects of this fascinating subject, nor the paradoxes with which our burgeoning technology have presented us. This strange capacity of the mind upon which we exercise so little thought, however, means that man both remains within the historical order and, at the same time, passes beyond it.

We are present in history, we may see history as meaningless or purposeful, but as the heightened consciousness of time invades our thinking, our ability to free our intellects from a narrow and self-centered immediacy should be intensified. It is this toward which Whitehead was directing his thought: that all responsible decisions are acts of compassion and disinterest; they exist within time and history but they are also outside of it—unique and individual and, because individual, spiritually free. In the words of Erich Frank, "History and the world do not change, but man's attitude to the world changes."

I wonder if we understand this point, for it is the crux of all my efforts in this lecture, and though I have mentioned modern thinkers, it leads straight back to the New Testament. A number of years ago in a troubled period of my life I chanced to take a cab from an airport outside a large

eastern city. The way to the address I gave lay through the back streets of a run-down area of dilapidated buildings. I remember we passed a pathetic little cemetery whose smudged crosses, dating from another era, were now being encroached upon and overshadowed by the huge gray tanks of an oil refinery. The shadow of giant machines now fell daily across the hill of the dead. It was almost a visible struggle of the symbols to which I have earlier referred—the cross that marks two thousand years of western culture, shrinking, yet still holding its little acre in the midst of hulking beams and shadows where now no sunlight ever fell.

I felt an unreasoned distaste as we jounced deeper into these narrow alleyways, or roared beneath giant bridges toward a distant throughway. Finally, as we cut hastily through a slightly more open section, I caught a glimpse of a neighborhood church—a church of evident poverty, of a sect unknown, and destined surely to vanish from that unsavory spot. It was an anachronism as doomed as the cemetery. We passed, and a moment later, as though the sign had been hanging all that time in the cab before me, instead of standing neatly in the yard outside the church, my conscious mind unwillingly registered the words:

> "Christ died to save mankind.
> Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"

I looked at that invisible hanging sign with surprise, if not annoyance. By some I have been castigated because I am an evolutionist. In one church where I had attended as the guest of a member not long before, I had been made the covert object of a sermon in which I had recognizably played the role of a sinning scientist. I cannot deny that the role may have fitted me, but I could not feel that the hospitality, under the circumstances, was Christian. I had seen fanatical sectarian signs of ignorant and contentious sects painted on rocks all over America, particularly in desert places. I had gazed unmoved on them all.

But here on a plain white board that would not remove itself from my eyes, an unknown man in the shadow of one of the ugliest neighborhoods in America had in some manner lifted that falling symbol from the shadow of the refinery tanks and thrust it relentlessly before my eyes. There was no evading it. "Is it nothing to you?" I was being asked—I who passed by, who had indeed already passed, and would again ignore, much more sophisticated approaches to religion.

But the symbol, one symbol of many in the wilderness of modern America, still exerted its power over me—a dozen lines of thinking, past and present drew in upon me. Nothing eventful happened in the outside world. Whatever took place happened within myself. The cab sped on down the throughway.

But before my mind's eye, like an ineradicable mote, persisted the vision of that lost receding figure on the dreadful hill of Calvary who

whispered with his last breath, "It is finished." It was not for Himself he cried—it was for man against eternity—for us of every human generation who perform against the future, the acts which justify creation or annul it. This is the power in the mind of man—a mind print, if you will—an insubstantial symbol which holds like a strained cable the present from falling into the black abyss of nothingness. This is why, if we possess great fortitude each one of us can say against the future he has not seen, "It is finished."

At that moment we will have passed beyond the reach of time into a still and hidden place where it was said, "He who loses his life will find it." And in that place we will have found an ancient and an undistorted way.

Address of ROBERT OPPENHEIMER
National Book Awards
New York City

March 12, 1963

THE ADDED CUBIT

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Edel, Mr. Powers, ladies and gentlemen: It is an honor and a great pleasure to participate in this celebration; and it is with some regret that I obey my injunction to distract you from the good works and writers here honored, and the good words already spoken.

A little more than a year ago, the Scientific Secretary of the Soviet Academy of Science was in this country, as an advisor to the Secretary General of the United Nations. He let it be known that he would like to come to Princeton to meet me and to visit the Institute, and the day before his visit I suggested that we have a few people to lunch with him who would be interested in meeting him and talking with him. He came early, and there was much time to talk. He had been a geophysicist, but was himself no longer very active or very interested, for his life was devoted to the affairs of the Academy and to politics. When we had agreed, as we early did, that science was a good thing, and that peace was a good thing, the conversation lagged. I asked him then how he envisaged the future, say fifty years off. "We know how rapidly our activitie in the sciences are growing. I know that you have five-year plans and ten-year projections; but what will it really be like?" He answered without hesitation, "Everyone will be a scientist." The words died slowly in the room. "No," he said, "I did not say that right. Machines will do all the labor; everyone will be engaged in creative work." Again there was some silence. Then he said, "Of course, there will always be people who are interested in sport."

It will be clear to you, as it is to me, that the poor Secretary did not have the advantage that we enjoy: the availability of the reports of a Presidential Commission on National Goals.

There has been much thought taken in the last centuries; it has certainly added many cubits to the extent and ~~dimensions~~ scope of the problems with which we are living. I shall not repeat to you again the catalog of indicia that attest this growth: the 93% of all men of science in human history who are alive today; the periodicals which, if they continue to grow as they have, will outweigh the world in the next century; the vast ramification of specialized techniques and the feedback of technology and discovery to make new tools for the study of nature and of man. I do want to remind you of two things less often said. One is that the study of history has also deepened, ramified and expanded. The history of art, the history of science, the history of China and of India are enterprises characteristic of our time, and, even more, of our future. We know more of the human past, and are better able to correct our reading of its meaning than has ever been possible before. Only today is a critical edition of Newton's Principia on its way, which will make generally available to us the many variant readings that reflect Newton's philosophical doubts and his maturity. I look to these studies of history to provide new links in the unity of knowledge.

The unity of knowledge, long thought of as corresponding to a structure in which the foundation stones imply the whole, has today a very different topology: very much more than a temple, it is a network, as William James foresaw, with no central chamber, no basic truths from which all else will follow, but with a wonderful mutual relevance between its many branches, and with beauty illuminating the growing tips of knowledge, even in the most recondite and unfamiliar branches. As far as learning goes, as far as the cognitive world that is for many of us a large part of man's world, this means

that what we have often said, we now must intend and practice. Learning is not alone for the child and the youth. For the professional it has always been a lifelong vocation; and if our world is to cohere, if we are to be able to talk with one another about our common problems, more and more we shall need, whatever our professional duty, to learn a little of what is being found out about the world of nature, about man and his history: to learn by talk, by reading, by study. The National Book Committee has much to do.

These thoughts, which have been often spoken by others and by me, are not the center of what I would say today. This center lies in some of the problems which the growth of knowledge, and the growth of power that is based on it, have put before us; and with two traits of the European tradition which seem to me helpful and deeply needed in living with them. The first is our sense of responsibility to human history, to its present and future. This is not a trait of the great culture of China, or of that of India; but it is to be found in the Old and the New Testament, and it seems a characteristic of European culture for the last millennium. I cannot help seeing with a ~~certain~~ very deep + unprepared awe the power of this and other elements of the Christian sensibility when they touch lands with ancient traditions, and indeed lands with very primitive cultures; and in this I see one element of hope that a world unified by technology and in danger of tearing itself to shreds in minutes may yet have some human basis for a united world.

Indeed the responsibility for history is probably a decisive reason for the growth of that intimate symbiosis of technology, study, experiment, and analysis and synthesis which is the modern scientific world. Scholars have asked why no such history was made in China, in India, and even more pointedly, in the Mediterranean world of antiquity. Einstein thought that perhaps it was because none of these cultures had a sufficiently developed

tradition both in algebra and geometry. Others have suggested that because of slavery or peonage there was no adequate regard and affection for the work of the hand, for technique and the arts; but many serious scholars seem not to find these an adequate reason, and believe that the idea of the improvement of human life on earth has provided the air for the fires of science.

In her own day, which is partly part of ours, Simone Weil said of this time that in comparison with all earlier times it was rich in illusory responsibilities, and very poor in real ones; and she added that an understanding of this brought a sweet serenity. Of course, she is largely right, not only of all of us, but even, perhaps to his astonishment, of the President of the United States, and, perhaps even to his greater astonishment, of the President of France. What this can mean to a writer of novels has been most movingly sketched by Mary McCarthy in her Fact in Fiction. It is true of the two massive problems which science has brought to the world -- but not equally true: the world wide need for social justice, and the maintenance and extension of peace. That these two are related most people believe; that effort and responsibility for one should relieve us of the other seems to me impossible.

We live today in this country with the bitter heritage of centuries of slavery. We live in a world in which foreign oppression has only recently been lifted in some continents, and still prevails in others. We live in a world where hunger, illness and ignorance persist although the resources to reduce them are abundantly at hand. The last years have increasingly seen devoted efforts to these causes, misguided surely in many ways, self-centered and self-congratulatory where they should be modest, global in generalities, and often not responsive to the men and women, and indeed the children, whose hearts and spirits must make their own new world. But to me it seems that we

are slowly learning what we can and what we ought not do, and in this a very widely shared responsibility is open to us. Let us learn fast.

But with the question of war, none of these words may be spoken. I cannot regard it as an acceptable evil that we, and ~~no doubt~~ clearly our antagonists, prepare to inflict such unprecedented and believe me very nearly unimaginable harm on the people of this world as we do with our weapons, our weapons systems, and our war plans. I know that neither our Government nor any meaningful part of our people plans to do this harm "one fine day" without cause. I ~~believe~~ think it true that the Soviet Government concludes that it would not be wise to take such a course. It is my earnest hope that when the time comes, as one day it will, when China has a comparable power, its Government and its people will have learned not to use it; but here my hope is nourished by nothing. Like you, I would like to know a little of what I speak. Yet I cannot believe that it is without profound corruption and profound alienation that our culture, our peace, and our lives rest on such an inferno, nor that we can go unscathed, even in matters of learned study or high art, or in the nobility of our converse with one another, by the dark foundation which underlies our perilous tranquillity.

This leads me to the other trait of European society which seems to me rather missing in our secularized age, the trait that can be found in other great religions, in the Buddha for one, but which is a constant word in what underlies the European and the Christian sensibility, the Stoa, Ecclesiastes, the Gospels. It is a truth whose recognition seems to underlie the very possibility of a permanently peaceful world, and to be indispensible as well in our dealings with people with radically different history and culture and tradition. It is the knowledge of the inwardness of evil, and an awareness that in our dealings with this we are very close to the center of life. It is true of us as a people who tend to see all devils as foreigners; it is true of us ourselves, who reflect, project and externalize what we

cannot bear to see. When we are blind to the evil in ourselves, we dehumanize ourselves, and we deprive ourselves not only of our own destiny, but of any possibility of dealing well with the evil in others. Perhaps we are most in debt to Freud for seeing the evil in man as a part of nature, and for treating it without contempt or hatred. Yet we, as a part of nature, are not without responsibility for what we make of nature. Today, in a secular world, it is almost wholly through the arts that we have a living reminder of the terror and nobility of what we are. The National Book Committee has much to do.

When St. Matthew said, "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?", he expected no reply. We too cannot reply. By taking thought of our grim responsibility, by knowing our profound and omnipresent imperfection, we may help our children's children to a world less cruel, less unjust, less likely to end in catastrophe beyond words. We may even find our way to put an end to the orgy, the killing, the brutality that is war.

Let me end with an anecdote. Three weeks ago a high officer of the National Book Committee asked for a title for this talk. I did not have one, but promised to call back shortly, and gave the title that is before you. The officer protested that my title was indeed puzzling and uninformative. I said that it had a history, and when the officer asked, I quoted St. Matthew. Then the officer said, "From what book is that?" The National Book Committee still has a lot to do.

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#75/63-M

PRACTICAL NUCLEAR EXCAVATION NEARING REALITY

New York, April 1 --Practical nuclear excavation--though still several years away--will come sooner than any other peaceful use of nuclear explosives.

The technology appears possible within five years, spokesmen for the Army Corps of Engineers and the Atomic Energy Commission told Engineering News-Record, McGraw-Hill publication, in an exclusive briefing.

Government engineers and scientists, the spokesmen said, have reduced nuclear excavation to near-handbook simplicity in some respects. But many unknowns, technical, legal and administrative, must be explored before it becomes a practical construction tool.

Excluding bomb technology, the engineers and scientists know more about control of crater dimensions than any other technical aspect. They know a great deal about controlling radiation fallout, one of the three major hazards, and are making progress in predicting and limiting damage from ground shock and air blast, the other two.

The study of nuclear excavating began formally in 1957 when the AEC launched Project Plowshare, a broad effort to develop peaceful uses for nuclear explosives. Excavating study is taking a quarter to a third of the $9.6 million Plowshare

---MORE---

appropriation for fiscal 1963 and could take as much as half of the $16 million requested for fiscal 1964.

In a channel-excavation test slated for later this year, five 10-kiloton devices in a row will be fired simultaneously. AEC officials expect the ditch to be about 2,300 feet long, 700 feet wide and 125 feet deep.

The spokesmen emphasized the progress made in controlling radioactivity. The fusion devices now available generate less radioactive debris than fission bombs, and the scientists expect to make them even cleaner.

Ground shock and air blast are mainly siting problems. Researchers have found preliminary methods of predicting accelerations imposed on structures by ground shock, but the subject requires much more study to learn how to predict the effects of local geology.

Air blast means a lot of broken windows a long way from ground zero under certain conditions. The troublesome effect is a sound wave focused upward from the crater. It hits the ozonosphere and bounces back to earth in an annular ring 150 to 200 miles from the blast.

As air blast is affected by meteorological conditions, minimizing the damage is a matter first of blast site location and second of blast timing to suit the weather.

Whoever uses nuclear excavators will get cheap dirt moving if he uses big ones, and he cannot afford to use small ones, according to AEC predictions.

The AEC has estimated that a sea-level Central American canal 1,000 feet wide and 250 feet deep could be constructed with nuclear explosives for about one-third the cost and in about one-half the time it would take to build one 600 feet wide and 60 feet deep by using conventional excavation methods.

Although "H-digging" might sharply affect some segments of the construction industry, AEC has heard little from them. However, fallout fear and moral objections to nuclear blasts may be generating strong opposition.

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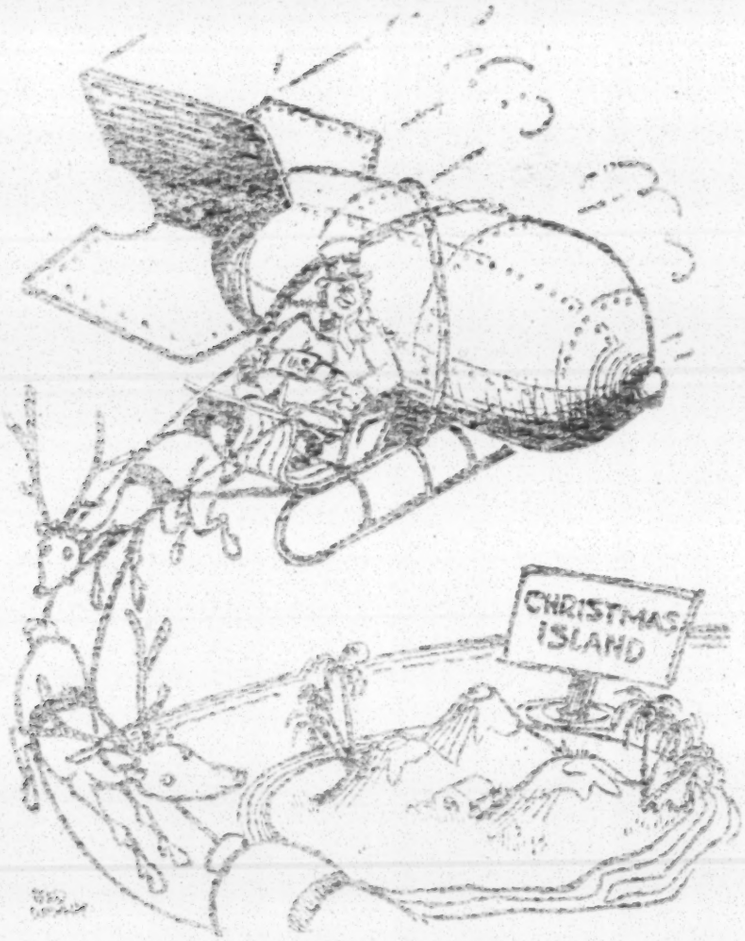
HARVARD SEISMOLOGIST TAKES ON GOVERNMENT ANEW

U.S. test detection men unqualified



Drawing by Fred Vorkel

Merry Christmas!

sometimes occurs because all categories—earthquake station, doodlebugger and big blast—are commonly called seismologists.

Leet described the scientists on the Berkner panel as "one nuclear physicist, five doodlebuggers, an oceanographer, four instrument designers and two employees of instrument manufacturers." He said: "What these men shared in common was that, regardless of their backgrounds, none of them had any experience in the patrol activities of earthquake stations."

"Since the crux of the problem is in the differentiation of quakes and blasts, it would seem only logical to have people with experience in both on the job . . . There are a dozen working seismologists in the country . . . doing the work every day. They've read records by the thousands. I myself in the past years have read something on the order of 50,000 earthquake records, and I know for an absolute fact that a record from an earthquake of given size just looks different from a record of a similar shot at the same distance.

"One possible approach is to compare the energy levels of

thing. I might be able to save some time because I have done a lot of work with big blasts, but the principles are known. Anyone with the right training could do it."

NAIVE ERRORS: The incompetence of the Berkner Panel, Leet pointed out, is indicated by the naive errors it made. For example, it spent almost $348,000 to determine, among other things, the number and location of the world's earthquakes and the seismicity of the earth. This data has been collected and published regularly by the Int'l Seismological Society and is available in any geological library.

In two years, the Berkner Panel spent more than $41,500,000. Of this, more than $15 million went to members of the panel or their companies for research and equipment for the Vela studies, which the panel recommended. Only Berkner and Dr. Hans Bethe, Cornell physicist, failed to benefit personally. The others got contracts ranging from $100,676 to $5,258,761.

Leet also said that he could find no record of a Ph.D. degree for "Dr." David T. Griggs, formerly a teacher in experimental geology at Harvard, and listed as "Dr." in the Berkner panel reports.

Leet made no special pleading for earthquake station seismologists. Finding a means of differentiating quakes from blasts, he said, "has to be a team operation" of station seismologists, big blast seismologists and doodlebuggers who can contribute electronic know-how in developing instruments.

NOT COLLOWED: Leet was particularly disturbed by the secrecy around the Berkner Panel. He said: "The way to solve problems like test detection is simple and has been known and used for generations. You make a thorough analysis of existing knowledge before you begin. You ask everybody who has been working in the area, what have you done, what do you suggest? You don't classify, you let [illegible] you are doing and thinking be known—if you are doing foolish things, people will tell you so. These procedures the Berkner Panel has not followed."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

greatest movement and are called Surface waves because across the surface of the earth.

For years seismology was use[illegible] a handful of scientists in cap[illegible] tions, who daily recorded [illegible] the earthquake waves. In the 19[illegible] started [illegible] waves in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

PUTS AMERICA FIRST

Warburg Tells Off Pauling on Cuba

By GAY TALESE

(Copyright 1962 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK—There was a noisy, fist-waving feud Thursday night at a meeting of advocates of non-violence. Before it was over, 15 spectators stomped out of the meeting and on the stage the two men they had come to honor, Dr. Linus C. Pauling, Nobel Prize-winning scientist, and James P. Warburg, economist and author, were arguing heatedly with each other.

Moments before the outburst, both men had received the 1962 Gandhi peace award from promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., a non-profit, non-political, religious and educational organization.

The meeting, held at the Community Church of New York, began quietly enough with prayers, amenities and a letter of praise from Ambassador Adlai Stevenson to Warburg.

Warburg listened attentatively while Dr. Pauling told of the perils of nuclear war, said that President John F. Kennedy had made the bomb threat an instrument of American foreign policy, and unfortunately had enabled Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev to seem the peacemaker in the recent Cuban crisis.

When it came Warburg's turn to speak, he said he was surprised to hear Pauling suggest that "we (the United States) are the source of the trouble." At this point a man in the second row rose and, hands waving, yelled: "We are, we are!"

Pauling leaned over and asked the moderator on stage for a right of reply, but Warburg spoke on. He denounced reported efforts in the past by Pauling and representatives from 27 countries to stop U.S. nuclear testing.

STRONG AVERSION

"I have a strong feeling against enlisting citizens of other nations in protests to our government," Warburg said, "and an even stronger aversion to collecting foreign signatures to petitions which seek injunctions in our courts against the action of our own government. I am not one who subscribes to the doctrine: 'My country, right or wrong,' but when and if it seems necessary in the interests of peace to oppose our government's policy—and it has, indeed, seemed to me necessary upon various occasions in the past—I like to think that the job can and should be done here at home."

"It is this difference over methods of working for peace," he continued, seemingly unperturbed by members in the audience who rose and shouted at him, "Which has prevented my joining hands with you, Dr. Pauling, even when we have been working toward a common objective."

ATTACK 'UNCALLED FOR'

"Stop," a man yelled, "This attack on Dr. Pauling is uncalled for."

Pauling wished to rise and answer Warburg, but the president of Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, talked him out of it.

Then, while Pauling sat in icy silence, Mather thanked the crowd for attending and explained it is possible "to get along courteously in a fine spirit, one with another, even though we are not always in agreement."

The half-dozen officials on stage shook hands.

Pauling denied Warburg's statement that he had brought an anti-bomb petition to the United States —the petition was directed to the United Nations, the scientist said.

'Not the Victory of Might, But the Vindication of Right'

President's Text: 'Many Sacrifices Lie Ahead'

WASHINGTON (AP) — Following is the prepared text of President John F. Kennedy's speech to the nation Monday night:

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveilance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western hemisphere.

Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 a.m., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in full detail.

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installation. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D.C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the Southeastern part of the United States, in Central America or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being unpacked and reassembled in Cuba.

peated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

Russia Spoke Falsely

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it had been planned some months ago. Yet only last month after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive anti-aircraft missiles, the Soviet government publicly stated on Sept. 11 that "the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes," that "there is no need for the Soviet Union to shift its weapons . . . for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba", and that "the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union." That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet assistance to Cuba "pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba," that "training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive," and that "if it were otherwise, the Soviet government would never become involved in rendering such assistance." That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or

and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930s taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to grow unchecked and unchallenged, ultimately leads to war. This nation is opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required—and it is underway; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouths—but neither will we shrink from that risk if at any time it must be faced.

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and that of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: to halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba, from whatever nation or port, will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as

night that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of UN observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction—by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

U.S. Willng to Debate

This nation is prepared to present its case against this Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum—in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful—without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other

liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free—free from foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead—months in which both our will and our patience will be tested—months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our danger. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might but the vindication of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.

siles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long-range and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio pact of 1947, the traditions of this nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on Sept. 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the re-

otherwise, the Soviet government would never become involved in rendering such assistance." That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute a maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive, and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to the peace.

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States—recognizing this fact—have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which ensured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since World War II—demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bullseye of Soviet missiles located inside the USSR or in submarines. In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although, it should be noted, the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

Secret Red Buildup

But this secret, swift and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well-known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative

itiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba, from whatever nation or port, will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviet attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Keeping Close Watch

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS in their communique of Oct. 6 rejected secrecy on such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the armed forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that, in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at these sites, the hazards to all concerned of continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: it shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: as a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there and ordered additional military units to stand by on an alert basis.

Fifth: we are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the organ of consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke Articles 6 and 8 of the Rio treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations charter allows for regional security arrangements—and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: under the charter of the United Nations, we are asking to-

pared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed.

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed—and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends and neighbors in the Americas—and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war—the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny you freedom.

Many times in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their

Why We Are Here

We are disturbed by the President's decision to blockade Cuba.

If it is true that the Soviet Union has committed the criminal folly of stationing long-range missiles in Cuba, this does not necessarily justify the President's hasty and provocative response.

No attempt was apparently made to exhaust the usual diplomatic procedures for protesting a hostile act, nor to involve our Latin American neighbors (as the Rio Pact, mentioned by the President, requires) in formulating a hemispheric plan of action. In saying that "We are a peaceful people," the President seems to have forgotten that thus far the principle aggressor in Cuban-American relations has been the United States, which admittedly trained and financed the invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Cabell Phillips, a New York Times reporter, writes from Washington (Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 23) that the President's action will "have the effect, at least momentarily, of countering the most telling political attack Republicans have been making against his administration," and adds that it was generally accepted in Washington Monday that politics played "more than a minor part" in the President's decision. Are we risking nuclear annihilation so that the Democratic Party can win an election?

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We are a group of individuals, representing only ourselves, who have come here today to evidence our concern about the Cuban crisis. We wish to make a public witness to urge peaceful means of settling international disputes -- instead of blockades, threats, and missiles.

What You Can Do

SEND TELEGRAMS to President John F. Kennedy
Secretary of State Dean Rusk
your congressmen

WRITE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

COLLECT money for local advertisements